CHANGES IN LIVONIAN FIRST NAMES IN SALACA
DURING THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES

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Abstract. Under examination are the developments that occurred in name traditions that were caused by Christianisation as can be ascertained on the basis of written sources. The area under examination is the Livonian revenue district which was defined in the 17th century, and which, by the end of the century, comprised the Svētsciems Manor. The first names of the peasants identified as Livonians in the first half of the 19th century were compared to the first names of the farmers recorded in the soul revisions from the 17th century. As a result, the article ascertains that the custom of having two first names had disappeared by the 17th century. In the 18th century, a new name – Gust/Gustav – had been added to the name tradition in the region. By the turn of the 19th century, after six centuries of integration under colonial rule, the Christian names of the Livonians, Latvians, and Estonians were so similar that it was difficult to distinguish among them based on their first names. Various local versions of Western European Christian names were overwhelmingly in use.

Keywords: Livonia, Salaca Livonians, historical onomastics, first names

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1. The first names of the Salaca Livonians in the oldest written sources

The church parish registers and soul revision lists\(^1\) are the most complete sources for the research of peasants’ first names. There are no church records dating back earlier than the 19th century in the archives.

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\(^1\) The soul revisions (D. Seelen-Revision, Latv. Dvēseļu revīzija, Est. hingerevisjon) were started in the Russian Empire by Peter I in order to organize the collecting of the soul tax, which was introduced in 1718 and applied to all male persons with the exception of officials, clergy, and nobility. The first soul revision in the Baltic provinces was the 4th imperial revision, in 1782. It was followed by the revisions in 1794–95, 1811, 1816, 1826, 1833–35, 1850, and 1858. With the exception of 1811, when only men were included in the revision, otherwise all individuals within a household were listed by the manor registrar.
for the settlement area of the Salaca Livonians; all that has survived are subsequent transcriptions related to the members of the upper class. In only a few cases, the information in the soul revisions originates from the first revision, which was conducted in 1782. The first names of the Salaca Livonians were recorded at a time when their linguistic tradition was already disappearing. The 90-year-old Livonian that is mentioned by Diedrich Heinrich Jürgenson, a lecturer at the University of Tartu who was recording the Livonian language, remains nameless (Jürgenson 1846: 23). The only peasant entered into the Salaca soul revisions and parish registers whose age matches that recorded by D. H. Jürgenson, is Andres Siellemann, the oldest peasant on Svetciems Manor, who died on 30 January 1844 on Keguļ (Keggul) farm (LVVA 235.4.2203: 23–24). However, his age does not match the entries in the surviving parish death registers (89 years old in 1844) and soul revisions. When he died, Andres apparently had no family who knew his exact age. According to the soul revisions, Andres Siellemann was 56 in 1816 and 74 in 1834 (LVVA 199.1.400: 18aop, 94op). However, in 1816 an error occurred in one of the revision entries, and subsequent changes were based on the existing revision materials. According to the revision conducted on 18 July 1811, Andres/Andreas was 61 years old, and he was 45 in April of 1795; therefore, Andres was born after July 18th in 1749 or before June 20th in 1750 (LVVA 199.1.400: 52–53). At the time of the 1816 revision, Andres would have been 66 years old, instead 56 was entered as his age, and subsequent calculations were based on this error (see LVVA 199.1.400: 18aop, 52–53, 82op, 94op). Thus, in the early summer of 1839, when D. H. Jürgenson arrived at Svetciems Manor, Andres Siellemann was 90 years old. According to the documents, no one else this old lived in the vicinity of the manor, and for this reason, he must be considered to have been Jürgenson’s source.

In 1846, the linguistic guides for Johan Andreas Sjögren, an academician from the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, who came to study the Livonian language and customs, had the following names: Krist (6 people), Jurre (4), Andres (3), Gust (2), and Jahn (1); included three women named Anne and three who were nameless (Sjögren 1849: 469). Jürgenson’s anonymous source, Andres Siellemann (also Silling), lived until 1844 with his son Andres on Keguļ farm. In 1846, the mistress of the house and her mother from this farm were invited to be Sjögren’s linguistic guides (Sjögren 1849: 469). Based on the soul revisions it is possible to determine that the mistress of the house at Keguļ farm was Anne Silling, who was 45 years old in 1846; and Anne’s mother was Eva
(Eewe) Sweineek, who had been widowed as the mistress of this same farm and died at the age of 79 on 20 March 1850 at Kēgul farm (LVVA 199.1.400: 76, 95, 179; LVVA 235.7.345: 87). Another woman who spoke Livonian was from Dziņi (Dsenne) farm; she met Sjögren in 1846 and is identified by the academician as the mother of Anne, the mistress of the house. In 1834, Dorte Segel, a widow who was 29 years older than the mistress of the house lived on the farm, and she is the only one whose age coincides with her being Anne Michelsohn’s mother. Dörthe Segel is recorded in the soul revisions in 1816 when, as the 49-year-old wife of skipper Gust, she lived with her youngest daughter, 7-year-old Trine, on Dziņi farm (LVVA 199.1.400: 9, 23). However, based on these sources, it cannot be unequivocally stated that Dorte/Dörthe is the third nameless Livonian woman recorded by Sjögren.

By supplementing the list of Livonian first names recorded in the first half of the 19th century, it can be determined that the Livonian speakers who introduced the Livonian language to the scientists in 1839 and 1846 had the following first names: Krist (6), Anne (4), Jurre (4), Andres (4), Gust (2), Eva/Eewe (1), Jahn (1), and possibly Dorte/Dörthe (1). Due to the small number of representatives, the selection of names recorded in the direct sources in the first half of the 19th century is also quite small. This could be expanded by including the families and relatives identified as Livonians (see Table 1), but the first names recorded in the soul revisions of Sētciems Manor do not differ significantly from the first names in use throughout the region. Based on an analysis of the names in use during the 20th century, it turns out that, in the 19th century Salaca Livonians did not have first names that could be identified by researchers as being specifically Livonian (see Balodis 2006: 24–25).

2. The first names of Salaca Livonians in the tax revisions of the 17th century

During the wars that ravaged Livonia during the second half of the 16th century and first half of the 17th century, the Polish-Lithuanian and Swedish authorities considered it necessary to compile lists of those who were subject to taxes. These were necessary for the investiture and leasing of the lands, because, at the time, the salaries of the military and civil employees were still ensured by the right of the central authorities to collect taxes on property earmarked for this purpose. This
included farms, inns, villages, manors, and larger fiefs. Based on the purpose of the revisions (to record the owners of the farms subject to taxation), this source does not include the first names of women or the “nameless” men in personal servitude. Still, there were sufficient free (i.e., named) peasants in the area settled by the Salaca Livonians, and in 1624, 44 names were recorded in the area identified as the Livonian revenue district.

The revision clerks of 1601 were not very thorough when it came to names and primarily recorded the names of the farms, and not the peasants, which often simply coincide. However, in 1624, the peasants subject to taxes were named separately, and their heirs – sons, stepsons, or brothers – were also named in the lists of households. The most popular first names of peasants in the Livonian revenue district were Marten (4), Tomas/Tohmas (4), Matz/Matzken (4), Hanß (4), Jan/Jans (3), Hans (3), Andres/Andreas (3), Jürgen/Jür (3), Henrig (3), and Grist Hanß (3) (RA: 210–212). The following names appeared more than once: Jack/Jack, Pape/Poope, and Priz; while Maddi, Peter, Arend, and Cubbert appear only once. In 1683, of the 57 farms in the Svēteciems (Nya Salis) Manor, which had been formed from the Livonian revenue district, the names of 40 farmers are known (see EAA 308.2.165). The most popular names were Hans (5), Andrus/Andres (5), Jack (5), Jörgen (4), Mats (3), Tohm (2), Jahn (2), Jüri (2), and Heinrich/Hinrich (2). The following names appeared only once: Juhan, Tönns, Marten, Frits, Kristen, Casper, Brädrich, Juest, Bertel, and Didrick.

2.1. The names Marten, Tomas/Tohmas, Matz/Matzken, Jan/Jans, Jürgen/Jür, Andres/Andreas, Jack, Peter, Tonnies, Maddi

These are name forms that were popular as Christian names throughout Christian Europe. Jan/Jans is apparently the Dutch version of the same Christian name (Latin Iohannes/Joannes) that appeared as Hans in German. In 1624, the names Marten, Tomas/Tohmas, Matz/Matzken appear four times within the borders of the Livonian revenue district; Jan/Jans, Jürgen/Jür and Andres/Andreas three times, and Peter once. Of these names, in the first half of the 19th century the following appear as first names of Livonians that spoke the Livonian language: Andres (4) and Jahn (1). In addition, Thomas and even more frequently Matz, Mats were in use during the 19th century. The name
Marten had lost its popularity in this area already during the 17th century – in 1624, four farmers or their heirs had this name, while only one farmer was named Marten in 1683. This may be due to the first name of Martin Luther. In early 17th century sources the Jesuit priest Erthmanus mentions the joy of the Livonians and Latvians in returning to their former religious customs (Annales: 167; Vunk 2014: 44–45). In this case the unpopularity of the main reformer’s first name is logical.

On the other hand, the popularity of the name form Jack began to increase during the 17th century. In 1624, Jak/Jack appeared only twice in the Livonian revenue district; in 1683, of the 40 farmers in the area, five had the first name Jack (see EAA 308.2.165). The most well-known Jacob at the time was the Duke of the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia (1638/1642–1682). In historical tradition, Jacob Kettler was remembered as a good ruler and even a “friend” of peasants. At the beginning of Swedish Protestant rule, a number of Livonian Catholics fled to Semigallia. None of Jürgenson’s or Sjögren’s linguistic guides had this name; in the first half of the 19th century, Jaeck, Jaek, Jehke, Jehk – the forms that developed from this name – appeared in the soul revisions and parish registers in Salaca. The name form Tonnies, which appeared in 1601 as Tonnieß in the list of the farms in the Village of the Liivs, was recorded in 1624 in the village of Ainaži, which was later incorporated into Svētiems Manor (RA: 209; Švābe 1933: 385). In 1683, one of the farmers in Svētiems Manor was named Tönnis. A similar adaptation of the Christian name Anthonius appears among the Estonians, who are linguistically related to the Livonians. In the middle of the Livonian language area – on the only farm described in the village of Kuiķule (Kulckull) – the first name Maddi appears in the soul revision recorded in 1624 (RA: 210). This resembles the name Mati/Matti, which is still popular among Estonians and Finns today, and could indicate a Finno-Ugric adaptation of the Christian name Matheus. At the same time, Maddi quite clearly differs from the most popular name form of the area – Matz – and its diminutive name Matzken, which can also be connected to the saint’s name Matheus. In Sjögren’s Livonian-German dictionary, which was published by Ferdinand Johann Wiedemann in St. Petersburg in 1861, the word Maddi is defined as “ours”.

2.2. Hans/Hanß

Hans and Hanß are differentiated in this article since, in the 19th century, these two similar, but not identical, names survived. Ants, who was born in 1752, and his son An sche, lived on Vecsalaca Manor, and there are also revision entries from the turn of the 19th century where the names Ants and An sche appear on the same farm (LVVA 199.1.399: 4op, 8op). Although, in 1624 the name Hanß always indicated a younger peasant on the farm, the suspicion remains that this was an affectionate form of the name Hans and was later written as a new form, An sche. Even if this is true, by the second half of the 18th century at the latest, a separate name had developed: in 1811 at the Mazsprīdiši (Masse Springe) farm in the village of Korģene on Vecsalaca Manor, the revision counter recorded the sons of An sche, who had been born in 1734 – the first born in 1778 was named An sche and his younger brother, born in 1780, was named Ans (LVVA 199.1.399: 15). In 1795, the oldest peasant named An sche was already 92 years old (LVVA 199.1.399: 24op). In addition to An sche, the form An dschin/Andsihin also existed (LVVA 199.1.399: 21, 21op). However, only peasants on Vecsalaca Manor had the names Hans, Ans, Ants, An sche, and An dschin/Andsihin; the revision counters of Svētciems Manor only encountered one similar name – Ange (LVVA 199.1.400: 50op-56op). This may be because the various registrars tried to more or less standardise the names they recorded. Both manors belonged to the same parish and those with this first name were consistently recorded as An sche in the Salaca parish registers (LVVA 235.15.358: 25, etc.). On the other hand, this name had also survived in 1811 in the name of farm no. 33 on Svētciems Manor – Karre An sche (LVVA 199.1.400: 56op). It is a pity that at Svētciems Manor, one of the linguistic areas where the Livonian peasants survived the longest, the revision counters started to standardise the Livonian-style names and did not record all the surviving forms of the names in the revision entries. At the same time, one cannot be sure of the correctness of all the entries. For example, the aforementioned Hanß should be the later An sche/Ange, but the name of a farm, which was written Mustanz/ Mustansch/Mycemanuu in the revisions and parish registers of the first half of the 19th century and as Mustang in 1850, was derived from Must Hans, the name of a peasant recorded in 1624 (see RA: 211; LVVA 199.1.400: 51; 235.15.358: 225; 232.1.542: 448; LVVA 199.1.400: 159op). Naturally, farm names can be adapted to the names of the new owners through the centuries, and this makes tracing the names very difficult.
Also, apparently, in the case of such finesses, one cannot, as a rule, rely on the relatively clumsy transcriptions of writers that came from other linguistic contexts.

When comparing the lists of farmers’ names recorded in 1624 and 1683, we see that the use of this pair of names remained stable in the 17th century. At the beginning of that century, seven of the 43 farmers and their heirs in the Livonian revenue district were named Hanß or Hans (RA: 210–212). In 1683, of the 40 farmers on Svētciems Manor, which occupied the same area, five are named Hans (EAA 308.2.165). The name forms Hans/Hanß, which were still used in the forms Anz/Ansche/Ange in the Salaca parish in the early 19th century, were no longer included in the small selection of names that can be linked to the speakers of the Salaca Livonian language in the 19th century.

2.3. The names Grist Hanß (Grist Andres, Grist Jahn, Grist Mick, Grist Marting, Grist Thomas) and Pape/Poole

In 1624, the first name Grist Hanß was recorded three times in the Livonian revenue district (RA: 210–212). In 1683, there was not a single entry with this name, and in the first half of the 19th century, the tradition of double first names had disappeared among the Salaca peasants. In 1624, the peasants with two first names lived in various areas of the Livonian revenue district and even more of them could be found on the Livonian linguistic islands in the Latvian revenue district. If in the Livonian revenue district, the double name Grist Hanß (3) existed, in the Latvian revenue district, there were more name forms: Grist Andres (5), Grist Jahn (2), Grist Mick, Grist Marting, and Grist Thomas (RA: 207op-209op).

In all three areas outside of the Livonian revenue district, where such first names were used – the village of Korgene (Korgentz) in the eastern part of the Latvian revenue district, the Svētupe fishing village (Fischer Dorff Schwettup) at the mouth of the Salaca River, and the village of Ainaži (Aynes) – ties to the Livonian tradition could be found. In the vicinity of the village of Tošēni on the edge of the Latvian revenue district, which had belonged to the Livonian revenue district, the bailiff Uttko Jahn was identified by the Livonian title (Cubias) in the tax revision of 1624. In 1601, Clawes Ūtteke had run a farm there (Švābe 1933: 389). Apparently, in 1624, both Heinrich Uttko and Peter Uttko, whose only sons were named Grist Mick and Grist Marting, respectively, were
connected to the family that ran this farm (RA: 207op). In the village of Ainaži and at the mouth of the Salaca River, where the compound first names starting with Grist were recorded in 1624, the Livonian identity endured longer. The Livonian language was still in use at the mouth of the Salaca River in the second half of the 18th century (Schlözer 1771: 303). By 1846, when Latvian had become the predominant language in Ainaži (Hajnasch, Ajnasch), there were still some speakers of the Livonian language in the village (Sjögren 1849: 469).

In 1624, the compound first names Grist Andres, Grist Jahn, Grist Mick, Grist Marting, and Grist Thomas were in use in the villages of the Latvian revenue district where the Livonian-style name tradition still survived; Grist Hanß was in use in the central, western, and eastern edges of the Livonian revenue district. All six areas were separated from each other. It is possible that this was a name tradition that was already archaic in the 17th century. As noted above, the farmers counted in the revision of 1683 no longer had these names and, for instance, the farms in the village of Korgene were run by Utte Hinrich and Utte Jack (EAA 308.2.165). By 1683, in the village of Lipas (Lippo/Lippen By) on the southern edge of the Livonian revenue district, where the name Grist Hanß had appeared before, the name form Kristen survived; and on the Vecsalaca Manor, which comprised the area of the former Latvian revenue district, a farmer in the village of Vilni (Wällene kylla) was named Ch[r]isting (EAA 308.2.165). In 1624, the unusual name form Gris[t?]en Andres, which may be derived from the same name tradition, was only recorded in the village of Tošeni in the Latvian revenue district. In the autumn of 1739, an innkeeper on Salaca Manor was named Crist, whereas, in local court records, his name was originally written as Christian with the ending – ian – having been crossed out afterwards (see EAA 1000.1.3919: 3, 13). Such a correction seems to confirm that this was not an adaptation or abbreviation, but a separate name. The name Grist did not disappear. Instead, during the 18th and 19th centuries, what had earlier been just the first half of a compound first name became the very popular first name Christ/Krist in Salaca parish. In addition, for example, in 1756, this name was also recorded in Courland (Priedīte 2006: 74). In 1846, six of J. A. Sjögren’s fourteen linguistic guides were named Krist.

Since the names Andres (Andreas), Jahn (Johannes), Mick (Michael), Marting (Martinus), Thomas, and Hanß (Johannes), which were used in compound names, were already popular Christian names in the Middle Ages, the name Grist inserted before them may be a relic of the
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A Christian name that came into use during the Christianisation of the Livonians. Or, it could be a manifestation of those who sided with the Catholics during the Reformation. In early 17th century sources, the Jesuit priest Erthmanus mentions the joy of the Livonians and Latvians in returning to their former religious customs (Annales: 167). If this is a case of a name tradition with a Catholic background, the fact that it died out in the bosom of the Protestant Church is not surprising. The same applies to the first name Pape/Poope, which was only recorded in 1624. It was recorded in the villages of Tošēni (Toschne) and Perckīll in the interior of the Livonian revenue district as well as in the Ainaži (Aynes) fishing village in the Latvian revenue district (RA: 209–211). This name’s distribution area is similar to that of the Grist compound names, but the Grist compound names appears four times as often. In the Netherlands, this name was associated with the term for a Catholic Church priest (paap), and had symbolic meaning during the era of opposition between the Catholics and Protestants in the 16th century; Protestant congregations were called priest-less (papeloze) churches (Ter Laan 1949: 293). It is not impossible that in the era of lively information exchange during the Reformation, the use of this name was a means of signifying one’s confession. Unfortunately, in the case of the soul revision entries of the 17th century, we see nothing more than the appearance and disappearance of the first name Pape/Poope, along with compound names that include the name Grist.

2.4. Gust

In 1846, two of J. A. Sjögren’s linguistic guides were named Gust (Sjögren 1849: 469). This name does not appear in the 1624 tax revision of the Livonian revenue district, and it was also not included in the entries of the 1683 revision. However, at the end of the Swedish era or even later, the name Gust began to appear. We see the initial version of the name in the oldest surviving soul revisions from Salaca parish, which were compiled based on the revision conducted in 1795. Initially on Vecsalaca Manor, the first name Gustav was consistently used and the oldest Gustav that appears in the revision entries was baptised around 1757. The Gust form was already added in 1816, but was still in the minority, however, it was used in regard to a person who had been named Gustav in the previous revision (LVVA 199.1. 399: 3–24, 32op–68op). Although researchers consider this first name to be
of Estonian or Finnish origin, based on the Kusta form that was still used in Alūksne during the 19th century (Balodis 2006: 30), the use of the initial forms demonstrates that it is actually a direct loan from the name Gustav.

On Svēteciems Manor, the Gust form appeared in the earliest name revisions that have survived from the 19th century, and Gustaw only appears once (LVVA 199.1.400: 49–56). The oldest Gust was born on this manor around 1770 and the oldest Guste in the village of Ainaži, which was part of Svēteciems Manor, was born around 1771 (LVVA 199.1.134: 2–5). The fact that this name is derived from Gustav, a popular name with the Swedish royal family, which controlled Livonia until the second decade of the 18th century, and with many other Swedes as well, is not apparent from the surviving sources. However, in the middle of the 18th century, the barons of the Svēteciems and Vecsalaca Manors both had this name. In 1758, Vecsalaca Manor was ruled by Gustav Wilhelm von Fersen, a 21-year-old imperial chamberlain who was married at Vecsalaca and who died as a major general in 1782 (LVVA 2728.1.538: 118–119). During his lifetime, the Vecsalaca peasants named their children Gustav. Friedrich Gustav von Dunten, the owner of Svēteciems Manor, also had direct contact with the Livonian peasants, and thus Fritz/Pritz (1624. a. Pri[t]z; 1683. a. Frits) and Gust are recorded in the soul revisions of this manor during his lifetime. Johann Christian von Dunten, F. G. von Dunten’s father, who was a Captain of the Guard, had married Anna Gertrude von Diepenbrock, the daughter of the widowed owner of the manor, in 1737 (LVVA 235.5.16: 95). Friedrich Gustav von Dunten (1741–1782), who inherited the manor, came in contact with the peasants through his duties as a manor owner and justice of the peace (Ordningsrichter), but also due to his interest in their language and customs. In 1760, he brought a couple of his “best” Livonians to Rīga so that Immanuel Justus von Essen, the head pastor of the Rīga Cathedral and the consistory’s school director, could study their language usage (Schlözer 1770: 379). The results were sent to Göttingen and used in August Ludwig Schlözer’s (1770: 345–380) survey “Gesammelte Nachrichten von den Ueberresten der Liven in Livland und Kurland”. Friedrich Gustav von Dunten died on 17 February 1783 at the age of 40 after an illness that lasted for five years (LVVA 235.5.16: 158op; 2728.1.538: 96–96op).
3. Summary

There was no direct pressure to choose the names of saints in the Western Church, as there was in the Eastern Church. Yet, the names of saints and the Apostles formed the majority of names chosen as Christian names. Based on the 1624 tax revision, of the 44 first names in the Livonian revenue district, 31 were such names: Marten (4), Tomas/Tohmas (4), Matz/Matzken (4), Hanß (4), Hans (3), Jan/Jans (3), Andres/Andreas (3), Jürgen/Jür (3), Jak/Jack (2), and Peter. If we add Grist Hanß (3), 70% of the first names were the names of saints and the Apostles. The same type of first names still predominated 60 years later, when, of the first names of the 40 farmers on Svetciems Manor, 31 were derived from the names of saints and the Apostles: Hans (5), Andrus/Andres (5), Jack (5), Jörgen (4), Mats (3), Tohm (2), Jahn (2), Jüri (2), Juhan, Tönnis, and Marten. The inconsistency in the way the names were written from the 17th to the 19th century prevents us from drawing any detailed conclusions, but based on the occurrence of the forms Hanß and Hans in the revision entries already in 1624, a parallel can be drawn with the name forms Anz, Ansch, and Ange, which were in use in the early 19th century. Also interesting is the custom of two first names that existed in the first half of the 17th century; and especially the fact that the first name in the pair of names was consistently Grist. The background of this custom is difficult to determine based on only one source and one can only surmise that this is a tradition that dates back to the Catholic era. The first name Pape/Poope, which appears significantly less frequently, may also refer back to the opposition that existed during the Reformation, but still held significant meaning in the 17th century. In summary, political and societal developments can quite often be seen behind the changes in the first name tradition from the 17th to the 19th century. Already during the Middle Ages, the name tradition was not just a local phenomenon but closely resembled the rest of the Christian space. Reformation-era opposition is also expressed in this and possibly even an expression of one’s own religious views. Apparently, in addition to the manifested continuity, the peasant name tradition left room for the demonstration of one’s support for good masters and influential godparents.
Table 1. First names in tax revision lists of 1624, 1683, and first names still used in the 19th century in the families of Salaca Livonians named by Sjögren (1849: 469)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Liwische wacke 1624</th>
<th>Svētciems Manor 1683</th>
<th>First names from the 17th c. still used in the 19th c.</th>
</tr>
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<td>Andres, Andreas (3)</td>
<td>Andrus, Andres (5)</td>
<td>Andres, Andreas</td>
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<td>Arend</td>
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<td>Ahren</td>
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<td>Brädrich</td>
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<td>Casper</td>
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<td>Cubbert</td>
<td>Didrick</td>
<td>Dirick, Dihrik</td>
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</table>

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References

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Märksõnad: Liivimaa, Salatsi liivlased, ajalooline onomastika, eesnimesed
Changes in Livonian first names in Salaca