

The Daugava River in the Early Modern Period. A Border, an Obstacle, and a Trade Route

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ABSTRACT

The text aims to look at the three functions of the Daugava River: border, obstacle, and trade route. We will focus on the river in the Early Modern Period (from the 16th to the 18th century). We will go beyond the chronological framework, during which we will attempt to answer the following questions. Was the border on the Daugava shaped? To what extent was the dividing line permanent? What was the defensive value of the river? Due to the differences during the border and fighting conducted, the river has been divided into two sections: Livonian (today Latvian) and Ruthenian (today Belarussian and Russian).

The article is of review character, and the basis for writing this paper is a large amount of literature. In some cases, sources were used, and in exceptional circumstances, we reached for sources. To compare the Daugava River to other rivers, we used the literature on the Vistula, the Volga River, the Dnieper, and the Danube.

The border of the Livonian section of the Daugava, which was established in the 16th–18th centuries, survived until the 20th century. It shows the river's role as a border, which can only be compared with the Danube. Daugava was not an insurmountable obstacle. Most of the fighting was fought near the river, as was the case with the Dnieper and Danube.

The rivers compared were also the most important routes in the region. There were natural and institutional obstacles to navigation. We travelled on very similar boats that could be used in military operations. There are differences in the trade of goods. On no other large river, the transport of forest goods was so dominant.

KEY WORDS: Daugava, border, obstacle, trade rout, Early Modern Period

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: Dźwina, granica, przeszkoda, szlak handlowy, wczesna nowożytność

Introduction

¹ We used modern names.

Over 1,000 km long, the Daugava River (Rubon, German Dūna, Polish Dźwina, Russian Западная Двина, Belarussian Дзвіна, Заходняя Дзвіна) is the second-longest river in Europe and flows into the Baltic Sea. Nowadays, it flows through Russia, Belarus, and Latvia. Just by looking at the map, we can see why it is so, and history provides us with detailed examples, especially in the Early Modern Period.

For most of the Early Modern Period, the Daugava River in the Livonian section was the state border separating the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from Sweden and later Russia. During the wars, the river served as the primary line of defence, on which the region's essential resistance points were located and the decisive battles took place. Additionally, the warring parties used it as an excellent route for transporting artillery and supplies. In peaceful times, the river was the most important trade route in this part of the continent. Toward Riga (German Riga, Latvian Rīga, Russian Рига, Polish Ryga)¹, the town with the most significance, located at the Daugava River's mouth to the sea, mainly forest products were floated down.

The text aims to look at three functions of the Daugava River: a border, an obstacle, and a trade route. We will focus on the river in the Early Modern Period, from the

2 J. Natanson-Leski, *Dzieje granicy wschodniej Rzeczypospolitej. Część 1: Granica moskiewska w epoce jagiellońskiej*, Lwów–Warszawa 1922; *idem*, *Epoka Stefana Batorego w dziejach granicy wschodniej Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa 1930; *idem*, *Rozwój terytorialny Polski. Od czasów najdawniejszych do okresu przebudowy państwa w latach 1569–1572*, Warszawa 1964.

3 W. Godziszewski, *Granica polsko-moskiewska wedle pokoju polanowskiego 1634 (z dwiema mapami)*, „Prace Komisji Atlasu Historycznego Polski” 1934, nr 3, pp. 1–98.

4 H. Mattiesen, *Gebiet und Grenzen des Herzogtums Kurland 1569–1795*, „Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas” 1957, Bd. 1/2, pp. 198–205; M. Jakovļeva, *Territorium und Grenzen des Herzogtums Kurland und Semgallen im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* [in:] *Das Herzogtum Kurland 1561–1795. Verfassung, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft*, Bd. 2, E. Oberländer (hrsg.), Lüneburg 2001, pp. 69–104.

5 M. Jakovļeva, *Robežas un administratīvais iedalījums Latvijas teritorijā 16. gs. otrajā pusē un 17. gs.* [in:] *Latvijas zemju robežas 1000 gados*, A. Caune (ed.), Rīga 1999, pp. 91–130; M. Jakovļeva, A. Mieriņa, *Robežas un administratīvais iedalījums Latvijas teritorijā 18. gs.* [in:] *Latvijas zemju...*, pp. 131–146.

6 A. Mieriņa, *Latvijas administratīvais iedalījums (1918–1940)* [in:] *Latvijas zemju...*, pp. 210–240; *eadem*, *Latvijas valstu robežas (1918–1940)* [in:] *Latvijas zemju...*, pp. 182–209.

7 H. Dominiczak, *Dzieje kresów i granicy państwa polskiego na wschodzie od czasów najdawniejszych do roku 1945*, Toruń 2011.

8 M. Nagielski, *Przebieg granicy wschodniej W. Ks. Lit. z Moskwą w XVI–XVII wieku ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem znaczenia strategicznego Bramy*

16th to the 18th century. Why only then? At that time, significant conflicts along the river resulted in border changes. It influenced the functioning of the trade route on the river. Therefore, we chose the period. However, we will go beyond the chronological framework, during which we will attempt to answer the following questions. How was the border on the Daugava shaped? To what extent was the dividing line permanent? What was the defensive value of the river? Due to the differences during the border and fights conducted, the river has been divided into two sections: Livonian (today Latvian) and Ruthenian (today Belarussian and Russian).

To answer these three questions, we divided the article into three sections: the Daugava River as a border, an obstacle, and a trade route. We will compare it to other rivers in Central and Eastern Europe: the Volga, the Dnieper, the Vistula, and the Danube.

Research method

The article is of review character. The basis for writing this paper is a large amount of literature. In some cases, sources were used. Let us start with the topic of the Daugava River as a border. Many books and articles are about the Early Modern Period on this subject. The works of researchers describing the administrative boundaries and divisions in this area deserve a mention here: Jan Natanson-Leski², Władysław Godziszewski³, Heinz Mattiesen⁴, Mārīte Jakovļeva⁵, Austra Mieriņa⁶, Henryk Dominiczak⁷, and Mirosław Nagielski⁸. We supplemented the literature review with published international agreements, mainly truce and peace treaties: Poland and Lithuania with Livonia and the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia⁹, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth with Sweden¹⁰, and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth with the Grand Duchy of Moscow and Russia¹¹. An essential supplement to them is another research concerning the political situation prevailing at that

time, which translated into the existing borders: Genadiy Fedorovich Karpov¹², Enn Tarvel¹³, Jürgen Heyde¹⁴, Arkadiusz Janicki¹⁵, Mariusz Balcerek¹⁶ and Aleksandr Il'ich Filyushkin, Andrey Valentinovich Kuz'min¹⁷. In the case of the issue of the Daugava River as an obstacle, we can also indicate many works. A considerable part of them concerns the fortresses. We can mention the works by: Karl von Löwis of Menar¹⁸, Armin Tuulse¹⁹, Vladimir Chanturiya²⁰, Mikhail Alyeksandrovich Tkachyev²¹, Marian Arsyński²², Ieva Ose²³, Andris Caune²⁴ and Tomasz Borowski²⁵. Many works have been published about the attacks on the Daugava's fortresses and the fights to cross it. All researchers dealing with hostilities over the Daugava and in this region are interested in this topic. Here we can only list selected authors of books only: Manfred Carlon²⁶, Swedish Generalstaben²⁷, Stanisław Herbst²⁸, Władimir Koroluk²⁹, Norbert Angermann³⁰, Rainer Fagerlund³¹, Dariusz Kupisz³², Mariusz Balcerek³³, Konrad Bobiatyński³⁴, Marek Plewczyński³⁵, Andrey Nikolayevich Yanushkyevich³⁶, Grzegorz Szymborski³⁷, Aleksandr Il'ich Filyushkin and Andrey Valentinovich Kuz'min³⁸, Vitaliy Viktorovich Penskoj³⁹ and Ulf Sundberg⁴⁰. The same can be written about the battles described in numerous publications. Only the most important of them have become the subject of separate books and articles: at Koknese (German Kokenhusen, Kokenhausen, Polish Kokenhauz, Russian Кукейнос) in 1601⁴¹, at Salaspils (German Kirchholm, Polish Kircholm) in 1605⁴², at Kushliki (Russian Кушликовы горы, Belarussian Кушликі, Polish Kuszliki) in 1661⁴³, Daugava (Riga) in 1701⁴⁴ and Jekabpils (Latvian Jēkabpils, German Jakobstadt, Polish Jakobsztat, Jakubowo or Jakubów) in 1704⁴⁵. Interestingly, more scientific papers have been written about the battle of Salaspils than about the rest of the fighting combined.

The descriptions of the river as a trade route were also presented, mainly based on extensive literature. We can distinguish several issues here: the description

Smoleńskiej [in:] *Od armii komputowej do narodowej*, t. 4, W. Rezmer (red.), Toruń 2012, pp. 27–63.

9 *Kurland. Vom Polnisch-Litauischen Lehnshertzogtum zur Russischen Provinz. Dokumente zur Verfassungsgeschichte 1561–1795*, E. Oberländer, V. Keller (hrsg.), Leiden 2019.

10 *Zwischen Schweden und Polen wird ein Stillstand auff 6. jahre auffgerichtet* [in:] *Theatreum Europeum*, Bd. 2, Franckfurt am Mayn 1633, pp. 67–69; 26. *Jähriger Stillstand, zwischen den beyden Königlichen Crone Pole vn Schweden*. In *Stumsdorff, im Monat Septembri Anno 1635* [in:] *Theatreum Europeum*, Bd. 3, Franckfurt am Mayn 1639, pp. 494–497.

11 M. Dogiel, *Limites regni Poloniae*, Vilane 1758; *Traktat między Nayiaśn. Krolm Polską y Nayiaśniejszą Rzeczpospolitą Polską y Nayiaśniejszą Imperatorową całej Rossyi* [in:] *Volumina Legum*, t. 8, Petersburg 1860, pp. 21–29. *Dokument traktatu pokojowego sporządzony przez posłów wielkiego księcia moskiewskiego* [in:] A. Possevino, *Moscovia*, A. Warkotsch (tłum.), Warszawa 1988, pp. 225–233; *Dokument traktatu pokojowego sporządzony przez posłów najjaśniejszego króla Polski* [in:] A. Possevino, *op.cit.*, pp. 233–241; *Traktat polanowski / Polyanovskiy dogovor* [in:] *Traktaty pokojowe pomiędzy Rzeczpospolitą a Rosją w XVII wieku*, O. Aleksejczuk (red.), Kraków 2002 / *Mirnyye dogovory mezhdu Rech'yu Pospolitoj i Rossiiyey v 17 veke*, O. Alekseychuk (red.), Kraków 2002, pp. 22–47; *Traktat o wieczystym pokoju / Dogovor o vechnom mire* [in:] *Traktaty pokojowe pomiędzy Rzeczpospolitą a Rosją w XVII wieku*, O. Aleksejczuk (red.), Kraków 2002 / *Mirnyye dogovory mezhdu Rech'yu Pospolitoj i Rossiiyey v 17 veke*, O. Alekseychuk (red.), Kraków 2002, pp. 48–65; A. Małow, *Dokumenty polsko-rosyjskiego rozejmu zawartego 11 (1) XII*

1618 r. we wsi Dywilino, "Wschodni Rocznik Humanistyczny" 2010, nr 2, pp. 7–100.

12 G.F. Karpov, *Istoriya bor'by Moskovskogogosudarstva s Pol'sko-Litovskim. 1462–1508*, t. 2, Moskva 1867.

13 E. Tarvel, *Stosunek prawno państwowy Inflant do Rzeczypospolitej oraz ich ustroj administracyjny w l. 1561–1621*, "Zapiski Historyczne" 1969, nr 1, pp. 49–77.

14 J. Heyde, *Kość niezgody – Inflanty w polityce wewnętrznej Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVII wieku [in:] Prusy i Inflanty między średniowieczem a nowożytnością. Państwo – społeczeństwo – kultura*, B. Dybaś, D. Makilla (red.), Toruń 2003, pp. 159–168.

15 A. Janicki, *Kurlandia w latach 1795–1915*, Gdańsk 2011.

16 M. Balcereks, *Poļu Vidzemes jeb Inflantijas izveides priekšvēsture. Cīņas par Daugavpili 1625.–1627. gadā.*, "Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurnāls" 2011, no. 2, pp. 88–100; M. Balcerek, *Księstwo Kurlandii i Semigalii w wojnie Rzeczypospolitej ze Szwecją w latach 1600–1629*, Poznań 2012.

17 A.I. Filyushkin, A.V. Kuz'min, *Kogda Polotsk byl rossijskim. Polotskaya kompaniya Ivana Groznogo 1563–1579 gg.*, Moskva 2017.

18 K. Löwis of Menar, *Burgenlexikon für Alt-Livland*, Riga 1922.

19 A. Tuulse, *Die Burgen in Estland und Lettland*, Dorpat 1942.

20 V. Chanturiya, *Istoriya arkhitektury Belorussii*, Minsk 1977.

21 M.A. Tkachyev, *Zamki i lyudzi*, Minsk 1991; *idem, Zamki Byelarusi*, Minsk 2005.

22 M. Arsyński, *Średniowieczne budownictwo warowne na obszarze Inflant [in:] Inflanty w średniowieczu: władztwa*

of the river itself in terms of its navigation conditions, ways of improving these conditions, means of navigation, and shipping itself. Books and articles presenting the trade turnover of Riga, the largest city on the river, situated at its mouth, which is a measure of trade volume on the Daugava, was also essential. They deserve to be mentioned here publications by authors such as: Adam Plater⁴⁶, Aleksey Sapunov⁴⁷, Anton Bucholtz⁴⁸, Georg Jensch⁴⁹, Vasiliy Vasil'yevich Doroshenko⁵⁰, Vilnis Pavulans⁵¹, Ilga Grasmane⁵², Velta Pāvulāne⁵³, Elisabeth Harder-Gersdorff⁵⁴ and Anna Ziemelewska⁵⁵.

To compare the Daugava River to other rivers, we used to work on the Vistula⁵⁶, the Volga⁵⁷, Dnieper⁵⁸ and the Danube⁵⁹.

The Daugava River as a border

Let us start with the Daugava River as a border. The river is 1020 km long, and this is the shortest length compared to others: the Volga (over 3531 km), the Danube (2850 km), the Dnieper (over 2201 km), and the Vistula (1047 km). The sources of the Daugava are in Russia, northwest of Andriapol city (Russian Андреаполь) in the Tver region (Russian Тверская область). The river has sources near two other great rivers in Europe: the Volga and Dnieper.

Currently, the Daugava River flows through three countries: Russia (325 km), Belarus (352 km), and Latvia (343 km). Only 16.6 km constitute the state border between Latvia and Belarus. What was it like in the Early Modern Period? Was it long? How long did it function? Below, we will attempt to answer these questions.

Two different areas emerged on the Daugava River in the Middle Ages: Livonia and Ruthenia. As we will see, this division continued into the Early Modern Period. For this reason, we decided to discuss these two sections of the river separately. It will allow us to emphasise better the similarities and differences in terms of the durability

and length of the border on the river. In the first section, we will discuss the history of the border in the section of Livonia and in the second section, Ruthenia.

The onset of the Livonia section of the Daugava River's function as a border was seen very early on. In the 13th century, the river partly separated the Teutonic Order's property in Livonia to the south of the river from the Riga archbishop's lands to the north of it. In 1561, the Daugava River border stretched from the village of Salaspils (German Kirchholm, Polish Kircholm) to almost the village of Druya (Belarussian and Russian Друя, Polish Druja) for about 290 km⁶⁰. Surprisingly, with minor corrections, this division survived until the 20th century. At that time, independence was obtained by the Republic of Latvia through the middle of which the river flowed.

We will try to look at the creation of this extremely durable border. In 1557, the Livonian section of the Daugava area found itself in a relationship of dependence on Poland and Lithuania. In 1561, the Master of the Teutonic Order in Livonia, Gotthard Kettler, threw off the monastic cloak. He became a secular ruler of the newly created Duchy of Courland and Semigallia, a fief of Sigismundus II Augustus the Polish king, and the Grand Duke of Lithuania (he paid tribute the following year). All of this was done by way of the agreement reached in Vilnius on November 28 of that year⁶¹. Two documents were then drawn up to normalise the new situation on the Daugava: *Privilegium Sigismundi Augusti* and *Pacta Subjectionis*. In the latter document, the border on the Daugava was presented very generally:

We brought together, and we compared, first that whole tract of Courland and Semigallia, beginning from the salt sea, following the Hilga River [Lithuania Šventoji, Polish Świąta] above, by ascending to the ancient borders, between Samogitia [Lithuanian Žemaitija, Polish Żmudź], Lithuania, and Russia on one side, and Livonia

zakonu krzyżackiego i biskupów, M. Biskup (red.), Toruń 2002, pp. 75–105.

23 I. Ose, *Salaspils zviedru skanstis* [in:] *Civitas et castrum ad Mare Balticum. Baltijas arheoloģijas un vēstures problēmas dzelzs laikmetā un viduslaikos*, A. Caune (ed.), Rīga 2002, pp. 205–223; *eadem*, *Daugavgrīvas cietokšņa pārbūves no 1622. līdz 1710. gadam* [in:] *Senā Rīga. Pētījumi pilsētas arheoloģijā un vesture*, vol. 5, I. Ose (ed.), Rīga 2005, pp. 202–233; *eadem*, *Daugavgrīvas cietokšņa plāni kā 17. gs. beigu un 18. gs. pārbūvju liecieni*, “Arheoloģija un Etnogrāfija” 2006, vol. 23, pp. 185–205; *eadem*, *Daugavgrīvas cietokšņa būvvesture*, Rīga 2007; *eadem*, *Kobronskanstis pārbūves 17. gadsimta un 18. gadsimta sakuma – zviedru inženieru iecerēs un to realizācija* [in:] *Senā Rīga. Pētījumi pilsētas arheoloģijā un vesture*, vol. 7, I. Ose (ed.), Rīga 2012, pp. 406–443; *eadem*, *The Livonian War (1558–1583) and the Ruination of Castles, in Particular Kirchholm and Wenden* [in:] *Castles at war*, R. Atzbach, L.M.S. Jensen, L.P. Lauritsen (eds.), Bonn 2015, pp. 75–86.

24 A. Caune, I. Ose, *Latvijas viduslaiku pils*, vol. 4: *Latvijas 12. gadsimta beigu – 17. Gadsimta vācu piļu leksikons*, Rīga 2004.

25 T. Borowski, *Miasta, zamki i klasztory państwa krzyżowego Zakonu Szpitala Najświętszej Marii Panny Domu Niemieckiego w Jerozolimie nad Bałtykiem*. Inflanty, Warszawa 2010.

26 M. Carlon, *Ryska kriget 1656–1658*, Stockholm 1903.

27 Generalstaben, *Karl XII på slagfältet. Karolinsk slagledning sedd mot bakgrunden av taktikens utveckling från äldsta tide*, vol. 2, Stockholm 1918; *idem*, *Sveriges krig. 1611–1632*, vol. 2, Stockholm 1936.

28 S. Herbst, *Wojna inflancka, 1600–1602*, Warszawa 1938.

29 W. Koroluk, *Wojna inflancka*, Warszawa 1956.

30 N. Angermann, *Studien zur Livland-politik Ivan Groznyjs*, Marburg/Lahn 1972.

31 R. Fagerlund, *Kriget i Östersjöprovinserna 1655–1661. Operationer och krigsanträngningar på en bikrigsskådeplats under Carl X Gustafs krig*, Vaasa 1979.

32 D. Kupisz, *Połock 1579*, Warszawa 2003; D. Kupish, *Pusko-Livonskoye pogranich'yev strategicheskikh planakh Ctefana Batoriyav 1578–1582*, "Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana" 2014, № 1, pp. 65–76.

33 M. Balcerek, *Zdobycie Rygi w 1621 roku – rewanz za Kircholm?* [in:] *Wojny północne w XVI–XVIII wieku. W czterechsetlecie bitwy pod Kircholmem*, B. Dybaś (red.), Toruń 2007, pp. 81–92; *idem*, *Obłężenie Rygi w 1621 roku*, "Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości" 2008, t. 45, pp. 14–39; *idem*, *Księstwo Kurlandii i Semigalii...*; M. Balcereks, *Polu Vidzemes...*, pp. 88–100;

34 K. Bobiatyński, *Michał Kazimierz Pac – wojewoda wileński, hetman wielki litewski. Działalność polityczno-wojskowa*, Warszawa 2008; K. Bobjatiński, *Polijas-lietuvas cīņa ar Maskavas valsti par Daugavpili 17. gadsimta 60. gados.*, "Latvijas Vestures Instituta Zurnals" 2011, no. 4, pp. 66–77.

35 M. Plewczyński, *Wojny i wojskowość polska XVI wieku*, vol. 1, Zabrze 2011; *idem*, *Wojny i wojskowość polska XVI wieku*, t. 3, Zabrze–Tarnowskie Góry 2013; *idem*, *Wojny i wojskowość polska XVI wieku*, t. 2, Oświęcim 2018.

36 A.N. Yanushkyevich, *Luvonskaya vojna. Vul'no protiv Moskvy 1558–1570*, Moskva 2013.

37 G. Szymborski, *Wyprawa Fryderyka Augusta I do Inflant w latach 1700–1701 w świetle wojny domowej na Litwie*, Zabrze–Tarnowskie Góry 2015.

on the other side, toward the Polatsk Province [Polish województwo połockie], on the Daugava River, begun and disposed by [Nicolaus] Radziwill ["The Black", the Lithuanian Chancellor] and arranged between Samogitia, Lithuania, and Russia from one party, and Livonia on the other side, in the direction of the Polatsk Province to the Daugava River, but in descending from Daugava to the salt sea [Baltic Sea; emphasis by the author] so much so that whatever is contained in those borders on this side of the Daugava, towards Lithuania, and was directed toward the Order of Livonia⁶².

Now, let us take a look at the course of the resulting border between the Duchy of Courland and Semigalia and the Livonia. Mostly, it ran along the river. The most significant difference is evident at the mouth of the Daugava itself. The area under the rule of the city of Riga stretched far from the southern bank of the river. The border also crossed the river at two other sections in its lower reaches. The first was the area around Berkava (German Borkowitz) village, located opposite Ikšķile (German Üxküll, Polish Iszkiel) town and the Ogre (German Oger) river's mouth to the Daugava. The second one, going up the river, was the section around Mazjumprava (German Kleine Jungfernhof) village, opposite Lieljumprava (German Große Jungfernhof) village⁶³.

From 1561, the river separated the Duchy of Courland and Semigalia to the south and from Livonia to the north. Until 1561, the areas north and south of the Daugava were known as the Livonia. After 1561, this name was reserved only for the first one. Today, historians, referring specifically to the lands of the Teutonic Order's Livonian branch, use the term "Old Livonia". The Livonia caused a dispute between Poland and Lithuania in the second half of the 16th century. For several years

(1577–1582), the river separated the areas under the control of Moscow in Livonia from the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia⁶⁴.

This state continued until the wars between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Sweden. In 1621, Gustav II Adolf conquered Riga, which was synonymous with mastering the Daugava River's lower course (the campaign of 1621–1622)⁶⁵. The success of the Swedish king sanctioned a truce signed the following year. In 1625, during the campaign of 1625–1629, he captured the fortresses in Koknese (German Kokenhusen, Kokenhausen, Polish Kokenhauz, Russian Кукейнос) and Selpils (Latvian Sēlpils, German Selburg, Polish Zelibork, Zelburg), and thus reached the middle reaches of the Daugava⁶⁶. In 1627, the Swedish troops conquered Daugavpils (German Dünaburg, Polish Dyneburg, Russian Двинск), spreading their rule over the entire river in Livonia, but they evacuated soon after there⁶⁷. The truce concluded in 1629 in Nowy Targ (German Altmark) sanctioned the border running through the middle and lower reaches of the Daugava (fourth point of the contract). Areas in the south-eastern part of Livonia with Daugavpils remained under the rule of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, later becoming Polish Livonia (German "Klein Livland")⁶⁸.

Because of military operations, the border on the Daugava River between the Duchy of Courland and Semigalia and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was shortened length from 290 km to 195 km. At that time, it ran from the mouth of the Aiviekste River (German Ewst, Polish Ewiksza) on the west and almost reached the village of Druya on the east. The border on the Daugava River that separated Sweden from the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia was long at 95 km.

The borders that were created because of the Polish-Lithuanian-Swedish fights of the 1620s were very durable. It is enough to look at the boundaries of modern Latvia's historical regions: Vidzeme, Latgale, and Kurzeme.

38 A.I. Filyushkin, A.V. Kuz'min, *op.cit.*

39 V.V. Penskoj, *Ocherki istorii Livonskoj vojny. Ot Narvy do Fellina. 1558–1561 gg.*, Moskva 2017; *idem*, *Polotskaya vojna. Ocherkiistorii russko-litovskogo protivostoyaniyavremen Ivana Groznogo. 1562–1570*, Moskva 2019.

40 U. Sundberg, *Swedish defensive fortress warfare in the Great Northern War 1702–1710*, Åbo 2018.

41 P. Gawron, *Obleżenie i bitwa pod Kokenhausen (Koknese) 23 czerwca 1601 r. w świetle źródeł z Rosyjskiej Biblioteki Narodowej w Sankt Petersburgu* [in:] *Studia nad staropolską sztuką wojenną*, t. 5, Z. Hundert, K. Żojdź, J.J. Sowa (red.), Oświęcim 2017, pp. 53–69.

42 F. Kudelka, *Bitwa pod Kircholmem*, Warszawa 1921; J. Teodorczyk, Z. Żygulski Jun., *Dwugłos o bitwie pod Kircholmem. Historia i ikonografia*, "Rocznik Historii Sztuki" 1999, nr 24, pp. 97–130; J. Teodorczyk, *Tajemnice zwycięstwa, czyli bitwa pod Kircholmem w ikonografii z XVIII w.*, "Muzealnictwo Wojskowe" 2005, nr 8, pp. 373–402; W. Rawski, *Kircholm 1605. Refleksje w 400-lecie bitwy*, "Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy" 2005, nr 3, pp. 145–172; H. Wisner, *Bitwa kircholmska – pytania i wątpliwości* [in:] *Wojny północne w XVI–XVIII wieku...*, pp. 14–22; *idem*, *Kircholm 1605*, Warszawa 2011; M. Balcerk, *Liczebność, skład i szyk wojska hetmana Jana Karola Chodkiewicz w bitwie pod Kircholmem na "Ordre de bataille" Erika Dahlberga*, "Zapiski Historyczne" 2009, nr 3, pp. 77–93; *idem*, *Wkład księstwa Kurlandii i Semigalii oraz powiatu piltyńskiego w bitwę pod Kircholmem w 1605 roku*, "Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy" 2009, nr 2, pp. 5–22; *idem*, *Liczebność, skład i szyk obydwu walczących stron w bitwie pod Kircholmem* [in:] *Kircholm 1605. Zezszyty Historyczne*, J. Hryniewicz (red.), Ryga 2010, pp. 17–44; *idem*, *Vom nationalen Narrativ vergessen – Der Beitrag*

des Herzogtums Kurland und Semgallen sowie des Piltener Kreises während der Schlacht bei Kirchholm im Jahre 1605, "Militaergeschichtliche Zeitschrift" 2013, Bd. 2, pp. 243–266; *idem*, *Ordre de Bataille armii walczących pod Kirchholmem dnia 27 września 1605 r.* [in:] *Do szarzy marsz, marsz...* Studia z dziejów kawalerii, t. 4, A. Smoliński (red.), Toruń 2013, pp. 27–62; *idem*, *Polacy w armii Karola IX w bitwie pod Kirchholmem 27 IX 1605 roku*, "Zapiski Historyczne" 2013, nr 3, pp. 93–104; *Ustawienie walczących stron w stosunku do rzeki Dźwiny w bitwie pod Kirchholmem w 1605 roku* [in:] *Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, t. 7, K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak (red.), Białystok 2017, pp. 113–149; *idem*, *Battle of Kirchholm (Salaspils) in 1605. The Current State of Research*, "Open Military Studies" 2021, no. 2, pp. 171–189.

43 K. Kosszarzecki, *Kampania letnio-jesienna 1661 roku nad Dźwiną i bitwa pod Kuszlikami* [in:] *Studia z dziejów stosunków Rzeczypospolitej z Państwem Moskiewskim w XVI–XVII wieku*, M. Nagielski, K. Bobiatyński, P. Gawron (red.), Zabrze–Tarnowskie Góry 2013, pp. 315–344.

44 J. Arājs, *Bitwa nad Dźwiną 9 lipca 1701 roku* [in:] *Wojny północne w XVI–XVIII wieku...*, pp. 197–207.

45 K. Kościelniak, *Polish accounts of the participation of the Lithuanian armed forces in the battle of Kryžbork/Jakobstadt of 26 July (5 August) 1704*, "Open Political Science" 2019, no. 2, pp. 174–180.

46 A. Plater, *Opisanie hydrograficzno-statystyczne Dźwiny Zachodniej oraz ryb w niej żyjących*, Wilno 1861.

47 A. Sapunov, *Reka Zapadnaya Dvina*, Vitebsk 1893.

48 A. Bucholtz, *Ueber Versuche zur Reinigung des Fahrwassers der Düna*

They coincide with those that the truce sanctioned in 1629. Interestingly, the current historical lands do not precisely match the tribe breakdown between Curonians (Kurs, Latvian kurši, Lithuanian kuršiai, German Kuren, Polish Kurowie, Kuronowie, Kurszowie), Semigallians (Latvian Zemgali, Lithuanian Žiemgaliai, German Semgallen, Polish Zemgalowie), Livones (Latvian Libieši, German Livonen, Polish Liwowie) and Latgalians (Latvian Latgali, German Lettgallen) from before the 13th century. This is especially true of the Latgalis' territorial range. That shows the importance of the subsequent fights and the boundaries created in 1629. If the Swedes crossed the Daugava River in the 1620s, the local divisions would be blurred.

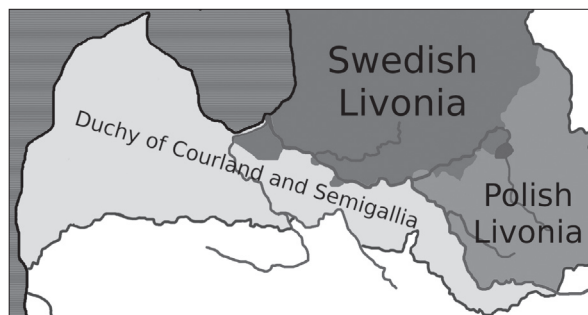


Fig. 1. Livonia in 1629

Source: Made by the Author based on: M. Jakovļeva, A. Mierīņa, *Robežas un administratīvais iedalījums Latvijas teritorijā 18. gs.* [in:] *Latvijas zemju robežas 1000 gados*, A. Caune (ed.), Rīga 1999, fig. 11.

Shortly after the truce of 1630, the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia gave Sweden the area between the sea and the river Lielupe (German Kurländische Aa, Polish Musza), the Daugava River's strategic mouth at Riga. The cession was confirmed by another ceasefire between Sweden and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth signed in Sztumska Wieś (German Stuhmsdorf) in 1635 (the sixth point of the contract). The peace treaty was finally approved in 1660 in Oliva (Polish Oliwa)⁶⁹.

During the war between Sweden and Russia in 1656–1661, the section up to Koknese was unofficially under Russian rule⁷⁰.

The Great Northern War (1700–1721) brought no change in the line of boundaries. In place of Sweden, Russia appeared on the northern bank of the river. As a result, the so-called Swedish Livonia was turned into the Russian Governorate of Livonia. In 1772, the Polish Livonia came under the rule of Russia as a part of the Pskov (Russian Псков) Governorate. In 1795, the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia was liquidated. The Duchy's territory was transformed in 1796 into the Courland Governorate⁷¹.

The only change during the border occurring in the 18th century, except for the liquidation of the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia, was the transfer of a part of the Principality to Russia in 1783. The area comprised two small areas: Sloka (now part of *Jūrmala*, between the Lielupe river – a tributary of the Daugava and sea) and the southern part of the Daugava Island – Dole⁷². These were the last changes regarding the border on the river until the First World War.

Concluding the topic dedicated to the river as a border on the Livonian section, it should be added that in 1918, Latvia recognised for its territorial basis three historical lands: Vidzeme, Latgale, and Kurzeme (the constitution of 1922 added the fourth: Zemgale), whose boundaries had been drawn already in the 17th century during the Polish-Lithuanian-Swedish wars. The longest of these runs along the Daugava River and has its roots in the 13th century⁷³.

im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert, "Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands aus dem Jahre 1895" 1896, pp. 6–18.

49 G. Jensch, *Der Handel Rigas im 17. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur livländischen Wirtschaftsgeschichte in schwedischer Zeit*, Riga 1930.

50 W.W. Doroszenko, *Eksport Rygi na zachód w okresie przynależności do Rzeczypospolitej (1562–1620)*, "Zapiski Historyczne" 1966, nr 1, pp. 7–44; V.V. Doroshenko, *Torgovlya i kupchestvo Rigi v XVII veke*, Riga 1985.

51 V. Pavulans, *Satiksmes celi Latvija XIII–XVII gs.*, Riga 1971.

52 I. Grasmāne, *Daugava un Rīgas eksports XVIII gs. beigās un XIX gs. pirmajā pusē*, Rīgā 1973.

53 V. Pāvulāne, *Rīgas tirdzniecība ar meža materiāliem XVII–XVIII gs. No Rīgas ekonomisko sakaru vestures ar krievu, baltkrievu, ukraiņu un lietuviesu zemēm*, Rīgā 1975.

54 E. Harder-Gersdorff, *Riga im Rahmen der Handelsmetropolen und Zahlungsströme des Ost-Westverkehrs am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*, "Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung" 1995, Bd. 4, pp. 521–563.

55 A. Ziemlewska, *Ryga w Rzeczypospolitej polsko-litewskiej (1581–1621)*, Toruń 2008.

56 J.M. Małecki, *Wisła w okresie od pokoju toruńskiego do pokoju oliwskiego* [in:] *Wisła. Monografia rzeki*, A. Piskozub (red.), Warszawa 1982, pp. 31–46; H. Obuchowska-Pysiowa, *Handel wiślany w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1964; S. Gierszewski, *Wisła w Dziejach Polski*, Gdańsk 1982; M. Nagielski, *Rola militarna Wisły w okresie „potopu”* [in:] *Zbiór*

studiów, K. Myśliński (red.), Warszawa 1992, pp. 59–129; Ł. Twardowski, *Rola Wisły jako rzeki granicznej na tle historycznych podziałów kraju i jej znaczenie w aktualnym podziale administracyjnym*, “Studia z Geografii Politycznej i Historycznej” 2015, nr 4, pp. 221–252.

57 I.A. Shubin, *Volga i volzhskoye sudokhodstvo (Istoriya, razvitiye i sovremennoye sostoyaniye sudokhodstva i sudostroyeniya)*, Moskva 1927; P. Darabadi, *Geohistory of the middle ages: the Caspian and Volga-Caspian water routes of the 5th–17th centuries*, “Central Asia and the Caucasus” 2009, no. 3, https://www.ca-c.org/c-g/2009/journal_eng/c-g-1/14.shtml [access: 27.09.2021]; P. Kabytov, *The Middle Volga and Trans-Volga Region in the Context of Development of the Russian State System: A Modern Concept*, “Quaestio Rossica” 2015, no. 2, pp. 117–131; D. Zeisler-Vralsted, *Rivers, Memory, and Nation-Building: A History of the Volga and Mississippi Rivers*, New York 2015; M. Zolotareva, *Environmental planning and management of waterway construction (historical experience of Russia in the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century)* [in:] *E3S Web of Conferences 91: Topical Problems of Architecture, Civil Engineering and Environmental Economics (TPACEE 2018)* 2019, pp. 1–11, https://www.e3s-conferences.org/articles/e3sconf/pdf/2019/17/e3sconf_tpacee2019_05023.pdf [access: 22.11.2021]; J.M. Hartlet, *The Volga. A History of Russia's Greatest River*, New Haven–London 2021.

58 I.T. Baranowski, *Rzut oka na znaczenie Dniepru w dziejach gospodarczych Polski*, “Przegląd Historyczny” 1916, nr 3, pp. 269–284; R.E. Jones, *The Dnieper Trade Route in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*, “The International History Review”



Fig. 2. The historical lands of Latvia in 1918

Source: Made by the Author based on: A. Mieriņa, *Latvijas valstu robežas (1918–1940)* [in:] *Latvijas zemju robežas 1000 gados*, A. Caune (ed.), Rīga 1999, pp. 182, 184.

What was the border course on the Ruthenian section of the Daugava River? In the Middle Ages, the river did not form the state border. The entire section was within the Kievan Rus already at the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries. After dividing the country into the smaller principalities in 1054, the river flowed through the Principalities of Smolensk (Russian Смоленск, Polish Smoleńsk) and Polatsk (Belarussian Полацк, Russian Полоцк, Polish Połock). The Lithuanians took over the area in the 13th and 14th centuries. The river did not form a border within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This state of affairs lasted until 1500.

Because of the war between the Grand Duchy of Moscow and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1500–1503, the upper course of the Daugava River passed into the first state's possession. It was a section about 300 km long from the river's source to the little castle Velizh (Russian Велиж, Polish Wieliz). The Muscovites-Lithuanian wars (1507–1508, 1512–1522, 1534–1537) carried out in the first half of the 16th century did not change the border in the Daugava River region⁷⁴.

The changes occurred with the outbreak of the next Muscovites-Lithuanian war in 1563. It was the result of the involvement of Poland, Lithuania, and Moscow in the

affairs of Livonia and the rule over the Daugava River, and part of the First Northern War, or the Northern Seven Years War (1563–1570), in which they also participated, along with Denmark and Sweden. In 1563, the grand army of Tsar Ivan IV the Terrible captured Polatsk, and the smaller fortresses, and crossed this section of the river⁷⁵. The truce confirmed it in 1570. The boundaries of the disputed areas were in two places on the Daugava River: west of Polatsk and near Ulla (Belarussian and Russian Ула, Polish Uła or Ułła)⁷⁶.

Moscow's reign over Polatsk and this section of the Daugava River lasted until 1579, when the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's troops conquered the city and threw Moscow away from the river. A year later, the Moscow Velizh collapsed. The Truce of Yam Zapolsky (Russian Ям-Запольский, Polish Jam Zapolski) in 1582 restored the Polish-Lithuanian rule in Livonia and on the Daugava. It stretched as far as about 80 km north of Velizh⁷⁷. The river became the state border in a short section north of Velizh. It was about 45 km along the strongly meandering Daugava river, approximately from the mouth of the Dvynka River (Russian Двинка, Polish Dźwinka, Dźwinka)⁷⁸ to the height of the Putnoye Lake (Russian Озеро Путное, Polish Putno) and Vysochert Lake (Озеро Высочерт, Polish Wusoczorto). After the conclusion of the truce began disputes over the demarcation of the border on the river between the territory of Toropets (Russian Торопец, Polish Toropiec) and Velizh⁷⁹.

The subsequent conflict between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Moscow (1609–1619) resulted from the civil war in the second country. This led to the extension of the rules of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on the Daugava River. Based on the provisions of the Deulino Truce (Russian Деулино, Polish Dyuwilno), the borderline extended then more to the north, at a length of about 50 kilometres⁸⁰.

Because of the war in 1632–1634, the border on the Dvina changed. It was significantly extended and was

1989, no. 2, pp. 303–313; K. Bobiatyński, *Twierdze naddnieprzańskie w systemie obrony wschodniej granicy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego – XVI–połowa XVII wieku*, "Zamojsko-Wołyńskie Zeszyty Muzealne" 2004, t. 2, pp. 14–20; H. Dominiczak, *op.cit.*; R.A. Cybriwsky, *Along Ukraine's River: A Social and Environmental History of the Dnipro*, Budapest–New York 2017.

59 S. Takáts, *A dunai hajózás a XVI. és XVII. Században*, "Magyar Gazdaságtörténelmi Szemle" 1900, no. 2, pp. 97–122; W.G. East, *The Danube Route-Way in History*, "Economica" 1932, no. 37, pp. 321–345; R. Gradeya, *War and Peace along the Danube: Vidin at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, "Oriente Moderno, Nuova Serie" 2001, no. 1, pp. 149–175; P. Coates, *A Story of Six Rivers: History, Culture and Ecology*, London 2013; H.H. Vangerow, *Historischer Verein für Oberpfalz und Regensburg: Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins für Oberpfalz und Regensburg*, Regensburg 2013; V. Winiwarter, *The Many Roles of the Dynamic Danube in Early Modern Europe: Representations in Contemporary Sources* [in:] *Water in Social Imagination from Technological Optimism to Contemporary Environmentalism*, K. Costlow, Y. Haila, A. Rosenholm (eds.), Leiden 2017, pp. 49–76; Z. Huszár, *Divides or Connects? The Danube as an International Border and Watercourse in History*, "Acta Universitatis Danubius" 2019, no. 2, pp. 106–122; K.R. Olson, E. Krug, *The Danube, an Empire Boundary River: Settlements, Invasions, Navigation, and Trade Pathway*, "Journal of Water Resource and Protection" 2020, no. 10, pp. 884–897.

⁶⁰ Measurements were made using the website: Calcmaps.com.

⁶¹ A. Jankiewicz, *Inflanty i Księstwo Kurlandii i Semigalii — inflancie "Prusy" trochę inaczej. Kilka uwag*

o zapomnianej Unii Wileńskiej 1561 roku,
"Miscellanea Historico-Archivistica"
2013, nr 20, pp. 19–42.

62 "Contulimus, atque conferimus,
primum totum illum tractum Curlan-
diae et Semigalliae, incipiendo a salso
mari, sursum sequendo fluvium Hilga,
ascendendo ad antiquos limites, per
Radziwilum inceptos et dispositos,
inter Samogitiam, Lithuaniam, et
Russiam ab una, et Livoniam ab altera
partibus, versus Districtum Polocen-
sem ad Dunam fluvium, descenden-
do vero Duna usque in mar salsum
[emphasis by the author], adeo, ut
quidquid in istis terminis cis Dunam
versus Lithvaniam continetur, et ad
Ordinem Livoniae spectabat", *Kur-
land...*, pp. 64–65.

63 H. Mattiesen, *op.cit.*, pp. 198–199;
M. Jakovļeva, *Territorium...*, pp. 74–89.

64 E. Tarvel, *op.cit.*, pp. 49–63; J. Hey-
de, *op.cit.*, pp. 161–165.

65 M. Balcerek, *Oblężenie Rygi...*,
pp. 14–39.

66 *Idem*, *Księstwo Kurlandii i Semi-
galii...*, pp. 301–302.

67 M. Balcereks, *Poļu Vidzemes...*,
pp. 88–100.

68 *Zwischen Schweden...*, p. 67.

69 26. *Jähriger Stillstand...*, p. 495;
H. Mattiesen, *op.cit.*, p. 203; M. Jakovļeva,
Territorium..., pp. 82–83.

70 N. Angermann, *Die russische Herr-
schaft im östlichen und mittleren Liv-
land 1654–1667* [in:] *Aus der Geschichte
Alt-Livlands. Festschrift für Heinz von
zur Mühlen zum 90. Geburtstag*, B. Jäh-
nig, K. Milizer (hrsg.), Münster 2004,
pp. 351–367.

71 A. Janicki, *op.cit.*, pp. 173, 179, 471.

72 H. Mattiesen, *op.cit.*, p. 204;
M. Jakovļeva, M. Austra, *op.cit.*, pp. 133–
135; M. Jakovļeva, *Territorium...*, p. 81.

then about 124 km long, from a place called Kozina (today's village of Kosilovo (Russian Косилово) on the south, to the mouth of the Dobrestsevskā River (Russian Добрэсцевська, Polish Dobryszyca) and the Barlovka River (Russian Барловка, Polish Barłowka) on the north. It is almost to the present-day villages of Vyazki (Russian Вязки) and Barlovo (Russian Барлово), south of town Western Dvina (Russian Западная Двина). In the upper reaches, the border on the Daugava River operated for about 8 km near the village of Zhelezovo (Russian Железово, Polish Żelezowo), from the stream flowing into it south of the country to the Yamishche village (Russian Ямище, Polish Jamiszczce)⁸¹.

During the next war between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Moscow, the first of one lost many areas in the east. In 1654, the Russians seized all the fortresses on the Daugava River⁸². The armistice treaty of 1667 restored the Commonwealth of Livonia, the Polatsk, and the Vitebsk (Viciebsk, Belarussian Віцебск, Russian Витебск, Polish Witebsk) provinces. The border on the Daugava disappeared, and Moscow captured the headwaters as far as Surazh (Belarussian Сураж, Russian Сурож, Polish Suraż). Eleven years later, Vielizh and its vicinity were returned to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth due to a bilateral agreement. The border on the Daugava was restored and ran according to the division from 1582; it was about 45 km long⁸³. The peace concluded in 1686 confirmed the previously established border, and it lasted 95 years until the first partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1772⁸⁴.

In 1773, the Sejm of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth approved the First Partition of its territory. As a result, Russia received the territories north of the Daugava River.

[The Estates of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth – author's supplement] give way by this treaty irrevocably to the eternal times of

no return, [...] the rest of Polish Livonia, and also part of the Polatsk Province, on the other side of the Daugava River lying, also the Vitebsk Province, so that the Daugava River will be a natural border between the two States [emphasis by the author], until the right to the proper border, which separates the Vitebsk Province from the Polatsk Province⁸⁵.

The border on the Daugava from 1772 was 255 km long, which was the longest border on the Ruthenian section of the river in the Early Modern Period. It lasted for 22 years until the third partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the complete liquidation of the state. The Duchy of Courland and Semigalia were also liquidated. Thus, from 1795, the river along its entire length, the Livonian and the Ruthenian, ceased to be a state border.

To sum up, the Ruthenian section of the border on the Daugava River was shorter than that of the Livonian part and operated in a shorter time frame. The latter was about 290 km long and operated from 1561–1795. In the beginning, the river separated the Duchy of Courland and Semigalia from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1561–1629). Later, Sweden (1629–1721) and Russia (1721–1795) found their way to a distance of 95 km. On the remaining 190 km, the Duchy bordered the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1561–1795). To compare, the longest border on the Ruthenian section of the Daugava River was 255 km long, but it functioned only for 22 years. The border in the river's upper reaches was 45 km long (1582–1619 and 1678–1773) for a much longer time, 132 years.

What were the boundaries of the large rivers we selected for our comparative analysis? To compare, the Volga River did not act as a border, but in the early Modern Period, the river region acted as a border⁸⁶. The Vistula was a border only in small sections in the upper (Goczałkowice–Oświęcim), and lower (the estuary of

73 A. Mierępa, *Latvijas administratīvais...*, p. 210; *eadem*, *Latvijas valstu robežas (1918–1940)* [in:] *Latvijas zemju...*, pp. 182, 184.

74 G.F. Karpov, *op.cit.*, p. 110; J. Natanson-Leski, *Dzieje granicy...*, pp. 89–96; *idem*, *Rozwój terytorialny Polski...*, pp. 121–124, 129–130, 133, 140; H. Dominiczak, *op.cit.*, pp. 110–112.

75 J. Natanson-Leski, *Dzieje granicy...*, pp. 163–164; *idem*, *Rozwój terytorialny Polski...*, pp. 133, 140; R. Mienicki, *Egzulanci Połoccy (1563–1580)*, „Ateneum Wileńskie” 1933–1934, nr 9, pp. 34–37; A.N. Yanushkevich, *op.cit.*, pp. 64–83.

76 J. Natanson-Leski, *Dzieje granicy...*, pp. 180–183; R. Mienicki, *op.cit.*, pp. 67–77; A.N. Yanushkevich, *op.cit.*, pp. 120–128; A.I. Filyushkin, A.V. Kuz'min, *op.cit.*, pp. 67, 92.

77 *Dokument traktatu pokojowego sporządzony przez posłów wielkiego księcia moskiewskiego* [in:] A. Possevino, *op.cit.*, pp. 227, 230; *Dokument traktatu pokojowego sporządzony przez posłów najjaśniejszego króla Polski* [in:] A. Possevino, *op.cit.*, pp. 335, 239; J. Natanson-Leski, *Epoka Stefana...*, pp. 43–48, 131; D. Kupisz, *op.cit.*, pp. 122–157; D. Kupisz, *op.cit.*, pp. 65–76.

78 W. Pol, *Północny wschód Europy i hydrografia Polski*, Lwów 1867, p. 260.

79 J. Natanson-Leski, *Epoka Stefana...*, pp. 150–152.

80 A. Małow, *op.cit.*, pp. 66, 70, 88–89.

81 M. Dogiel, *Limites regni Poloniae*, Vilane 1758, s. 77–79; *Traktat polanowski / Polyanovskiy dogovor*, pp. 28–31, 34–35; W. Godziszewski, *op.cit.*, pp. 12–13, 52–53.

82 M. Gędek, *op.cit.*, p. 200.

83 J. Natanson-Leski, *Epoka Stefana...*, p. 131; M. Gędek, *op.cit.*, p. 231; K. Koczegarow, *Rzeczpospolita a Rosja*

w latach 1680–1686. *Zawarcie traktatu o pokoju wieczystym*, Warszawa 2017, p. 64; A. Kijas, *Polityka Rzeczypospolitej wobec Moskwy w latach 1672–1699*, “Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne” 2019, t. 146, nr 2, p. 323.

84 *Traktat o wieczystym pokoju / Dogovor o vechnom mire*, pp. 54–55; K. Kozegarow, *op.cit.*, pp. 478–479.

85 “[Stany Rzeczypospolitej – M.B.] ustępują niniejszym traktatem *irrevocabiler* na wieczne czasy bez powrotu, [...] resztę Inflant Polskich, iako też część Woiewództwa Połockiego, z tamtej strony Dźwiny leżącego, także Woiewództwo Witebskie, tak iż rzeka Dźwina będzie granicą naturalną między dwoma Państwami, aż po samą granicę właściwą, która oddziela Woiewództwo Witebskie od Połockiego”, *Traktat między Nayiaśn. Krolew...*, pp. 24–25.

86 P. Kabytov, *op.cit.*, pp. 120–121; D. Zeisler-Vralsted, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

87 Ł. Twardowski, *op.cit.*, pp. 221–252.

88 H. Dominiczak, *op.cit.*, pp. 219–220.

89 R.A. Cybriwsky, *op.cit.*, p. 28.

90 Z. Huszár, *op.cit.*, p. 107; K.R. Olson, E. Krug, *op.cit.*, p. 885.

91 Ö. Starosolszk, *Flood control in the Danube countries* [in:] *Coping with Floods*, G. Rossi, N. Harmancioğlu, V. Yevjevich (eds.), [s.l.] 1994, pp. 662–663; B. Erskine, *Disaster on the Danube* [in:] *Borders and Border Politics in a Globalizing World*, P. Ganster, D.E. Lorey (eds.), Lanham–Boulder–New York–Toronto–Oxford 2005, pp. 237–245.

the Osa–Kwidzyn) reaches of the river. In total, these are sections with a length of several dozen kilometres⁸⁷. In the 17th and 18th centuries (1667–1772), more than 100 km of the Dnieper was the border between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Russia. At the end of the 18th century, Russia conquered both river banks⁸⁸. Currently, the Dnieper is the border between Belarus and Ukraine over a length of more than 100 km⁸⁹.

Only the Danube was, and still is, a border. Since Roman times, the river has formed a border stretching over several hundred kilometres⁹⁰. In the Early Modern Period, we see the lower section of the river that separated the Duchy of Wallachia and Turkey from the 15th to 19th centuries. The border was several hundred kilometres long. Today, the same section of the Danube also separates Bulgaria and Romania. We can also see the border on the river in other places, and some of them are over 100 kilometres long⁹¹. The similarity between the Danube and the Daugava River is unique in this respect.

The Daugava River as an obstacle

We will now describe the Daugava as an obstacle and present the natural and artificial defensive features of the river. In the second aspect, we will look at fortresses built on the river banks, and we will attempt to answer the question of whether it was a problematic defence line. To do this, we will bring to close the conflicts fought over the domination of the river: the fortress located on the banks of the Daugava and battles that took place there.

In the first half of the 20th century, the river at Vitebsk was more than 100 m wide, which in spring and autumn could exceed 200 m – the closer to the estuary, the larger the size. Moreover, in Daugavpils, the Daugava was already 300 m, and in Jēkabpils (German Jakobstadt, Polish Jakobsztat, Jakubowo or Jakubów) almost 400 m. In Sēlpils and Koknese, the width fell below 200 m, but

the depth grew. The same happened with the valleys, which had steeper, rockier shores that were difficult for a large army to cross. Below, the valley and river were expanding again. In Riga, the riverbed's width exceeded almost 600 m, and a few kilometres further, even 1300–1500 m⁹². As we can see, the river on the Livonia section was a serious obstacle to overcome, but still to crossed.

We can provide comparable data on other rivers, which were not a significant obstacle either. For example, according to researchers Jan Małecki and Mirosław Nagielski, the Vistula was not a severe barrier. It only played such a role in the Pomeranian section⁹³. The Dnieper River was easily fit for crossing north of Kyiv (Ukrainian Київ) was fit for crossing⁹⁴. The river was already so vast that crossing it was complicated for the army in the south. Each river, several hundred metres wide, was a significant challenge.

92 A. Sapunov, *op.cit.*, pp. 197–198.

93 J.M. Małecki, *op.cit.*, pp. 41; M. Nagielski, *Rola...*, p. 113.

94 S. Alexandrowicz, K. Olejnik, *Charakterystyka polskiego teatru działań wojennych*, "Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości" 1983, nr 26, p. 43.

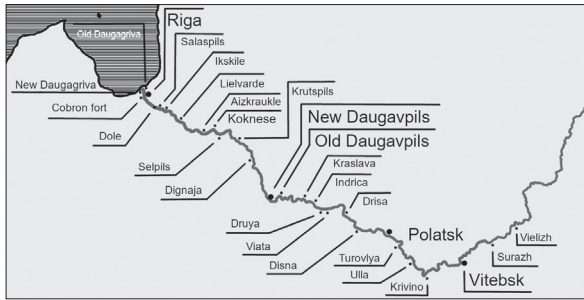


Fig. 3. Fortress on the Daugava

Source: Made by the Author.

Since the dawn of time, fortifications have been erected in strategic places. A look at maps from the early modern period shows that the most important fortresses in the region were located on the Daugava River, in places accessible and convenient for crossing the river.

Most of the fortifications involved in the Early Modern Period war date back to the Middle Age when the Teutonic Order and the Archbishopric of Riga ruled

95 A. Tuulse, *op.cit.*, p. 19; M. Arszynski, *op.cit.*, p. 77.

96 K. Löwis of Menar, *Burgenlexikon...*, pp. 53, 99–103.

97 *Ibidem*; I. Ose, *Salaspils zviedru skanstis*, pp. 205–223.

98 K. Löwis of Menar, *Die Düna von der Ogermündung bis Riga und der Badeort Baldohn*, Riga 1910, pp. 49–57; *idem*, *Burgenlexikon...*, pp. 119–120; A. Tuulse, *op.cit.*, pp. 23–26; A. Caune, I. Ose, *Salaspils zviedru skanstis*, pp. 209–215.

this area. Limestone material is abundant in the region of the Daugava River, and therefore, limestone is a distinctive building material in this area. This is original because brick and fieldstone dominate all around⁹⁵.

Below we present the most important of these. Looking from the west, we have the castle of Old Daugagrīva (German Dünamünde, Latvian Senā Daugavgrīva, Polish Dyament, Djament, Diament, Dźwinoujście), that is, the ‘Daugava-estuary’, where the river flows into the sea. The fortress was on the north (east) bank. In the Early Modern Period, the castle was surrounded by roundel fortifications. Due to the river’s course changing, its role was marginalised in the 20s of the 17th century. A dozen or so kilometres upstream, on the north bank of the Daugava, lies Riga, the largest fortress on the river. The complex consisted of a town, a castle (the third one, erected around 1515), and a citadel. Earth ramparts surrounded the mediaeval walls with roundels and bastions, which were extended in the early Modern Period⁹⁶.

About 20 km further, upstream, there were two castles: Dole (the second castle, German Dahlen II, Dahlenhoff, Polish Dalen) and Old Salaspils (Salaspils II, German Kirchholm, Polish Kircholm). The first of them was located on the large island of Dole (Latvian Doles sala, German Dahlenholm, Königsholm). Old Salaspils is a few kilometres away on the northern bank of Daugava (the first castle was on the island, where the name came from). In 1577, it was conquered, destroyed, and not rebuilt. In the 20s of the 17th century, the Swedes built the Salaspils fort (German Schanze von Kirchholm, Polish Szaniec w Kircholmie, Latvian Salaspils Skanstis), next to the castle destroyed in 1577⁹⁷. About 10 km east of Salaspils, there was a castle at Ikšķile (German Üxküll, Uexküll, Latvian Ikšķīle, Polish Iszkiel), on the northern shore. It was and is shown on maps but was excluded in the hostilities of the Early Modern Period⁹⁸. About 25 km further east, there was a castle in Lielvarde (German

Lennewarden, Latvian Lielvārde). It was also situated on the north bank of the river⁹⁹.

In the middle of the Livonian section of the river, there were the castles of Aizkraukle (German Ascheraden), Koknese, Selpils, Krustpils (German Kreutzburg, Polish Krzyżbork), and Dignaja (German Dubena, Latvian Dignāja). Except for Selpils and Dignaja, everyone was on the Daugava's northern shore. Those were all relatively close to each other, about 20–30 km. The towns of Aizkraukle and Koknese were built at the confluence of three rivers: the Karikšte (Latvian Karikšte), the Perse River (Latvian Pērse), and the Daugava River. Additionally, there was a fortified town next to the castle in Koknese. As we will learn from further reading, the defence band in Koknese (castle and city) was considered the strongest fortress in the area. The buildings in Aizkraukle, Koknese, and Dignaja were destroyed during wars without built rebuilt. The first was in 1577, the second was in 1701, and the third was in 1559. Only Koknese and Selpils were modernised and received more modern fortifications¹⁰⁰.

The last fortress on the Livonian stretch of the Daugava was the Daugavpils Castle. The first building (Latvian Vecpils, German Alt-Dünaburg) was located 19 km east of the present city on the northern bank of the river. During the battles in the 16th century, it was devastated and was rebuilt (probably in 1579), but in a new location, also on the northern shore. We know relatively little about the new fortress of Daugavpils (castle and city) today. The fortifications were probably later modernised¹⁰¹. There were also castles in Kraslava (German Kreslav, Latvian Krāslava, Polish Kresław), 40 km east of Daugavpils, and Indrica (German Nederitz, Polish Indryca), 51 km east of Daugavpils. Both were privately owned, and no information is available about their modernisation and participation in the fights¹⁰².

In the Early Modern period, other new fortresses were also erected beyond the fort in Salaspils and the fortress

99 K. Löwis of Menar, *Die Düna...*, pp. 77–89; *idem*, *Burgenlexikon...*, pp. 49–50, 70, 78.

100 *Idem*, *Burgenlexikon...*, pp. 47, 71–72, 74–75, 113; A. Caune, I. Ose, *op.cit.*, p. 145. I. Ose, *The Livonian War...*, pp. 78–80.

101 K. Löwis of Menar, *Burgenlexikon...*, pp. 53; A. Tuulse, *op.cit.*; A. Caune, I. Ose, *op.cit.*, pp. 143–144.

102 A. Plater, *Krótką historyczno-chronologiczną wiadomości o dawnym Dynaburgu i o Fortecy dynaburskiej od roku 1667 o jej Garnizonie, Arsenalu, tudzież o Starostach dynaburskich...*, “Rubon. Pismo Poświęcone Pożytecznej Rozrywce” 1842, nr 1, pp. 21; B. Dybaś, *Fortece Rzeczypospolitej. Studium z dziejów budowy fortyfikacji stałych w państwie polsko-litewskim w XVII wieku*, Toruń 1998, p. 142; A. Caune, I. Ose, *op.cit.*, pp. 216–219, 258–260.

¹⁰³ K. Löwis of Menar, *Burgenlexikon...*, pp. 53–54; I. Ose, *Salaspils zviedru skansts*, pp. 205–223; *eadem*, *Daugavgrīvas cietokšņa pārbūves...*, pp. 202–233; *eadem*, *Daugavgrīvas cietokšņa plāni...*, pp. 185–205; *eadem*, *Kobronskansts pārbūves...*, pp. 406–443.

¹⁰⁴ M. Jakovļeva, *Robežas un administratīvais...*, pp. 119–121.

¹⁰⁵ Generalstaben, *Karl XII...*, p. 377; G. Szymborski, *op.cit.*, pp. 222–225, 229.

(castle and city) in New Daugavpils. All were near Riga, and were built by Sweden. In 1621, during the siege of Riga, the Swedes erected the Cobron fort (Kobron, Oranienbaum) on the southern bank of the Daugava River. Later, the fortification was used to protect the city from the south. A year later, they erected the New Daugavgrīva (German Neumünde, Augustusburg, Latvian Jaunā Daugavgrīva, Russian Усть-Двинск), at the mouth of the river, opposite the old fortress at Daugavgrīva¹⁰³.

On the one hand, their creators, the Swedes, secured the Daugava's mouth to the sea and Riga. However, they created bridgeheads on the river's southern bank (Jaunā Daugavgrīva and Cobron), allowing them to invade the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia territory quickly.

Of course, there were also temporary field fortifications. For example, before the planned resumption of hostilities in 1635, Sweden and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth began building field fortifications at the mouth of the Aiviekste to the Daugava River. There was no fighting in 1635, and the new fortifications began to be destroyed¹⁰⁴. Similar fortifications were erected by the army of August II, the King of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Frederick Augustus, the Elector of Saxony), in 1701 on the bank of Daugava opposite Riga¹⁰⁵.

Most of the earlier fortifications were located on the northern bank of the river in the Livonian section, which indicates that a potential attack was expected from Lithuania from the southern direction. Also, interesting were the concentration points in the middle course of the Latvian section of the river. The fortifications in Aizkraukle, Koknese, Selpils, Krustpils were about 20 km apart. Such concentration was the result of relatively easy conditions for crossing the river. We must remember that the Daugava channel was narrow in this section.

There were also numerous fortresses on the Ruthenian section of the Daugava in the Early Modern Period. Most of them had wood and earth fortifications, and they were covered with turf and clay to protect them from fire,

which gave relatively good results¹⁰⁶. The only stronghold in Polatsk (the castle and city) was modernized, surrounded by earthen ramparts with a bastion pattern¹⁰⁷. Interestingly, many of these fortresses were built within a few months, such as Vielizh (4 months)¹⁰⁸. Below, we present the most important among these.

At the beginning of the 16th century, there were only fortresses in Druya, Polatsk, and Vitebsk on the Daugava River. The first of these was located on the southern bank of the river near the border with Livonia and the Principality of Courland and Semigalia, at the mouth of the Druyka River (Belarussian Друйка)¹⁰⁹.

The defense complex of Polatsk was located at the mouth of the river Polota (Belarussian and Russian Полота, Polish Połota) to Daugava, on the southern bank. The two castles: High or Upper and Strelec (Polish Wysoki or Górny and Strzelecki) and the town had earth and wood fortifications. At the beginning of the 18th century, the defensive complex was surrounded by modern bastion fortifications¹¹⁰.

Vitebsk also consisted of a complex of castles: Upper, Lower (Polish Górny and Dolny) and the town located on the southern bank of the Daugava, at the mouth of the Vitba River (Belarussian Віцьба, Russian Видба, Polish Wićba). These forts had stone fortifications. Contrary to Polatsk, the fortifications of the Vitebsk complex were not modernised later¹¹¹.

During the wars waged in the 16th century on the Daugava river, new fortresses were built, and the Lithuanians and Muscovites built them. In 1516, at the mouth of the Viata River (Belarussian and Russian Вята, Polish Wiata) to the Daugava River, 10 km east of Druya, the Lithuanians began building a fort in Viata. The building was destroyed during the Polish-Lithuanian war with Moscow in the middle of the 17th century¹¹². In 1536, in the upper part of the river, on the southern (eastern) bank, at the mouth of the Velizhka river, the Muscovites built a fortress in Vielizh¹¹³. Ten years later, the

¹⁰⁶ J. Natanson-Leski, *Dzieje granicy...*, p. 58–59; M. Nagielski, *Przebieg...*, p. 50; M. Plewczyński, *Wojny...*, t. 1, p. 96; *idem*, *Wojny...*, t. 3, p. 170; *idem*, *Wojny...*, t. 2, p. 164.

¹⁰⁷ M.A. Tkachyev, *Zamki Byelarusi*, p. 121.

¹⁰⁸ M. Plewczyński, *Wojny...*, t. 1, p. 421.

¹⁰⁹ M.A. Tkachyev, *Zamki i lyudzi*, p. 95–98; A.N. Yanushkyevich, *op.cit.*, pp. 169, 207.

¹¹⁰ V. Chanturiya, *op.cit.*, pp. 52–53; M.A. Tkachyev, *Zamki Byelarusi*, pp. 113–121; D. Kupisz, *op.cit.*, pp. 37–40, 122–126.

¹¹¹ V. Chanturiya, *op.cit.*, p. 53; M.A. Tkachyev, *Zamki Byelarusi*, pp. 125–132.

¹¹² M.A. Tkachyev, *Zamki i lyudzi*, p. 158.

¹¹³ J. Natanson-Leski, *Dzieje granicy...*, p. 129; M. Plewczyński, *Wojny...*, t. 1, p. 421; M. Gędek, *op.cit.*, p. 122.

¹¹⁴ R. Mienicki, *op.cit.*, pp. 63–65; M. Plewczyński, *Wojny...*, t. 2, pp. 153; A.I. Filyushkin, A.V. Kuz'min, *op.cit.*, p. 74, 76.

¹¹⁵ J. Natanson-Leski, *Dzieje granicy...*, p. 58; M. Plewczyński, *Wojny...*, t. 2, pp. 153, 181; A.I. Filyushkin, A.V. Kuz'min, *op.cit.*, pp. 74, 77.

¹¹⁶ M. Baliński, T. Lipiński, *Starożytna Polska pod względem historycznym, geograficznym i statystycznym opisana*, t. 3, Warszawa 1846, pp. 601, 606–607; J. Natanson-Leski, *Dzieje granicy...*, p. 177; A.N. Yanushkevich, *op.cit.*, p. 328; A.I. Filyushkin, A.V. Kuz'min, *op.cit.*, pp. 42–43, 75–76.

¹¹⁷ D. Kupisz, *op.cit.*, p. 54; A.N. Yanushkevich, *op.cit.*, pp. 190–191; M. Plewczyński, *Wojny...*, t. 2, p. 170.

¹¹⁸ A.N. Yanushkevich, *op.cit.*, p. 190; A.I. Filyushkin, A.V. Kuz'min, *op.cit.*, pp. 83–86, 90.

¹¹⁹ R. Mienicki, *op.cit.*, pp. 37–39; V. Chanturiya, *op.cit.*, p. 51; A.N. Yanushkevich, *op.cit.*, pp. 190–192; A.I. Filyushkin, A.V. Kuz'min, *op.cit.*, pp. 78–79.

¹²⁰ J. Natanson-Leski, *Dzieje granicy...*, p. 170; M.A. Tkachyev, *Zamki i ludy*, pp. 156–158; A.N. Yanushkevich, *op.cit.*, p. 109; M. Plewczyński, *Wojny...*, t. 2, p. 170.

Lithuanians built (according to Marek Plewczyński in the 1560s), near the border with Livonia, a fort in Drisa (from 1962, Verkhnyadzvinsk, Belarussian Верхнядзвінск, Russian Дрисса, Polish Dryssa, Dryś). It is located on the northern (eastern) bank of the Daugava, where it flows into the river of the same name¹¹⁴.

After Moscow conquered Polatsk in 1563, the Lithuanians erected three fortresses. The first was established in 1563, Surazh at the mouth of the Kasplya River (Russian Каспла, Polish Kaspla)¹¹⁵. It was located about 50 km north-east of Vitebsk. Another fort was built in 1565 at Disna, on the southern bank of the Daugava River, at the mouth of the Disna River (Belarussian Дзісна, Russian Дисна, Polish Dzisna), more than 35 km south-east of Drisa¹¹⁶. The third castle was built in 1567 in Krivino (Belarussian Крывіна, Russian Кривино, Polish Krivino, Krzywino) next to Beshankovicha (Belarussian Бешанковічы, Russian Бешенковичи, Polish Bieszenkowicze, Polish Bieszenkowicze), at the mouth of the river Krivinka (Belarussian Крывінка, Russian Кривинка, Polish Krywinka), about 30 km south-east of Ulla¹¹⁷. In 1567–1568, a plan was planned to build a fort on the southern bank, at the mouth of the Sorzhitsa River (Belarusian Соржыца, Russian Сорица, Polish Sorżyca), in the area of this present village of Budilovo, Belarussian Будзілава), but it was not implemented¹¹⁸.

In 1566–1567, Muscovites erected two fortresses on the southern bank of the Daugava. In 1566, they stole the Lithuanians' thunder and built a fort in Turovlya (Belarussian Туроўля, Russian Туровля, Polish Turowla, now Gorodishche, Russian Гарадзішча), at the mouth of the Turovlya River (Russian Туровлянка, Polish Turowlanka). Interestingly, it was the only one built of stone in the 16th century¹¹⁹. A year later, a castle in Ulla was built. It was located at the mouth of the river of the same name, about 50 km south-east of Polatsk. In 1568, the fort was destroyed during the second siege but was rebuilt. In 1654, it was finally destroyed as a stronghold¹²⁰.

When comparing the fortresses on the Livonian and Ruthenian sections, there are numerous differences. We see the first in the materials used in their construction. The first area was dominated by limestone, and the second area was wood and earth. In the 17th century, bastion fortifications were erected in both sections. In most cases, the Livonian fortresses were located on the northern bank of the Daugava River, and their purpose was related to the protection of Livonia against attacks from the south. In the Ruthenian section of the river, most of the castles were located on the southern bank, proving that there was a line of defence against an attack from the north, from the Grand Duchy of Moscow, and later from Russia. We were dealing with abutments in some cases, but this does not change the proportions. New fortresses in the Livonian section were built in the 16th and 17th centuries, mainly in the 20s of the 17th century.

The situation was similar to other rivers where the crossing points had been fortified. In the case of each river we choose, we can mention a few fortresses (only selected): for Volga: Kazan (Russian Казань), Samara (Russian Самара), Saratov (Russian Саратов), Tsaritsyn (Russian Царицын, Волгоград), Astrakhan (Russian Астрахань); for Donau: Vienna (German Wien), Bratislava (German Pressburg), Buda (German Ofen), Belgrad (Serbian Београд), Izmail (Ukrainian Ізмаїл), Kiliia (Ukrainian Кілія); for Dnieper: Smolensk, Orsha (Byelorussian Орша, Polish Orsza), Bykhaw (Belarussian Быхаў, Russian Быхов, Polish Bychów), Mogilev (Byelorussian Магілёў, Polish Mohylew), Kiev (Ukrainian Київ, Polish Kijów), Cherkasy (Ukrainian Черкаси, Polish Czerkasy), Kodak (Ukrainian: Кодак, Polish Kudak), Zaporozhian Sich (Ukrainian Запорозька Січ); and for Vistula: Cracaw (Polish Kraków), Warsaw (Polish Warszawa), Torun (Polish Toruń, German Thorn), Gdansk (Polish Gdańsk, German Danzig) with Fortress of the Vistula River Mouth (Polish Wisłoujście, German Weichselmünde).

121 M. Arszyński, *op.cit.*, p. 75.

122 M. Carlon, *op.cit.*, pp. 53–63, 74–78; K. Löwis of Menar, *Die Düna...*, p. 64; J. Natanson-Leski, *Epoka Stefana...*, pp. 21–23; S. Herbst, *op.cit.*, pp. 66–68, 78–81, 86–92, 119–123; W. Koroluk, *op.cit.*, p. 48; N. Angermann, *Studien...*, pp. 30, 32; R. Fagerlund, *op.cit.*, pp. 88–92, 120–123; D. Kupisz, *op.cit.*, pp. 122–157; N. Angermann, *Die russische...*, pp. 355–356; A.A. Kurbatov, O.A. Kurbatov, *op.cit.*, p. 33; M. Balcereks, *Poļu Vidzeme...*, pp. 88–100; M. Balcerk, *Księstwo Kurlandii i Semigalii...*, pp. 122, 301–302, 353–354; M. Nagielski, *Rywalizacja polsko-rosyjska w dobie Potopu w kontekście wojny obu państw ze Szwecją w latach 1656–1661*, “*Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana*” 2014, nr 1, pp. 102–104, 107; M. Plewczyński, *Wojny...*, t. 3, pp. 134, 136, 138–139, 185, 204; M. Gędek, *op.cit.*, p. 133; G. Szymborski, *op.cit.*, pp. 89–96, 152–166; V.V. Penskoj, *Očerki...*, pp. 53, 84–85, 95–96; U. Sundberg, *op.cit.*, pp. 229–265, 266–271; M. Trąbski, *Oblężenie i kapitulacja twierdzy Kokenhausen (2–7 X 1700)*, “*Zapiski Historyczne*” 2018, nr 3, pp. 59–82.

The fortresses on the Daugava River in the Livonian section were similar to those of Prussia on the Vistula. It was related to the functioning of the Teutonic Order on both rivers in the Middle Ages¹²¹. The fortresses on the Ruthenian section of the river were similar to those on the Volga and Dnieper rivers. This was related to a shared history, dating back to the times of Kievan Rus.

When analyzing the attacks on the fortresses or threats by this to the Livonian section of Daugava, we can immediately see which ones were the most important for controlling the river. Of course, this ranking is led by Riga, with Cobron (1559, 1601, 1605, 1617, 1621, 1656, 1657–1658, 1700–1701, 1710) conquered only twice: in 1621 and 1710. In both cases, the control over this city gave the winning side control over the Daugava. Riga’s fall was also synonymous with the surrounding fortresses’ capitulations, which were also often besieged: Old Daugavgriva (1558, 1608, 1609, 1617, 1621), New Daugavgriva (1656, 1700, 1701, 1710), and Fort in Salaspils (1656). The conquest of Daugavpils took place almost as often as that of Riga (1577, 1627, 1655, 1656, 1663–1664, 1665–1666), allowing to gain control over the section of the Daugava. We can see the same in the middle section of the river, which was prevailed over by the castles in Koknese (1577, 1600, 1601, 1608, 1625, 1656, 1700) and Selpils (1625, 1627, 1704). Castles in Lenvarde, Aizkraukles, and Krustpils were defended and occupied only in the campaigns in 1577 and 1580. It is not easy to talk about their importance in the Early Modern Period. The same applies to the stronghold in Dole (1563). Riga’s inhabitants burnt the castle in Salaspils in 1577 to prevent it from falling into Moscow’s hands. Most of the attacks on the fortresses in the Livonian section of Daugava took place in the 17th century¹²².

We observe a similar phenomenon in the Ruthenian section of the Daugava. The most frequently attacked and threatened by this were the fortresses in Polatsk (1502, 1507, 1508, 1512–1513, 1515, 1518, 1519, 1520, 1522, 1535, 1536, 1562–1563, 1564, 1579, 1633, 1654) and Vitebsk (1502, 1507,

1513, 1516, 1518, 1519, 1520, 1522, 1534, 1535, 1536, 1562, 1563, 1568, 1569, 1633, 1654, 1708). This shows the importance of both sites in the river's defence system. The remaining fortresses were relatively attacked only during the fight for these two fortresses: Druya (1632, 1654, 1655, 1664), Drisa (1654), Disna (1654, 1660), Turovlya (1579), Ulla (1568, 1579, 1654), Surazh (1568, 1632). In this comparison, only Vielizh (1562, 1568, 1580, 1581, 1632, 1655) stands out, dominated the upper reaches of the Daugava. The attack period is also important, as the vast majority of it was in the 16th century¹²³.

We see some differences between the fortress fights around the river. Buildings in the Ruthenian section were attacked more often than those in the Livonian one. Attacks in the Livonian section took place between the 16th and 18th centuries, mainly in the 17th century (Polish-Lithuanian-Swedish wars), and on the Ruthenian section mainly in the 16th century (Polish-Lithuanian-Russian wars).

We see some differences from other rivers in this field. In the case of the Danube, we see the advantage of the middle course of the river¹²⁴. On the Volga, fortresses in the middle and lower reaches of the river (Saratov, Tsaritsyn, Astrakhan) were attacked most frequently¹²⁵. An interesting situation took place on the Dnieper. There were no significant fortresses downstream, and the fortifications in the river's upper reaches were most frequently besieged¹²⁶. It was related to the nearby Smolensk Gate, which was strategically important because it was located between the Daugava and Dnieper basins. In the case of the Vistula, we do not see any advantage of any section (Gdansk: 1577, 1626, 1656, 1734, and Cracow: 1587, 1655, 1657, 1768)¹²⁷.

Besieged fortresses often received support, which led to armed clashes in the open field. In analysing them, we see that most of these clashes occurred in the vicinity of the unofficial region's capital – Riga. The two most famous battles of the modern period in Livonia took place

123 M. Baliński, T. Lipiński, *op.cit.*, pp. 597–598, 607, 703–704, 706, 708; J. Natanson-Leski, *Dzieje granicy...*, pp. 163–164, 173, 184; *idem*, *Epoka Stefana...*, pp. 42–48, 58–59; M.A. Tkachyev, *Zamki i ludzie*, pp. 97–98, 157; *idem*, *Zamki Byelarusi*, pp. 113–132; K. Kossarzecki, *Kampania roku 1660 na Litwie*, Zabrze 2005, pp. 361–364, 371; K. Bobiatyński, *op.cit.*, p. 83; M. Plewczyński, *Wojny...*, t. 1, pp. 169, 172, 180–181, 212–214, 421; M. Nagielski, *Przebieg...*, pp. 43; M. Plewczyński, *Wojny...*, t. 3, pp. 145–160, 161, 170, 189; A.N. Yanushkyevich, *op.cit.*, pp. 60, 100, 114–119; M. Gędek, *op.cit.*, pp. 109, 112–113, 118–122, 132, 141, 144, 187, 189, 189, 200; A.N. Lobin, *Oborona Opochni 1517 g. "Besova derevnya" protiv armii Konstantina Ostrozshkogo*, Moskva 2017, pp. 14–15, 46–49; A.I. Filyushkin, A.V. Kuz'min, *op.cit.*, pp. 7, 89, 125–127; M. Plewczyński, *Wojny...*, t. 2, pp. 136, 138, 143–152, 161–163, 179–183; V.V. Penskoj, *Polotskaya...*, pp. 14–18, 59; *Korespondencja wojskowa hetmana Janusza Radziwiłła w latach 1646–1655*, cz. 2: *Listy*, K. Bobiatyński (red.), Warszawa 2020, pp. 220–221.

124 V. Winiwarter, *op.cit.*, tab. 4.1.

125 J.M. Hartlet, *op.cit.*, pp. 45–46, 65–66, 70–71, 74–76, 79–80.

126 K. Bobiatyński, *op.cit.*, pp. 14–15.

127 J.M. Małecki, *op.cit.*, p. 42, 45–46.

128 M. Balcerek, *Battle of Kircholm (Salaspils)*..., pp. 171–189; compare with footnote no. 41.

129 Generalstabem, *Karl XII*..., pp. 357–398; J. Arājs, *op.cit.*, pp. 197–207; G. Szymborski, *op.cit.*, pp. 208–233.

on the Daugava River: by Salaspils (German: Kirchholm, Polish: Kircholm) in 1605 and Riga in 1701.

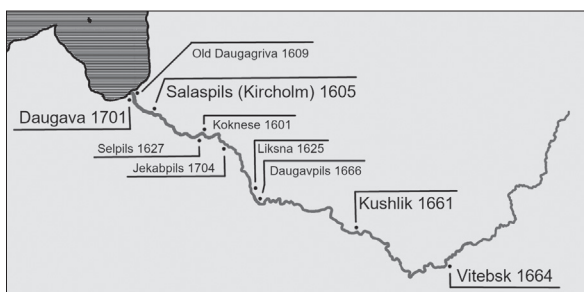


Fig. 4. Battles on the Daugava

Source: Made by the Author.

In the first battle, the army of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, under the commander-in-chief of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Grand Hetman of Lithuania), John Charles *Khodkevich* (Polish Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, Lithuanian Janas Karolis Chodkevičius) defeated the more numerous forces of Charles IX, King of Sweden (almost 4,000 vs. almost 11,000). The scale of the victory is evidenced by the fact that the losing side lost 74% of its original line-up, and the winning side only 3%! The success saved Riga and the Polish-Lithuanian rule over the Daugava river for 16 years¹²⁸. Almost a hundred years later, in 1701, on the Daugava River, opposite Riga, the Swedish king Charles XII's army defeated the more numerous Saxon-Kurland-Russian forces led by the Saxon General-Lieutenant Otto Arnold von Paykull (over 7,000 vs. 3,500–4,500). Additionally, the Swedes had to overcome the Daugava River during the fight, which is 600 m wide here! This success saved Riga and the Swedish control of the river for a decade¹²⁹. The fights in the river were decisive for the rule of the region. In addition to these two battles, there were other important ones: Koknese in 1601, Daugavgrīva in 1609, Liksna (Latvian Liksna, German Listenhof, Polish Liksmojza) in

1625, Selpils in 1627, Daugavpils in 1666, Tome/Ciemupe (German: Thomsdorf/Probstinghof) in 1700, and Jekabpils in 1704¹³⁰.

There were also fights on the Ruthenian section of the Daugava River, but less well known. The biggest battle took place in 1661 in the Kushlik mountains, or near the village of Kushliki (Russian Кушликовы горы, Belarussian Кушликі, Polish Kuszliki), about 36 km northwest of Polatsk. The Polish-Lithuanian army, numbering about 12 thousand men, led by King of Poland John II Casimir (Polish Jan II Kazimierz) and the Crown Regimentar Stefan Czarniecki and Lithuanian Casimir (Polish Kazimierz) Chwalibóg Żeromski, defeated the Moscow army of Prince Ivan Andreevich Khovansky (Russian Иван Андреевич Хованский), which was weaker (about 11,000 thousand)¹³¹. Three years later, the army of the commander-in-chief of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (the field hetman of Lithuanian) Michał Kazimierz Pac (Lithuanian Mykolas Kazimieras Pacas), numbering about 3 thousand, defeated the Moscow army of Prince Ivan Andreevich Khovansky, estimated at about 5 thousand. It was at Vitebsk, near the mouth of the Luchesa River (Belarussian Лучэса, Russian Лучеса, Polish Łuczesa) to the Daugava¹³². The fortresses in Polatsk and Vitebsk remained in Russian hands until the armistice treaty of 1667.

The most famous battles were fought over the Livonian stretch of the river. It happened near Riga, which decided to rule over Daugava, which brought measurable financial benefits, as we will see in the next part of the article.

The most critical battles of the Early Modern Period were fought near rivers, such as in the case of the Daugava. Kenneth Olson and Edward Krug established it for the Danube¹³³. Stanislaw Alexandrowicz, Karol Olejnik, and Mirosław Nagielski did it for the Dnieper¹³⁴. We can name a couple of significant clashes: Mohacs in 1526, Vienna in 1683, Slakmanen in 1691, *Höchstädt* in 1703, Blenheim in 1704 on the Danube, Orsha (Belarussian

¹³⁰ S. Herbst, *op.cit.*, pp. 86–92; H. Wisner, *Bitwa kircholmska...*; K. Bobjatiński, *op.cit.*, pp. 71–72; M. Balcerk, *Księstwo Kurlandii i Semigalii...*, pp. 125–128, 354; M. Balcerk, *Połu Vidzemes...*, pp. 89–90; M. Balcerk, *Vom nationalen...*, pp. 243–266; G. Szymborski, *op.cit.*, pp. 117–147; K. Kościelniak, *op.cit.*, pp. 174–180.

¹³¹ J.W. Odlanicki-Poczobut, *Pamiętnik Jana Władysława Poczobuta Odlanickiego (1640–1684)*, L. Potocki, I.J. Kraszewski (red.), Warszawa 1877, pp. 53–54; O.A. Kurbatov, *Iz istorii voyennykh reform v Rossii vo 2-y polovine XVII veka.Reorganizatsiya konnitsy na materialakh Novgorodskogo razryada 1650-kh – 1660-kh gg.*, Moskva 2002, pp. 140–147; K. Kossarzewski, *Kampania letnio-jesienna...*, pp. 315–344; M. Gędek, *op.cit.*, p. 224.

¹³² K. Bobiatyński, *op.cit.*, pp. 127–129; M. Gędek, *op.cit.*, p. 227.

¹³³ K.R. Olson, E. Krug, *op.cit.*, p. 888.

¹³⁴ S. Alexandrowicz, K. Olejnik, *op.cit.*, p. 43; M. Nagielski, *Rywalizacja Rzeczypospolitej z Państwem Moskiewskim o dominację w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w XVI–XVII w.*, “Sensus Historiae” 2013, nr 2, pp. 87–115.

¹³⁵ Generalstaben, *Karl XII...*, pp. 357–398; G. Szymborski, *op.cit.*, pp. 123–147, 216–218.

¹³⁶ J.M. Malecki, *op.cit.*, p. 41–42.

Орша, Polish Orsza) in 1514 on the Dnieper, and Warsaw in 1656 on the Vistula. Against this background, the Volga stands out, over which no crucial battles took place during this period.

It is worth looking at fighting while crossing the river – most of the largest-in-scale battles during the crossing the river took place far from the strongholds defending the Daugava. We know of two significant examples. In 1700, Polish King August II (Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony) avoided the fortifications on the river and crossed the Daugava in Tome/Ciemupe (German: Thomsdorf/Probstinghof). The most famous crossing of the Daugava with the fight was in 1701 near Riga, when the Swedish King Charles XII had great success. We must remember that the river is several hundred metres wide here¹³⁵. In both cases, a surprise was needed. Additionally, in 1700, decisive was the numerical advantage, and in 1701, the higher quality of the Swedish troops played a decisive role.

In the Ruthenian section, we did not notice any serious attempts to cross the Daugava. The small width of the river can probably explain it in this place and, as a result, the lack of willingness to defend it. Here we see a coincidence with the lack of significant battles.

Interestingly, there is no fight for other rivers in world history comparable to the battle of the Daugava in 1701, which is unique. In other cases, the crossing was not decided, proving that the rivers had been successfully defended. It was the case, for example, on the Vistula in 1520 and during the war over the mouth of the Vistula¹³⁶.

Was Daugava an essential line of defence? The wide river in its lower reaches was a difficult obstacle to overcome. Additionally, fortresses erected over it strengthened the defensive qualities of Daugava. The numerous attacks on the fortresses and fights in the river showed that the Daugava River played a significant defensive role. Was it hard to cross the line of defence? We can reply with a no, but the armies needed a surprise, numerical superiority,

and quality to break it. None of the compared rivers constituted a severe obstacle during the hostilities.

The Daugava River as a trade route

Let us now turn to the issue of the Daugava as a trade route. No matter how big, “a river is never a barrier”, wrote Eugeniusz Romer, an outstanding Polish geographer over 100 years ago¹³⁷. The Daugava flows through vast areas, an essential element of bonding, which allowed for trade from the times we know. The scale of traffic on the river is best demonstrated by the fact that in 1805, 1,027,000 pounds of hemp were transported over the Daugava, and only 45,000 over a land route. It gives a ratio of 23-to-1 in favor of water transport in relation to land¹³⁸. Based on the awareness of the role of the river as a waterway in the late 18th century, a project was developed to connect the Daugava and the Dnieper, which formed the Berezina Channel in the 18th and the 19th century¹³⁹. It was not the first such plan. As early as the 1660s, the Duke of Courland and Semigallia, Jacob, wanted to connect the Daugava with Lielupe (the rivers Elgona and Vilkupe in the south-east of what is now Latvia). Interestingly, in this case, it was about removing the middle and lower reaches of the Daugava with Riga, which Sweden controlled¹⁴⁰.

Other rivers served similar roles. The Vistula, the Volga, and the Danube played massive roles in transportation in the areas they flowed through. The state of technology at that time largely influenced transportation and the limitations of land communication¹⁴¹.

Control over the entire course of the river was of paramount importance. Russia took control of the Daugava at the beginning of the 18th century. Throughout the period in question, the Danube flowed through different countries, which complicated matters¹⁴². The mouth of the Dnieper and shipping problems limited the river's potential in the Early Modern Period¹⁴³. It was different

¹³⁷ E. Romer, *Rola rzek w historii i geografii narodów*, “Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki. Dodatek do Gazety Lwowskiej” 1901, nr 1, pp. 59.

¹³⁸ I. Grasmane, *op.cit.*, p. 21.

¹³⁹ S. Pawłowski, *Niektóre kanały spławne na ziemiach polskich*, Lwów 1911, pp. 5–11; M. Wykowski, *Dźwina i Dżisna. Uwagi i materiały do wstępnych badań problemu eksploatacji rzek Polski północno-wschodniej*, Wilno 1938, p. 38.

¹⁴⁰ V. Pavulans, *op.cit.*, p. 132, 201–202.

¹⁴¹ W.G. East, *op.cit.*, pp. 32–322; P. Darabadi, *op.cit.*, p. 31; M. Zolotareva, *op.cit.*, pp. 2–4, 6, 8, 10–11.

¹⁴² K.R. Olson, E. Krug, *op.cit.*, p. 888.

¹⁴³ I.T. Baranowski, *op.cit.*, pp. 279–281; R.E. Jones, *op.cit.*, pp. 302–308.

¹⁴⁴ R.S. Astashkin, *Rossiya i torgovaya ekspansiya yevropeytsv na Vostok: vtoraya polovina XVI–XVII vv.*, Samara 2007, pp. 2, 10, 16; A.V. Demkin, *Promyshlennost' i torgovlya Russkogo gosudarstva v XVI–XVII vv.* [in:] *Svyaz' vekov: Issledovaniya po istochnikovedeniyu istorii Rossii do 1917 goda. Pamyati professora A.A. Preobrazhenskogo: sbornik statey*, A.V. Semenova (red.), Moskva 2007, pp. 96; D. Zeisler-Vralsted, *op.cit.*, p. 30.

¹⁴⁵ R. Gradeya, *op.cit.*, pp. 170–173; R.S. Astashkin, *op.cit.*, pp. 2, 10–16; P. Coates, *op.cit.*, pp. 15–16; D. Zeisler-Vralsted, *op.cit.*, p. 30–31; R.A. Cybriwsky, *op.cit.*, pp. 39–50; Z. Huszár, *op.cit.*, p. 107; M. Zolotareva, *op.cit.*, pp. 2–4, 6, 8–11.

¹⁴⁶ A. Sapunov, *op.cit.*, pp. 149–183; V. Pavulans, *op.cit.*, pp. 25–26; I. Grasmann, *op.cit.*, pp. 21–22.

¹⁴⁷ I.A. Shubin, *op.cit.*, pp. 64–71.

¹⁴⁸ *Konstytucje...*, p. 450; A. Bucholtz, *op.cit.*, pp. 6–18; A. Ziemińska, *op.cit.*, pp. 204–206.

¹⁴⁹ *Aeltere Versuche zur Reinigung der Düna*, “Rigaische Stadt-Blätter” 1813, Bd. 11, pp. 86–87; G. Jensch, *op.cit.*, pp. 69–70; I. Grasmann, *op.cit.*, pp. 22–24, 26.

¹⁵⁰ R.E. Jones, *op.cit.*, pp. 308–311.

in the case of the Vistula and the Volga. Both the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Russia ruled over those rivers and could fully benefit from them¹⁴⁴.

Let us start with a brief characterization of the role of water in the Daugava River route. From the earlier description of the river as an obstacle, it appears relatively wide and thus it was very well suited for transportation. The same can be said of the other large rivers¹⁴⁵.

The Daugava, being a quite good water trail, had some limitations, such as stony river-bed, and low water level in some places periodically, which jointly presented a great danger contributing to numerous catastrophes¹⁴⁶. In this respect, it was very much like the Volga¹⁴⁷.

Already in the early Modern Period, efforts to counteract the above limitations were made. The first attempts took place at the turn of the 16th and the 17th century in the river's lower reaches at Riga's initiative. In 1593, the first boulders were removed. Work continued at the turn of the century, but with relatively meager results. It was not until 1639 that a profound success was recorded in the form of removing 32 boulders from the river bed, which interestingly were then numbered and named (e.g., No. 15 ‘the bad boat’ or No. 16 ‘servant of the dear father’)¹⁴⁸. Subsequent actions were taken at the end of the 17th century, using gunpowder and in the second half of the 18th century. The technology available at that time and the scope of the undertaking could not seriously change the situation that made sailing on the Daugava a dangerous and challenging task¹⁴⁹.

Similar problems occurred in the lower reaches of the Dnieper. In the late 70s of the 18th-century attempts were made to improve conditions for navigating on the river, which was hindered by dangerous rapids. For this purpose, channels were built to help avoid obstacles. Additionally, local Cossacks were employed to overcome the obstacles. Russian Empress Catherine was pleased with the results, but shipping on the Dnieper remained a problem¹⁵⁰. In 1782–1783, Emperor Joseph II, preparing

for a war with Turkey, ordered the improvement of navigation conditions on the Hungarian section of the Danube. Interestingly, his order was ignored by local authorities. Additionally, previously prepared material was thrown into the river as a sign of protest¹⁵¹.

Lack of legal regulations in navigation along the Daugava River created no fewer problems. Riga authorities had tried to introduce such regulations already in the Middle Ages¹⁵². In 1787, the law facilitating the transportation of goods on the Daugava was implemented. On that basis, the following were introduced: river condition monitoring, help for sailors, and fishing restrictions (fishing structures presented severe obstacles on the river)¹⁵³.

On the Danube, navigation was more complicated and was not limited to downstream traffic. Ships from Austria were sold in Hungary and continued to operate in Hungarian or Turkish hands¹⁵⁴. It was not until 1616 that Austria was granted the right to navigate the middle and lower Danube River¹⁵⁵.

On the Volga, the problem was the state bureaucracy. That is why Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich, in 1654, issued a decree on various types of excessive fees. All internal custom duties were finally abolished only in 1753 under Elizabeth Petrovna (decree of December 20, 1753)¹⁵⁶.

There was no significant piracy problem on the Daugava that could pose a problem for navigation. We also did not see this on the Vistula and the Danube. In this respect, the Volga stands out. For this reason, on the Volga, river flotillas had their bases and convoys with protection¹⁵⁷.

Traffic on the Daugava ran in both directions. However, it was easier and cheaper to follow the course of the river. Down the Daugava, rafts, boats, and 'half-boats' were floated. Tree trunks were joined together, creating rafts (Latvian: plosts, German: Floß, Polish: tratwa, płyta, Russian: плотъ) that were either floated alone or used to transport grain, hemp, and other forest products. Their length ranged from 8 m to 19 m and from 6 m to 17 m in width¹⁵⁸.

¹⁵¹ W.G. East, *op.cit.*, pp. 339–340.

¹⁵² V. Pavulans, *op.cit.*, pp. 31–46, 53–54, 64–65.

¹⁵³ A. Sapunov, *op.cit.*, pp. 184–189; I. Grasmane, *op.cit.*, pp. 25.

¹⁵⁴ S. Takáts, *op.cit.*, pp. 119–120.

¹⁵⁵ K.R. Olson, E. Krug, *op.cit.*, p. 888.

¹⁵⁶ I.A. Shubin, *op.cit.*, pp. 71–74.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 62–71; J.M. Hartlet, *op.cit.*, p. 92.

¹⁵⁸ I. Grasmane, *op.cit.*, p. 41.

- 159 H.H. Vangerow, *op.cit.*, p. 69.
- 160 A. Sapunov, *op.cit.*, pp. 346–347; I. Grasmann, *op.cit.*, pp. 37, 39.
- 161 Latvijas Universitāte Akadēmiskā bibliotēka, J.J. Brotze, *Sammlung Verschiedener Liefländischer Monumente, Prospecte, Wapen, Zweiter Teil*, fol. 105.
- 162 A. Sapunov, *op.cit.*, p. 353.
- 163 I.A. Shubin, *op.cit.*, pp. 74–79.
- 164 P. Krokosz, *Solnictwo w carskiej Rosji. Organizacja, technika wydobywczą, handel*, “Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Żup Solnych w Polsce” 2014, nr 29, pp. 211.
- 165 S. Gierszewski, *op.cit.*, pp. 104–105.

Rafts were also used on other rivers. For example, in the upper reaches of the Danube, they were about 12 m long and 5 m wide on average. After reaching Vienna, the material was sold, and the rafts were dismantled. The rafts could be joined in pairs, giving a total length of 35 m¹⁵⁹.

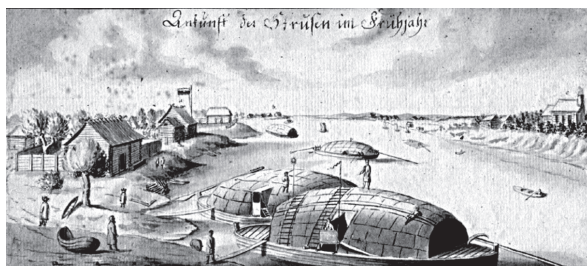


Fig. 5. The boats/strugas on the Daugava

Source: Latvijas Universitāte Akadēmiskā bibliotēka, J.J. Brotze, *Sammlung Verschiedener Liefländischer Monumente, Prospecte, Wapen, Zweiter Teil*, fol. 105, <http://dspace.lu.lv/dspace/handle/7/2354> [access: 4.11.2021].

On the Daugava, we can also find the boats (Latvian: strūga; German: Struse; Polish: strug; Russian: strug)¹⁶⁰. We can see them in the drawing from the album of Johann Christoph Brotze, dating from the turn of the 18th and the 19th century¹⁶¹. They resembled full, bulging barges covered with material. Their sizes varied. The larger ones ranged from 32 to 45 m with a width from 13 to 17 m and a draft from 85 cm to 1 m; they could transport up to 200 tons of cargo. As the name suggests, a ‘half-boat’ was more petite than a ‘full strūga’ (about 30 m long and 8 m wide)¹⁶². We could also find ‘strugs’ on the Volga¹⁶³. Interestingly, there were many kinds of boats under this name¹⁶⁴.

Upon reaching the destination, both the raft and the ‘strūga’ were stripped of cargo, and the obtained raw material was further used. On the Vistula, such a fate met rafts and different kinds of boats (Polish: komiega)¹⁶⁵. The crews of the Daugava’s ‘strugas’ and rafts (up to

46 people in the event of a downstream trip) returned to their place of origin by land. Three trips per year were possible with such a system¹⁶⁶. There is no such information in the case of the ‘strugs’ on the Volga.

Down and up the Daugava sailed other kinds of barges (Polish: szkuta; Russian: шына, шыта) and small boats (Latvian: laiva; Polish: łajba, łajwa; Russian: лайба). The first ones were flat-bottomed boats with a sail about 30 m long, 10 m wide, and 5 m high¹⁶⁷. These dimensions made them similar to the barges that used to sail on the Vistula. The latter could transport goods with a volume of 90–240 m³ (e.g., 1 m³ of rye weighs about 730 kg, which makes 65.7 to 175 tons of weight)¹⁶⁸. On the Danube, their counterpart was “Zillen”, which were flat-bottomed boats of various dimensions. For example, the “Clozille” was 4 m wide, operated by 14–15 people; the “Siebernin” was 7 m wide, operated by 8 people; and the “Sechserin” was 6 m wide, operated 6 people; The name of the type of the boat came from the number of crew members need to operate it; later, the sizes of the crew members required increased¹⁶⁹. During rafting down the river, enormous barges required a crew of 45, and during the trip upstream, they required a crew of 112¹⁷⁰. According to Aleksei Sapunov, the ‘laivas’ were a kind of small boats. Their length did not exceed 10 m. Operated by two people, they could take up to 3 tons of goods with them¹⁷¹.

The process of towing boats upstream is well known for other rivers¹⁷². Everyone knows the painting of the Russian painter Ilya Repin *Barge-haulers on the Volga* (Burlaki na Volge). In the Early Modern Period, the barge-haulers were lawless people: runaways, bandits, and robbers. At the end of the 19th century, they began to be perceived as victims of the oppressive tsarist state¹⁷³. In the second half of the 18th century, Emperor Joseph II changed the death penalty to the obligation to drag boats on the Danube¹⁷⁴.

¹⁶⁶ G. Jensch, *op.cit.*, p. 69; I. Grasmane, *op.cit.*, p. 41.

¹⁶⁷ A. Plater, *Krótką historyczno-chronologiczną wiadomość...*, p. 28; A. Sapunov, *op.cit.*, pp. 354–355.

¹⁶⁸ H. Obuchowska-Pysiowa, *op.cit.*, pp. 42–43, 46; S. Gierszewski, *op.cit.*, pp. 104–105.

¹⁶⁹ H.H. Vangerow, *op.cit.*, p. 70.

¹⁷⁰ A. Sapunov, *op.cit.*, p. 354.

¹⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 356.

¹⁷² S. Takáts, *op.cit.*, pp. 107–108.

¹⁷³ I.A. Shubin, *op.cit.*, p. 63; D. Zeisler-Vralsted, *op.cit.*, pp. 30–31, 65–66.

¹⁷⁴ W.G. East, *op.cit.*, pp. 340.

- 175 I. Grasmann, *op.cit.*, p. 36.
- 176 A. Ziemiańska, *op.cit.*, p. 186.
- 177 I. Grasmann, *op.cit.*, p. 41.
- 178 I.A. Shubin, *op.cit.*, p. 63.
- 179 J.M. Hartlet, *op.cit.*, p. 176.
- 180 W.G. East, *op.cit.*, pp. 339–340.

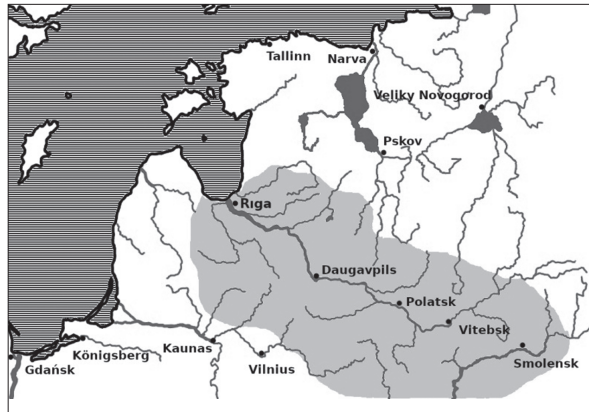


Fig. 6. The Riga's area of trade in the 17th century according to Georg Jensch

Source: Made by the Author based on: G. Jensch, *Der Handel Rigas im 17. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur livländischen Wirtschaftsgeschichte in schwedischer Zeit*, Riga 1930, fig. 1.

The navigation on the Daugava began in the early spring and ended in the late autumn (under favorable conditions, it was possible to sail even in January, which happened in 1796)¹⁷⁵ and coincided with the work of the Riga port¹⁷⁶. The journey from Vitebsk to Riga (about 500 km) in the best case, according to data from the 19th century, lasted 11 days, from Polatsk 8–10, from Druya 7, from Daugavpils 4, from Jēkabpils 2, and Jaunjelgava 1, respectively¹⁷⁷. We have comparable data for other rivers. For example, the Volga journey from Nizhny Novgorod to Astrakhan (about 1800 km) usually took 30 days but could take up to 34 days¹⁷⁸ and from Astrakhan to Kazan (about 1600 km) 2–3 months¹⁷⁹. The trip of the Danube from Ulm to Vienna (about 500 km) took 10 days and three times longer upstream¹⁸⁰. As we can see, covering 500 km took about 10 days.

We see the flow of goods on the Daugava through the prism of Riga's turnover, for which the river was the axis of trade. The city-maintained contacts with Polatsk, Vitebsk, Smolensk, Orsha, and Mogilev in the Dnieper

basin and Pskov¹⁸¹. Various products arrived in Riga, which were then transported by sea. In the mid-16th century, the primary exported goods were ash and tar, which fell dramatically at the end of this century. However, the export of linseed and hemp seeds increased¹⁸², related to the demand for marine materials¹⁸³. According to Vasilii Doroshenko, Riga, in the second half of the 16th century and the first two decades of the next one, the export was dominated by linseed, hemp seed, potash, ash, and tar¹⁸⁴. The share of exports from Riga through the Danish Sund from the Eastern Baltic zone for the years 1562–1620 was as follows: 74.1% corn, 80.9% flax and hemp, 13.9% wood, 91.5% ash and tar, 45.6% wax, 29.3% leather, and 4.8% fat¹⁸⁵.

In the 17th century, Riga became a Baltic leader in sending flax and hemp (the majority share was these exported goods), but the city's competition included centers such as Königsberg and Elbląg. The export of grain also increased, at times equal to the tycoon in this area, Gdańsk. The exports of potash and ash decreased¹⁸⁶.

For comparison, Gdańsk in 1634, was the leader in grain export (78.1%), leaving the remaining products and goods far behind; like other agro-farm crops, including flax and hemp (6.4%), food industry products (0.5%), forestry products (8.8%), metals and minerals (2.0%), industrial products (4.0%), re-export and fish (0.2%)¹⁸⁷.

Riga and Gdansk concentrated their trade on the Daugava and the Vistula rivers, respectively, making huge profits. For comparison, there was no other sizeable urban center on the Danube and the Dnieper's mouth to the sea, monopolizing the traffic on these rivers as Riga and Gdansk did. Astrakhan (Russian Астрахань) also did not control all the trade on the Volga.

The Volga also floated much grain, but it was only in the 18th century¹⁸⁸. Various products were traded in the upper and lower reaches of the Danube, without any noticeable domination of one category¹⁸⁹. There was

181 G. Jensch, *op.cit.*, p. 68; A. Klonder, *Nowe spojrzenie na handel Rygi w XVII wieku (w związku z książką Wasylija W. Doroszenki, Torgowla i kupieczestwo o Rigi w XVII wieku, Riga 1985, s. 347)*, "Przegląd Historyczny" 1987, nr 4, pp. 767.

182 W.W. Doroszenko, *op.cit.*, pp. 25–26.

183 E. Harder-Gersdorff, *op.cit.*, pp. 521–522.

184 W.W. Doroszenko, *op.cit.*, p. 18; A. Ziemlewska, *op.cit.*, p. 188.

185 W.W. Doroszenko, *op.cit.*, pp. 15–17; A. Klonder, *op.cit.*, pp. 757, 760–761.

186 V.V. Doroshenko, *op.cit.*, pp. 125, 134.

187 M. Bogucka, *Handel zagraniczny Gdańska w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1970, p. 36.

188 D. Zeisler-Vralsted, *op.cit.*, p. 31.

189 R. Gradeya, *op.cit.*, pp. 171–173; H.H. Vangerow, *op.cit.*, pp. 75–107.

- 190 I.T. Baranowski, *op.cit.*, pp. 279–281.
- 191 E. Harder-Gersdorff, *op.cit.*, pp. 522, 526.
- 192 V. Pāvulāne, *op.cit.*, pp. 66–67.
- 193 F. Siewert, *Die Lübecker Rigafahrer-Compagnie im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1996, pp. 174–191; G. Jensch, *op.cit.*, pp. 73, 95–105; V.V. Doroshenko, *op.cit.*, pp. 143–169; A. Ziemlewska, *op.cit.*, p. 189.
- 194 E. Harder-Gersdorff, *op.cit.*, pp. 532–536.
- 195 W.W. Doroszenko, *op.cit.*, pp. 10–12.
- 196 E. Harder-Gersdorff, *op.cit.*, p. 561.
- 197 J.M. Hartlet, *op.cit.*, p. 177.
- 198 A. Klonder, *op.cit.*, pp. 759–760.
- 199 W.W. Doroszenko, *op.cit.*, pp. 34–35.

local trade on the Dnieper throughout the Early Modern Period, which must have been diversified¹⁹⁰.

In the 18th century on the Daugagriva, the export of wood, forest goods, and grain from the Russian territories increased. The dominant share of flax and hemp persisted¹⁹¹. As shown by Velta Pāvulāne's studies at the turn of the 1760s and '70s, the vast majority of timber (1767: 94.8%; 1768: 89.4%; 1769: 92.6%; 1770: 91.3%; 1772: 94.5%; 1773: 93.4%; 1774: 92.2%) came from the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. After the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's first partition, Russia received land along the Daugava and the Dnieper. As a result, Lithuanian supplies dropped to around 60%; the Russian territories supplied about 30% of Riga timber¹⁹².

The export from Riga in the Early Modern Period was impressive, thus outshining imports in terms of volume and value. What flowed from Riga up the Daugava and its tributaries? This route was mainly used for salt, herring, wine, beer, malt, textiles, metal products, and in 1671 even tobacco in the early Modern Period¹⁹³. Famous scythes from Styria, Czech glass, and porcelain and faience transported in the 18th century deserve a mention¹⁹⁴.

About 200 to 300 ships left the port on the Daugava River per year (286 in 1594) at the end of the 16th century¹⁹⁵. Accordingly, in 1700, there were 500, and at the end of the 18th century, the figure reached 1,000¹⁹⁶. By comparison, only 300 passed through Astrakhan¹⁹⁷. In this respect, Riga occupied third place on the Baltic Sea in the 16th century, and in the second half of the 17th century, even moved to the second¹⁹⁸.

How did it translate into money? At the end of the 16th century, Riga exports' value reached 5.3–5.4 million Riga Marks per year (1 Mark = 3.503 g of silver or approximately 18.5–18.9 tons of silver in total), half provided by hemp and flax¹⁹⁹. Two centuries later, the same products yielded 12 million roubles a year (1 rouble = 17.996 g silver or almost 216 tons of silver), which is several times more! The value of exports from the city accounted for 20% of

all Russia's exports, but only almost 6% of imports²⁰⁰. For comparison, the turnover of goods in Astrakhan at the beginning of the 19th century was only 3,5 million²⁰¹. Of course, the indicators for Riga over the three centuries were falling during the wars fought for the Daugava²⁰². According to Elisabeth Harder-Gersdorf, Riga, in contrast to Narva, did not feel the effects of competition from St. Petersburg in the 18th century, what, on the one hand, was due to massive demand in the west, and on the other, because of separate different river basins. It was the Daugava and its tributaries that ensured Riga's survival on the market²⁰³.

As we can see, the Daugava was an essential and, above all, profitable route. Therefore, it is not surprising that everyone tried to draw profit from it: countries, cities, nobility, and even ordinary peasants. That is evidenced by numerous conflicts over the rights to profit from transport on the river²⁰⁴. The winner of all these conflicts was Riga and its ultimate conqueror in the Early Modern Period – Russia.

When writing about sailing on the Daugava, one should mention transporting army and war materials²⁰⁵. We know the cases in 1568, 1579–1581, when the lithuanian flotilla transported the food, ammunition and artillery. It took place upstream in sections of up to several dozen kilometres²⁰⁶. In 1625 the Swedish flotilla with heavy equipment crossed the distance of almost 50 km upstream, reaching Kegums (Latvian Ķegums, German Keggum)²⁰⁷. That year the river over flooded, which could have facilitated transport. In 1656, this did not happen, and yet the Russians with heavy equipment sailed upstream to its lower reaches²⁰⁸. In 1705, the Russian fleet transported artillery and ammunition from Polatsk to Krustpils, along the river, covering about 260 km²⁰⁹. According to Verena Winiwarter, the Danube overflows were obstructing shipping²¹⁰. As we can see, not always.

Other rivers were also used for military transport²¹¹. Russia and Turkey formed river flotillas on the Volga

200 E. Harder-Gersdorff, *op.cit.*, pp. 522, 526.

201 J.M. Hartlet, *op.cit.*, p. 177.

202 W.W. Doroszenko, *op.cit.*, p. 20.

203 E. Harder-Gersdorff, *op.cit.*, pp. 523–524.

204 A. Klonder, *op.cit.*, pp. 767–769; A. Ziemlewska, *op.cit.*, pp. 189–191, 202–204, 207–208.

205 V. Pavulans, *op.cit.*, pp. 56–57.

206 D. Kupisz, *op.cit.*, pp. 112; M. Plewczyński, *Wojny...*, t. 2, pp. 153, 181; *idem*, *Wojny...*, t. 3, pp. 149, 156, 161, 168–169, 189.

207 M. Balcerek, *Księstwo Kurlandii i Semigalii...*, p. 302.

208 A. Sapunov, *op.cit.*, p. 203; M. Carlson, *op.cit.*, p. 76.

209 *Voyenno-pokhodnyy zhurnal (s 3 iyunya 1701 goda po 12 sentyabrya 1705 goda) general-feldmarshala Borisa Petrovicha Sheremeteva, poslannogo po vysochayshemu poveleniyu v Novgorod i Pskov dlya okhraneniya tekhn gorodov i inykh tamoshnikh mest ot voysk shvedskogo korolya [in:] Materialy Voenno-Uchenogo Arkhiva Glavnogo Shtaba*, t. 1 (3), Sankt-Peterburg 1871, col. 190.

210 A. Winiwarter, *op.cit.*, p. 56.

211 J.M. Malecki, *op.cit.*, p. 45; R. Gradeya, *op.cit.*, pp. 162–170; H.H. Vangerow, *op.cit.*, pp. 127–132; Z. Huszár, *op.cit.*, p. 108.

²¹² I.A. Shubin, *op.cit.*, pp. 93–96; W.G. East, *op.cit.*, p. 338; F. Yildirim, *18. Yüzyılda Tuna Nehri Donanması (1711–1792)*, Elazığ 2016.

²¹³ I.R. Christie, *Samuel Bentham and the Russian Dnieper Flotilla 1787–1788*, “The Slavonic and East European Review” 1972, no. 119, pp. 183–186.

²¹⁴ V. Ostapchuk, *The human landscape of the ottoman Black Sea in the face of the Cossack naval raids*, “Oriente Moderno. Nuova serie” 2001, no. 1, pp. 23–95.

and Danube²¹². Russia has also created river flotillas in the lower Dnieper in 1787–1788, during the war with Turkey²¹³. Cossacks used the transport on this river for most of the early Modern Period. They used their chaykas (Ukrainian: чайка, Polish: czajka) to sail the Dnieper and the Black Sea²¹⁴.

Conclusions

Summarizing the functions of the Daugava as a border in the Early Modern Period, it can be said that this period was a crucial moment in the development of divisions in today’s Latvia. This role of the river dates back to the 13th century, when it separated the lands of the Teutonic Order in Livonia from the Archbishop. In 1561, a borderline was established on the Daugava, which survived until the 20th-century with minor adjustments.

For two centuries, the Livonia section of the Daugava separated the new powers from each other. In the 17th century, it served as a border between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Sweden, in the 18th century, between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Russia. It was not until the end of the 18th century that Russia’s power deprived the river of its border function, liquidating the Commonwealth with the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia.

We cannot say the same about the Ruthenian section of the Daugava. The river border was there only for short periods, and the length of this border over the centuries was also not long. Therefore, in this episode, we cannot talk about Daugava as the borderline.

Was Daugava an essential line of defense? The wide river in its lower reaches was a difficult obstacle to overcome. Additionally, fortresses erected over it strengthened the defensive qualities of Daugava. The numerous attacks on the fortresses and the fights on the river show that the Daugava River has a significant defensive role. Was it hard to cross the line of defense?

We can reply with a no, but the armies needed a surprise, numerical superiority, and quality to break it. None of the compared rivers constituted a severe obstacle during the hostilities.

Compared to the Daugava, the other rivers were also the most important routes in the region. The Vistula, the Volga, Dnieper, and the Danube contained natural and institutional obstacles to navigation. We could travel on these waterways by very similar boats that could also be used in military operations. On all river different goods were traded. The distinguishing feature of the Daugava was the forest goods dominating in transport.

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