

**FORMATION OF CULTURAL TRAITS
IN ESTONIA RESULTING FROM
HISTORICAL ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION**

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LIST OF PAPERS

- I Pae, T., Kaur, E., Aasa, A., Ahas, R.** 2006. Estonian cemeteries – formation and location features. – Journal of Baltic Studies (in press).
- II Pae, T., Sooväli, H., Kaur E.** Landmarks of Old Livonia – church towers, their symbols and meaning. – Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography (submitted).
- III Pae, T., Rimmel M-A.** 2006. Eesti etnonüümid, võrdnimed ja piirkonnanimed. – Keel ja Kirjandus nr. 3, lk. 177–190.
- IV Pae, T., Kaur, E.** 2004. Religious Places – Changing Meanings. The Case of Saaremaa Island, Estonia. In: H. Palang, H. Sooväli, M. Antrop. G. Setten; European Rural Landscapes: Persistence And Change In A Globalising Environment, Kluwer Academic Pub., pp. 123–137.

Author's contribution

Publications I–IV The studies were initiated and conducted by the author. The majority of the analysis of each article was carried out by the author. The author is fully responsible for the publications.

Learn to know your homeland,
and you also learn to love it
Jakob Lukats (1878–1947)

1. INTRODUCTION

Historians and geographers have always been attracted to study administrative arrangement of territories. The European historical administrative division and power relations have had significant impact on the occurrence of several cultural expressions all over Europe. The most widely known examples of traces of former authorities can be drawn from the Roman Empire (e.g. Hadrian's Wall of England) and the Austro-Hungarian Empire (e.g. numerous monuments in West Ukraine). In Finland many traces of the Swedish supremacy can be observed.

Several examples of cultural expressions springing from past administrative order can be seen in the present landscape. The territories on the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea shared the same administrative and cultural space with Germany for many centuries. Therefore, a number of cultural monuments from different periods of history of West European art can be found in Estonia. Curiously, one can encounter several cultural phenomena that are not evenly distributed in Estonia regardless of its smallness. The administrative arrangement of most of the rulers of Estonia has been based on the division of Estonia into two major regions, i.e. Estonian Province and Livonian Province (see figure 1)¹. As a rule, regions of Estonia have been ruled by one great power common to both provinces. Nevertheless, in some periods North Estonia and South Estonia were dominions of different states. In the second half of the 16th century the territory of Estonia fell to the control of four great countries – Poland, Sweden, Russia and Denmark. Consequently, power relations have had a significant cultural impact on different regions of Estonia.

Quite a number of events in Estonian history progressed in different ways in the two historical provinces. One of the most outstanding examples of this was the eradication of serfdom that took place in 1816 in the Estonian Province and was delayed in the Livonian Province until 1819. Historical statistics almost always differentiate between data from the Estonian and Livonian Provinces. Many published historical reviews usually deal with either the Estonian Province or the Livonian Province. In the field of geography a good example can be drawn from the special map by Carl Gottlieb Rücker (1839) who depicted only Livonia and the map by Johann Heinrich Schmidt (1844) showing only the Estonian Province. On the other hand, the Atlas of Livonia by Ludwig August

¹ The area of the present-day Estonia was historically divided into four provinces. Usually, a simplified approach is used, comprising two regions, i.e. Estonian Province corresponding to North Estonia and Livonian Province corresponding to South Estonia. The municipality of Narva (including Jaanilinn) formed part of St. Petersburg Province and the Setumaa region was part of Pskov Province. The Saare County is sometimes regarded as a separate administrative unit, but in general it is considered a part of Livonia.

Mellin also includes the Estonian Province, even though the name indicates otherwise².

The aim of the current thesis is to give an overview of cultural phenomena that feature provincial variance owing to historical administrative division of Estonia. The first part of the paper outlines the theoretical background for the study. In essence, the study is theoretically and methodically based on cultural geography. The second part of the thesis focuses on the formation of administrative and political systems in Estonia. In addition, the onomastic background of the toponyms *Livonia* and *Estonia* is presented. The main part of the thesis provides the reader with the overview of the location pattern of Estonian cemeteries and the usage of symbols on the spires of Estonian churches. This chapter also presents the analysis of facts and factors that have shaped these cultural manifestations. No doubt there are more aspects of culture, the territorial emergence of which corresponds to the historical



Figure 1. Geographical position of the Estonian Province, the Livonian Province and Kurland.

² In fact, the original name of the atlas (*Atlas von Lief- und Eestland und der Provinz Oesel*) refers to the Estonian Province.

administrative division. Some of these are briefly touched upon in this paper but the main attention is paid to the two selected items due to the fact that both cemeteries and church towers are well observable and prominent elements in the present cultural landscape. The analytical chapters of the thesis attempt to create links between the provincial border and other cultural expressions in the landscape and draw parallels between administrative units and landscape regionalisation.

The following chapters of the current paper are primarily based on published articles of the author listed on page 6.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Local history and geography forms the main viewpoint of the current thesis. The study shares common ground with the field of cultural geography above all, as well as political geography, physical geography and history. Cultural geography as an individual discipline separated from human geography in 1920s. The development of the field primarily owes to Carl Sauer and the Berkeley school. Cultural geography is an academic discipline dealing with spatial relations of individuals and groups, impacts of culture on human behaviour, as well as spatial arrangement of physical traces imprinted on landscape by human society (Cosgrove, 2000; Pragi, 2002). The latter aspect forms the focal interest of the current thesis. These materialised footprints of human activities rather than culture itself was the main domain of study of cultural geography in the early 20th century. A great deal of attention was paid to the dispersion of various characteristics of cultures in the landscape. Landscape was the central concept of works of Sauer. He published the methodology of his landscape research in the article “The morphology of landscape” in 1925. Sauer’s ideas prevailed in landscape studies of cultural geography until the mid-1980s when traditional approaches experienced a significant turn. The empirical studies of describing and mapping transformed into research with a cultural dimension of the construction and reproduction of social relations, known as ‘the new cultural geography’ (Cosgrove, 2000; Valentine, 2001; Sooväli, 2004). However, in Anglo-American research society the ideas of Sauer are still highly respected, framing the studies with traditional approaches (for examples see the *Journal of Cultural Geography* and *Ecumene*).

Cartographic maps showing the distribution of different geographical aspects have always been important for geographers. Edgar Kant was an exemplary scholar in early studies of Estonian geography. In his main work, dealing with the living space of Estonians, Kant (1935) extensively used the approach of spatial distribution of various geographical aspects. His study was mostly based on population and economic data, but at the same time, he also included aspects of culture in his analyses. In Soviet Estonia the cultural geography as a part of human geography was not accepted partly due to lack of research, but mainly because of the focus of Soviet human geography on economy and demography. According to Uudo Pragi (2005) the Soviet ideology also played an important role in the absence of cultural geography.

Even though cultural geography was formally missing, some studies were still carried out in the framework of historical geography and local historical and geographical research. Endel Varep and Jaan Eilart were the main contributing authors in cultural geography of that time. The former continued Estonian landscape research, enhancing it by adding historical aspects that were neglected by earlier scholars (Kurs, 1999). His reviews on Estonian landscape

regions included a great deal of material that in essence represented the field of cultural geography (see Varep, 1972). The major book by Eilart (1976), “Inimene, ökosüsteem ja kultuur” (‘Man, ecosystems and culture’), assembles his works on cultural geography. Eilart also supervised numerous studies in this field.

Studies carried out in Soviet period were based on empirical methods and did not embrace theoretical discussions characteristic to cultural geography. Traits of cultural geography can be noticed in some studies on Finno-Ugric peoples (Kurs, 1999). By today, two PhD theses and several BSc and MSc theses on cultural geography have been defended in the University of Tartu as pointed out by Hannes Palang (2005). A number of interdisciplinary studies dealing with landscape, one of the central concepts of cultural geography, have been carried out (see Palang and Sooväli, 2001; Peil et al., 2004; Palang et al., 2005).

The so-called old traditional paradigm of cultural geography forms the starting point of the current thesis. Although the old methods like geographical mapping and correlation detection and analysis have been widely criticised and objected, they still play important part in the discipline of cultural geography, especially in studies dealing with regional as well as local history and geography.

3. DATA SOURCES AND METHODS

The analytical part of this study comprises of spatial analysis of various cultural aspects based on fieldwork data and thematic maps. In this chapter a detailed overview of data sources will be skipped, as very heterogeneous and abundant data has been used in the study. The detailed description of data and methods is presented in respective articles attached to the thesis (see the list on page 6).

Data on Estonian cemeteries were derived from historical archives of National Heritage Board, various literature (e.g. Pärnumaa, 1930; Rebane, 2001; Saaremaa, 1934; Setumaa, 1928; Tartumaa, 1925; Valgamaa, 1932; Võrumaa, 1926), and maps. A Russian topographic map (scale 1:42,000) from the shift of the nineteenth and twentieth century provided useful information on religious background of cemeteries. The scale of this map enabled one to locate a number of graveyards in the landscape, especially in the case of graveyards that were not easily distinguishable in the scene due to abandonment and overgrowth. Additional information was obtained from the Estonian Historical Archives where records on death and burial data of Baltic German people can be found³. On the basis of collected data, a comprehensive database and typology of cemeteries was created.

In order to collect data on church tower iconography, large-scale fieldwork observations were carried out. These included visits to all the Estonian parish churches as well as to major chapels of ease. To identify the symbols of churches that were ruined in the Second World War as well as changes in the use of symbols on the spires of existing churches, old photos from the archives of the Estonian National Museum and the Estonian Literary Museum were used. The database comprises data of 133 rural churches.

³ Estonian Historical Archives (EHA), F. 1674, S. 2, I. 333–338. Nekropolis von Estland, Banden 1–6.

4. HISTORICAL FORMATION OF ESTONIAN AND LIVONIAN PROVINCES

The historical administrative division of Estonia has often been an area of interest for several researchers. The last century has been studied the most (Krepp, 1938; Uuet, 2002). No sufficient knowledge of the territorial division of Ancient Estonia has been obtained due to the shortage of data. During the early Iron Age, Estonia did not form one unitary state: rather we can talk about a federation of counties. Ancient Estonian counties were often led by a common administrative board and were acting according to a common plan (Laid, 1936). The so-called “kärjad”, held in Raikküla, Harju County, were well known meetings, where local tribes gathered to discuss acute topics. At the beginning of the 2nd millennium eight larger counties (Saare County, Lääne County, Harju County, Revala County, Viru County, Järva County, Sakala County, and Ugandi County) and some smaller counties in Central Estonia (Vaiga, Mõhu, Nurmekund, Jogentagana, Soopoolitse, and Alempois) had been formed⁴. The status of the counties mentioned last has stayed relatively vague. Regarding the persistence of these small counties, Jüri Uluots (1933) points out, that in the central part of Estonia no such threats like in the border areas were present, therefore the assemblage into a bigger county was hardly necessary. Ain Lavi (2002) denotes likewise, that the location in the shade of bigger counties had decisive importance to the existence of these smaller counties. Eerik Laid (1936) denies the concept of Central Estonian counties as independent administrative units, suggesting conversely that politically they depended on neighbouring areas in the south. Central Estonian counties are often regarded as parishes, which is a much older administrative unit than a county. A parish can be considered the primal form of state of our ancestors. Counties were formed only as a consequence of uniting neighbouring parishes. Central Estonian counties can be seen as parishes, which were only loosely tied to the neighbouring counties (primarily Ugala and Sakala). Physical-geographical factors also played an important role in the course of development of parishes as well as of counties. Large mire areas in the border areas of parishes are well observable in the landscape up to the present day (Lang, 2002; Peterson et al., 1998).

The first reliable data about administrative arrangement of Estonian territory occur in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia from the early 13th century (Henriku ..., 1982). Since then, various data sources can be found. As to the North Estonian counties, more precise information about the administrative division in the 13th century is available in the Liber Census Daniae (Johansen, 1933). The location of smaller counties of Central Estonia has also been relatively well studied (Kenkman, 1932; 1933). The division of South Estonian ancient

⁴ See appendix I.

counties into parishes has been studied by Enn Tarvel (1968). Marika Mägi (2002) has examined the settlement units of Saare County. Valter Lang (1996) has inspected the ancient county of Revala. While the sources mentioned above mainly deal with the boundaries bordering ancient parishes and their relations to the later parish system, neither the development of the borderline between the two major Estonian regions, the Estonian Province and Livonian Province, nor the cultural differences deriving from this large-scale division have been studied.

Although the Estonian administrative division into the Estonian and Livonian provinces took place mainly during the Middle Ages and was finally fixed during the Swedish Era, one can still notice the division of Estonian territory into northern and southern counties already in ancient times. Accordingly, the core counties of South Estonia were Ugala and Sakala, and the ones in North Estonia were Harju County, Viru County, Järva County, and Revala County. The relations of and communication between counties (incl. cultural exchange) have remained unclear. In the opinion of Uluots (1932), Ancient Estonia formed a federation of states (i.e. counties), where every single county had to consider the interests of the others. Ilmar Talve (2004) distinguishes between three regions of the Estonian territory before the Ancient Fight for Freedom. The first one included Saare County, the coastal areas of Lääne County, and coastal settlements of Revala County and Viru County further to the north and east. The inland areas, lying further away from the coast and consisting of the eastern part of Lääne County, Harju County, Järva County, and the southern part of Viru County formed the second region. The small counties of Central Estonia also belonged to this region. While the character of coastal areas was largely determined by maritime location and activities, clearing and burning forests for cultivation mostly occupied the inhabitants of Central Estonia. The third area included large counties of South Estonia: Sakala and Ugala. Active trade with Slavic people and the military threat coming from the east and the south put Sakala and Ugala into different situation compared with other regions of Estonia. It is difficult to answer clearly, whether the location of ancient counties had any effect on the formation of the provincial border between Estonia and Livonia or not. We can only assume that the northern border of Central Estonian counties, which pretty much belonged together with the large counties of South Estonia, formed the basic ground for the development of the provincial border.

As a separate question, the physical-geographical factors in the development of the provincial border should be addressed. In addition to the contesting Christianisation by Germans and Danes, to some extent, the landscape of Central Estonia had an effect on the formation of the border. Along the border between Estonian and Livonian provinces physical geographical regions not quite suitable for establishing human settlements can be observed even nowadays. One of the main corridors of the ecological networks of Estonia is located parallel with the historical provincial border (Külvik et al., 2003).

Starting from east, the province border ran through the southern part of Alutaguse region and Endla mires. Though further on, the borderline met fertile soils and indigenous settlement on the plain of Central Estonia, it soon found its way again through a landscape of forests and wetlands in southern Järva County (southern part of Kõrvemaa). Further on, the borderline ran through Kõnnumaa region and flew into the bog landscape of Pärnu County. Most likely, the existence of this kind of green belt of bogs and forests, passing through Estonia, has also influenced the formation of the borderline. The border between the Devonian and Silurian bedrock has played an important role in the formation of this green belt in Central Estonia.

4.1. The formation of administrative-political system on Estonian territory

The following chapter gives an overview of the formation of the administrative-political system of Estonian territory. The overview is based on literature, primarily on volumes of *Estonian History* (Eesti Ajalugu, 1936–40; 2003) and *Estonian history during early Modern Times* by Mati Laur (1999), if not mentioned otherwise.

The non-violent missionary work by Germans, which had started in 1180 among Livonians, did not give expected results. Christianisation was actively launched after 1199, when Albert became the bishop of Livonia (Riga). Under his leadership, the Christianisation turned into a crusade. In 1201 Riga was founded, and during the following centuries it became the largest city as well as major economic and cultural centre on the east coast of the Baltic Sea. After Livonians were Christianised by 1206 and Latgalians by 1208, the conquest against Estonians started. The core of the military power of Germans was the order Livonian Brothers of the Sword (later referred as the “Order” or “German Order”), founded in 1202, with its knight army. The first period of the Fight for Freedom lasted in 1208–1212 with the main military activities taking place in the counties of Sakala and Ugandi. In 1212, the anabasis reached Järva County. In the same year, an armistice was contracted, which lasted for three years. In 1215, war broke out again, and after several crusades of Germans during the summer, the inhabitants of Sakala and Ugandi made peace and let them Christianise. The terms of peace guaranteed the influence of the Catholic Church in the whole of South Estonia up to the Pala (Navesti) River and Emajõgi River. In early spring 1217, Estonians and Russians arranged a deal, which led to a besiegement of Otepää. The besiegement had a positive result for the allies, and Germans were forced to leave Otepää as well as the whole of South Estonia. But in autumn 1217, Estonians were befallen by a defeat in the Battle of Madisepäev. After the battle, Germans continued the conquest of Estonian territory; still, final success could not be achieved. The vague situation

of Germans forced bishop Albert to search for assistance, which he found among Danes. Instead of helping Germans, Danes started their own conquest. In 1219, King Valdemar II of Denmark arrived in Estonia. His navy landed in Lindanisa, Rāvala County. After the Battle of Lindanisa, Danes gradually fortified their power in Rāvala County. In 1219, Germans expanded their hold to Viru County, and the loot of Harju County was planned. Hence, the conquered areas of Danes and Germans met each other. After the loot of Viru County by Germans, Saare County remained the only free powerful county of Estonia.

In summer 1220, the real power areas of Germans and Danes became more and more clear. Although the division of land between Danes and the Order also depended on the circumstances of external affairs (e.g. at the Diet of Schleswig, bishops Albert and Theodorich promised to leave the whole territory of Estonia to the King of Denmark), the Christianisation of Estonian people was supposed to determine the ownership of the areas under discussion. By 1220, Germans had succeeded to Christianise only the people of counties of Ugala and Sakala, i.e. up to the River Emajõgi east of Lake Võrtsjärv and up to the River Navesti west of Lake Võrtsjärv. North from this border a number of loots were executed, but only governors were Christianised. In summer 1220, German missionaries started to Christianise inhabitants of counties of Järva, Alempois, and Vaiga, reaching partly even Viru County (Pudiviru). But in the northern and eastern part of Viru County, Danish priests had already got ahead. Paul Johansen (1933) describes the behaviour of Danish priests in Viru County with the following hypothesis based on the *Liber Census Daniae*. According to the hypothesis, two sets of priests were sent from Tallinn to Viru County, one along the sea to Toolse, and the other one across the northern part of Järva County to the western part of Viru County. As the trajectories of both groups intersected (Johansen illustrates this movement by using the phrase 'doubling of a hare'), Johansen presumes that Danes were in a hurry. In the southern part of Viru County, which was also approached by the priests of Riga, for political purposes Danes applied the so-called emergency Christianisation. Recently Christianised Estonians were also sent over there to assist carrying out baptizing and put up big wooden crosses in order to show that these areas were Christianised. As a result of such a race, almost the entire Järva County and Viru County were conquered by Danes by autumn 1220.

In 1220, Swedes conquered Lihula in Lääne County, the area that had been remained untouched by the previous conquests. However, the people of Saare County soon conquered Lihula, the centre of Swedes. Ridala remained free; in fact it would be more precise to say that its status remained unclear. Swedish loot turned out relatively beneficial for Danes. Ridala had been weakened as a consequence of the loot, and Danes had now chance to become the successors of the Swedish power without significant efforts. By winter 1220, practically the whole area of mainland Estonia was Christianised. By the end of that year, the division of power areas became more or less fixed, but the tensions between

Denmark and Germany did not vanish. The inhabitants of Saaremaa, the only free county, tried to conquer Tallinn in 1221 but did not succeed. Already in the next year Danes attempted to fix their position also in Saaremaa, but also without luck. The victory over Danes on their home island and the destruction of the stronghold encouraged the people of Saaremaa to free the whole territory of Estonia. Other counties allied with them and by the beginning of 1223 almost the whole territory of Estonia (excl. Tallinn) was freed from the foreign conquerors. Nevertheless, Estonians did not have enough power to stand against Germans. The conquest of Tartu in 1224 meant the final surrender of the mainland of Estonia. After the Estonians' final failed effort to free their land, several questions in the administrative-political life remained unsolved. Beforehand, the relation between Danes and Germans had to be maintained. Inter alia, the status of Lääne County and Viru County had remained unclear. The quarrel of Old Livonia reached Rome and Pope Honorius III designated Wilhelm, the bishop of Modena, to solve the contradiction. In 1226, as a result of his interaction, Lääne County, Järva County, and Viru County formed a kind of buffer state between Germans and Danes. Nevertheless, the buffer state did not last for long. After the departure of the legate from Livonia, both Germans and Danes were claiming the ownership of this area. Subsequently, the authority in Old Livonia tended to go over to the Germans' side and in 1227 the Danes left Tallinn and the whole area of Old Livonia fell to Germans. An important event of 1227 was the conquest of Saaremaa by Germans, by which the whole territory of Estonia was ultimately subjected to foreign power.

After the years of unclear status, Stensby Treaty of 1238 regulated the administrative arrangement of Old Livonia. According to the treaty, the Order had to return the Toompea stronghold of Reval together with Rāvala County, Viru County, Harju County, and Järva County to the King of Denmark. However, Danes handed Järva County over to the Order with a clause, that without a permission of Danes, Germans were not allowed to build castles there. The following period was full of conflicts between the Order and bishop, but the administrative border passing through Estonia from east to west was becoming more clear and fixed. A major change in administrative arrangement took place in relation to the Jüriöö Rebellion in 1343. The main events of the rebellion took place in Harju County that was ruled by Danes who asked for help from the Order to stifle the rebellion. As the actual power in North Estonia had shifted to the Order as a consequence of the stifling of the rebellion, Valdemar IV, the King of Denmark, decided to sell Estonia to the German Order. Harju County and Viru County, earlier subjected to Denmark, were joined with the holdings of German Order. The administrative-political situation on the territory of Estonia gained in 1346 lasted until the end of the State of the Order in the middle of the 16th century (1561).

In comparison with the administrative division of ancient counties, the only change that had taken place by that time, was the unification of the Rāvala County and Harju County into one administrative unit. Administratively,

Estonian territory was divided between the Order and the bishop, whereby the counties of North Estonia, Sakala County, small counties of Central Estonia, and some smaller areas on islands and in Lääne County belonged to the Order. Ecclesiastically, Estonian territory was divided into three parts: the Tartu bishopric (diocese), bishopric of Saare County and Lääne County, and the Tallinn bishopric. The southern part of the mainland Estonia formed the Tartu bishopric; Saare-Lääne bishopric embraced Lääne County, Saare County, and the northwest part of Pärnu County. Although North Estonia as well as the small counties in Central Estonia administratively belonged to the German Order, the ecclesiastical border matched the line of the later Estonian and Livonian province border. Major differences in comparison with the later province border existed in Pärnu County, where North-West Pärnumaa belonged to the Saare-Lääne bishopric. The Türi parish, later forming part of the Estonian province, belonged to Tartu bishopric during the reign of Order.

The confederation of Livonia existed until 1561, when North Estonia surrendered to Swedish power. Generally, the second part of the 16th century can be characterised as the era of wars on the territory of Estonia. There were many claimants to the fallen confederation of Livonia (Livonian War). Tartu bishopric and some parts of Viru County and Järva County were occasionally subjected to Russia, Northwest Estonia and Tallinn to Sweden, Saare County to Denmark, and South Estonia to Poland. According to the Jam Zapolsky Treaty of 1582 the Polish Era began in South Estonia, which lasted with a short break until 1629. Then the Piece of Altmark was signed and South Estonia fell under the control of Sweden. The Swedish Era in Estonia made its start. From this point on, we can talk about clearly defined administrative division into the provinces of Estonia and Livonia. This division existed until the beginning of the 20th century despite the changing power (after the Great Northern War, Russia became the ruler instead of Sweden). Only the collapse of Russian Empire in 1917 offered Estonians an opportunity to change the administrative-political system. On March 31st 1917 in Petrograd, Estonians submitted their project on the regulation of local government to the Provisional Government of Russia. According to the project, areas inhabited by Estonians should have been separated from Livonia and changed into a temporarily independent administrative unit (North Livonia). On April 8th 1917, a manifestation took place in Petrograd, organized by the Union of Estonian Republicans who insisted on meeting the autonomy request of Estonia. On April 13th, the Provisional Government of Russia passed a regulation "About the temporary order of the administrative organization and local government of the Estonian Province". According to the regulation, Tartu County, Võru County, Viljandi County, Pärnu County, and Saare County, i.e. the areas of Livonia inhabited by Estonians were joined with Estonian province. In compliance with the public poll carried out in Narva, also the area of Narva was joined with Estonian province in autumn 1917. In August, a commission was formed with a task to define the border between Estonia and Latvia as precisely as possible. In reality,

this task was fulfilled in 1920, only after the War of Independence (XX sajandi kroonika, 2002). As a result, the administrative border passing through Estonia from east to west that had persisted for almost seven centuries lost its importance.

4.2. Borders and administrative division of Estonian and Livonian provinces

The following paragraphs give an overview of the administrative division of Estonian and Livonian provinces and borders of the provinces mainly in the 18th–20th centuries. Whereas the main area of interest of this research lies on the territory of the present-day Estonia, in the case of Livonia, the overview is limited to its northern part, i.e. the area inhabited by Estonians.

Generally speaking, Estonian Province embraced the territory of North Estonia, except for Narva that belonged to the province of St. Petersburg. Since the 18th century, the borders of the province did not change significantly. Estonian Province comprised the following historical counties: Harju County, Viru County, Järva County, and Lääne County, which also embraced the island of Hiiumaa⁵. This traditional distribution of counties lasted until 1950, when the Soviet administrative reform was initiated. Only during the Russian regency in 1783–1795, the distribution of counties was different. In addition to the previously mentioned changes in borderlines, also Paldiski District was created (Laur, 2003; Vahtre, 1973).

The parish was another fundamental administrative unit besides the county. With regard to parishes, a distinction between the ecclesiastical and administrative units has to be made. Borders of these units mostly, but not always coincided, for instance, the same estate could belong to one parish administratively, but parts of it or the whole estate could belong to another parish ecclesiastically. Mihkli Parish with its exceptional location was the only parish split between between the Estonian and Livonian Provinces. The northwest part of Mihkli Parish, later the territory of Veltsa Community (nowadays the northwest part of Koonga Community), as well as the church of the parish belonged to Estonian Province, the southeast part at the same time lay in Livonian Province. Traditionally there were 49 parishes in the Estonian Province.

Livonian Province embraced the southern part of the present-day Estonia and North Latvia. The province border in the south ran mainly along the River Daugava. Only at Riga, the province extended south from the river. Historically, the core counties of South Estonia had been Sakala and Ugala, however, during the first half of the 18th century the Livonian Province consisted of three

⁵ See appendix I.

counties, including Pärnu County and Tartu County on mainland and the islands of Saaremaa and Muhu making up Saare County. In accordance with the Russian regency, the counties of Võru and Viljandi were added to Livonia on its Estonian part. In 1796–1888, Võru County together with Tartu County, and Viljandi County together with Pärnu County formed the so-called twin-counties (Laur, 2003) that were separated again in 1888⁶. The Livonian Province did not include Setumaa that was a part of the Pskov Province. Like in the case of North Estonia, such a structure of counties lasted until 1950 with the only exceptional event taking place in 1920–1921 when a new Valga County was formed of the communities of Viljandi County, Tartu County and Võru County that located close to the town of Valga (Haltenberger, 1926). While Valga County was inhabited mainly by Latvians and located primarily southwest from the town of Valga before, it now came to lie northeast from the town and embrace areas inhabited by Estonians. By the beginning of the 20th century, there were five counties together with 57 parishes in the Estonian part of the Livonian Province.

Despite the fact that the province border⁷ did not reckon with the ethnical borders, most of Estonians lived either in the Estonian Province or in the Estonian counties of the Livonian Province. In the surroundings of the town of Valga, some Estonian settlements were situated in Riga County in the 18th century, and later, including the period of Russian regency, in Valga County, which was mainly inhabited by Latvians (note that it differed from the present Valga County). The Setumaa and the town of Narva were also located outside the Estonian or Livonian Province. Interestingly, in the case of the Estonian Province, the ancient county names have been preserved, but the names of the counties in North Livonia derive from the names of the major urban centres (Pae and Remmel, 2006).

Nowadays, several counties also have their borderline along the past province border. The following examples illustrate the main administrative changes that have occurred compared to previous centuries. Avinurme Community⁸ and Lohusuu Community that historically belonged to Tartu County are now parts of Ida-Viru County. Kabala Community, which existed until 2005, now forming the southern part of Türi Community, and Imavere Community

⁶ See appendix I.

⁷ Pictures of the signposts and other installations marking the borderline between Estonian and Livonian province could not be gained. Probably, there was a coat of arms of Noble Corporation on the border showing the change in administrative region (see appendix II). E.g., that kind of a mark could be seen in Kuivastu when arriving in Saare County (see appendix III). M. Hunnius (2000) mentions in his memories, that there was a frontier post with the colours of Noble Corporation on the border: „... we arrived at the border of Estonia and Livonia and saw a frontier post in the colours of Estonian Noble Corporation – green, violet, and white.“

⁸ Present names of local communities are used here.

that belonged to Viljandi County in the Livonian Province are now located in Järva County. Rutikvere area too has historically been part of Viljandi County. The southern part of Kärü Community and the southeastern part of Kehtna Community, both belonging to Rapla County today, were historically parts of Pärnu County. Major changes have taken place also in the border area between Lääne County and Pärnu County. Varbla Community, which historically belonged to Lääne County, is part of Pärnu County today. Mihkli Parish, once divided into halves by the province border, also belongs to Pärnu County (Koonga Community).

5. ONOMASTIC BACKGROUND OF THE TOPONYMS “ESTONIA” AND “LIVONIA”

This chapter gives an overview of the history, meaning, and use of the toponyms *Estonia* and *Livonia*. The usage of these toponyms is sometimes confusing, as both names have denoted several areas in the history. For instance, the medieval term *Old Livonia* designates both Livonia and Estonia.

5.1. Livonia

Presumably, the name *Livonia* originates from Germans, who named the land they conquered after the name of the people they met first (Pistohlkors, 2002). The toponym *Livonia* (in Estonian *Liivimaa*, in German *Livland*) has designated areas of different size in the course of time. According to Mauno Koski (1997), *Livonia* has meant the following regions in different times: the area inhabited by ancient Livonians east of the Gulf of Riga; the territory of Germans, which in the 1220's embraced besides the area of Livonians also the area of Latgalians, South and Central Estonia and since 1347 also the counties of North Estonia (later, the entire territory of Latvians and Estonians has been referred to as Old Livonia); the areas of Poland including the Latvian counties north from the River Daugava and the Pärnu County and Tartu County; the same area as the latter, excluding Latgalia, which belonged to Poland and was called the Polish Livonia; and lastly, the Vidzeme County in Latvia. Even as late as in the 18th century, the term *Livonia* was still used to designate the whole Lutheran and German-speaking region on the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea. Laur (2000) illustrates this by referring to "Livländische Jahrbücher" and "Livländische Bibliothek" of Friedrich Konrad Gadebusch, which cover also the areas of the Estonian Province and Kurland. Moreover, August Wilhelm Hupel (1774) admits that at the end of the 18th century problems existed in the usage of the term *Livonia*, as it was never quite clear whether one or both provinces were meant.

5.2. Estonia

Alike the toponym *Livonia* the name *Estonia* is also somewhat confusing. Problems mainly started only after Estonia gained independence in the 20th century. The history and formation of the ethnonym *Estonian* and the toponym *Estonia* (Eesti) has been discussed in a number of studies (e.g. Aavik, 1922;

Ariste, 1968; Inno, 1981; Palmaru, 1980). The name *Estonia*⁹ (in Estonian *Eesti*, in German *Estland*) probably has roots in the word *aist* that was used by Germanic people to demote primarily the Baltic tribes residing in areas northeast of the River Vistula. The first reference to *Aists* can be found in the work of the Roman historian Publius Cornelius Tacitus called *Germania* from the 1st century. Only in the middle of the 19th century the ancestors of the present-day Estonians gradually started to adopt the ethnonym “Estonian”. However, in the remote southeast corner of the country the term remained almost unknown until the end of the 19th century. Paul Ariste (1968) opposes the latter fact, pointing out that Estonians already used this term in some localities in the 18th century.

Estonian nationalism in the present sense evolved during the national awakening in the 19th century and went through its rebirth during the establishment of Estonian Republic. The implementation of common literary language that was based on the dialect spoken by people of Estonian Province, may have had an influence on the adoption of the ethnonym *Estonian* (Palmaru, 1980). Although in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia (Henriku ..., 1982), *Estonia* denoted the whole territory inhabited by ethnic Estonians, the conquest of the Estonians’ limited the use of this name to a smaller area comprising only North Estonia. The toponym *Estonia* was used this way until the beginning of the 20th century. After Estonia had gained independence, problems occurred how to distinguish between the meaning of the former Estonian Province and a newly born Estonian state. In order to prevent confusion, *Eesti* was used instead of *Estland* in texts in German (e.g. Michael Haltenberger, 1926. Landeskunde von Eesti; Heinrich Riikoja, 1930. Zur Morphometrie einiger Seen Eestis). Both provinces have occasionally been called after the existing capital city, i.e. the Tallinnamaa and the Riiaamaa, respectively (Tuglas, 1914).

⁹ The toponym *Estonia* has two parallel names in Estonian – *Eesti* and *Eestimaa* that are used synonymously today. Historically, the toponym *Eestimaa* denoted only the Estonian Province.

6. PROVINCIAL DIFFERENCES OF CULTURAL TRAITS

6.1. Cemeteries in churchyards

Throughout history cemeteries have been associated with the church. Following the legislation passed by the Empress Catherine II in 1772 and 1773 interment in churchyards became forbidden in the Russian Empire. However, in Estonian Province, in many churchyards we can still find burial grounds in churchyards and even more interestingly, in some of those interments take place also today.



Figure 2. Cemeteries at churchyards of Lutheran parish churches.

Several authors (Hupel, 1777; Köpp, 1934; Miller, 1973) have discussed variances in the usage of churchyards for burials between provinces. Indeed, a distinct regional division exists, as can be seen on figure 2. Cemeteries in churchyards are found only in the northern part of Estonia that belonged to the Estonian Province. Most of these graveyards that were mainly used to bury nobility and clergy have long ago been deprived of active use. In southern Estonia, once part of the former Livonian Province, there are no cemeteries in churchyards (see appendix IV). This dissimilarity derives from the unlike implementation of laws (Полное ..., 1830) by provincial authorities¹⁰.

¹⁰ Provincial regulation of Estonia, Estonian Historical Archives, F. 858, S. 1, I. 123: 37; provincial regulation of Livonia "Livländische Gouvernements-Regierungs-Patente. Gesammt und nach Herrn General-Superintendenten Dr. Sonntag chronologischen Verzeichnisse geordnet v. C.F.W. Goldmann." – Library of the University of Tartu, Estica: 1955.

Churchyard cemeteries were missing in some of the parish centres (e.g. Paide and Rakvere) due to special municipal regulations that were introduced in order to remove cemeteries from churchyards located in densely populated urban centres to the suburbs.

6.1.1. Baltic German family cemeteries

Rulers and elite have always been keen on establishing burial sites separate from those of ordinary people. Pompous tomb buildings are known as mausoleums. One of the most famous of these is the Halikarnassos mausoleum¹¹ in Bodrum, Turkey. Another globally well-known memorial place is the mausoleum of Lenin¹² on Red Square in Moscow. The most outstanding tomb building in Estonia is the mausoleum of Barclay de Tolly at his family cemetery in Jõgeveste (Beckhof). This is the only crypt of such a monumental kind in Estonia (Helme, 2006), while the more modest private burial sites are quite abundant.

Due to the laws adopted in 1772 nobility was obliged to start burying outside the church and churchyards. As a result, many Baltic German family cemeteries occurred, some of which were set up within public graveyard and some on private ground. In effect, the very first private cemeteries were founded even earlier. These include cemeteries established in Adavere (Addafer) and Purdi (Noistfer) already in 1761 (EHA, F. 1674 S. 2 I. 333–338). In Latvian part of the Livonian Province a private cemetery of the Ungrumiža (Orellen) estate was established in 1760 (Lancmanis and Dirveiks, 1998). Taavi Pae and Helene von Schilling (2003) give an overview of the ownership and current status of Baltic German private cemeteries in their article published in the journal *Nachrichtenblatt der Baltischen Ritterschaften*.

Data of the first records of burials in private cemeteries show that most of these were founded in Estonia during 1830s and 1840s. Around this time the free-design English garden tradition became widely adopted. Alongside with the establishment of park pavilions, arbours, bridges and exposing ruins also memorial monuments were set up in accordance with this gardening style (Leisner, 2003). English landscape gardens emerged in England in the middle of the 18th century and appeared in Estonia by the end of the century. The landscape garden style became more widely used during the first half of the 19th century (Brafmann, 1980).

¹¹ The word ‘mausoleum’ derives from the name of king Mausolos, the famous king of Caria. Monumental tomb of king Mausolos and his wife Artemisia was built in 351 BC at Halikarnassos. It became a structure so famous that it was called one of the seven wonders of the world. Halikarnassos was destroyed in 334 BC by Alexander the Great.

¹² Constructed in 1930.



Figure 3. Baltic German family cemeteries.

The distribution pattern of Baltic German cemeteries shows variation between former administrative provinces (see figure 3). There are more private graveyards in the Livonian Province due to the eradication of burying in churchyards after the laws of 1772. In the Estonian Province many landlords went against the rule and kept on burying in churchyards. The majority of Baltic German family cemeteries within Livonia are found in the eastern part of the province that was better-off than the rest of the country at that time, owing to more favourable soil conditions (see Kant, 1935). Analysing the amount of Baltic German family cemeteries in relation to the number of estates, a clear predominance of private graveyards in Livonia can be seen. Private cemeteries were the most frequent in Viljandi County where almost half of the estates had family cemeteries (see table 1).

As can be detected on map, Baltic German family cemeteries form a cluster-like location pattern that can be explained by the fact that neighbouring estates tended to behave in the same manner and copied what they saw from each other. The number of estate cemeteries in Estonian Province is the highest in Jõhvi Parish. Curiously, the Jõhvi Parish churchyard is one of the few in this province that has not been used for burials during the last couple of hundred years. This explains the abundance of private graveyards.

Table 1. The number of manor estates and estate cemeteries per county in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Province/County	Number of private estates (Rosenberg, 1994)	Number of private estate cemeteries	Frequency
Estonia	549	36	7
Harju County	149	6	4
Järva County	98	10	10
Lääne County	145	7	5
Viru County	157	13	8
Livonia	290*	62	21
Tartu County	117	16	14
Võru County	79	15	19
Viljandi County	56	25	45
Pärnu County	38	6	16
Saare County	66	3	5

*Not including Saare County

6.1.2. Symbols used on top of church towers

Matthias Johann Eisen (1926) who has inspected the meaning of cock on top of church towers claimed it is the prevailing tower symbol on Estonian Lutheran churches. However, the towers of more recent rural churches feature a cross as a substitute for a cockerel. According to Eisen (1926) the Lutheran churches in Russia never have a rooster atop the church tower. Russians are known as having made fun of Lutherans for placing and admiring a cockerel on a church tower. Russians have ironically called Lutherans the *petuhopoklonniki* ('worshippers of cockerels'). One can encounter several more instances of mocking the towers of Lutheran churches because of the cockerels they have (see Ilmjärve..., 1929; Rebane, 1933).

The regional distribution of spire statues in Estonia has not been addressed in earlier studies. The following paragraphs of the current thesis give overview of the distribution of symbols on top of Estonian church towers.

An orb surmounted by cross and a cockerel on top of orb are the two most dominant symbol combinations used on church towers in Estonia (see table 2 and appendix V). Either of these combinations characterizes 70% of all Estonian churches. However, a cross takes the lead over a cockerel. The cross and cockerel appear together on eleven churches, most frequently arranged into the upward sequence of orb, cockerel and finally cross. The above mentioned symbols are often complemented by a weather-vane. That however, is more common on churches with a cross on top of the tower rather than on those with a cockerel, as in effect the latter itself often represents the weather-cockerel.

Table 2. Occurrence of different symbols on Estonian rural church towers.

Symbol type (listed in upward sequence)	Occurrence
Orb-cross	62
Orb-cockerel	31
Cross	14
Orb-weathervane-cross	9
Orb-cockerel-cross	5
Orb-weathervane-cross-cockerel	2
Orb-cross-cockerel	2
Orb-cockerel-orb-cross	1
Orb-weathervane-cockerel	1
Orb-weathervane-cockerel-cross	1
Orb-morning star	1
Weathervane-cross	1

The Kanepi church (1810) in South Estonia features an exceptional tower with a morning star on the top (Võrumaa..., 1926). The church belonged to the patronage of the Ungern-Sternberg family, the masters of Erastvere estate. The morning star was the symbol of the Unger-Sternberg family. The morning star atop the tower of Kanepi church was replaced by cross in 1893 and reinstated again in 2000.

The regional pattern of using a cockerel as a church tower symbol shows clear variance between former provinces. The majority of cockerels are found in Livonia (see figure 4) whereas in the Estonian Province the cockerel is a rare symbol. Nevertheless, in coastal areas of Northwest Estonia a kind of cluster can be recognized representing churches with cockerels atop the tower. Ethnic Swedes inhabited these areas from the Middle Ages until the Second World War. As cockerels are quite widely used in Sweden it may be argued that Swedish tradition had some impact also on church building in the overseas Swedish settlements. However, the Ruhnu Island and the Pakri Islands the ethnic composition of which was almost entirely made up of Swedes turn down this argument, as a cockerel was missing there.

Within Livonia cockerels were more widely used in eastern part of the province. In Pärnu County only few cockerels have been identified and on Saaremaa Island there is only one. The tradition of using cockerels is not completely absent in Pärnu County, as the St. Elizabeth Church has and St. Nicholas Church demolished in the Second World War had a cockerel atop the tower. Absence of cockerels on Saaremaa Island can be best explained by the historical distinctiveness of the region. Irrespective of being formally part of the Livonian Province, Saaremaa had its own knighthood and administrative bodies.

The map on figure 4 presents the current location pattern of spire symbols of Estonian rural churches. Additionally, churches that were destroyed in the Second World War are included. The churches of Kolga-Jaani, Helme and Tarvastu in South Estonia that now have cross on the tower top are known to have carried a cockerel in the past, thus confirming the historical tradition of using cockerels in Livonia.

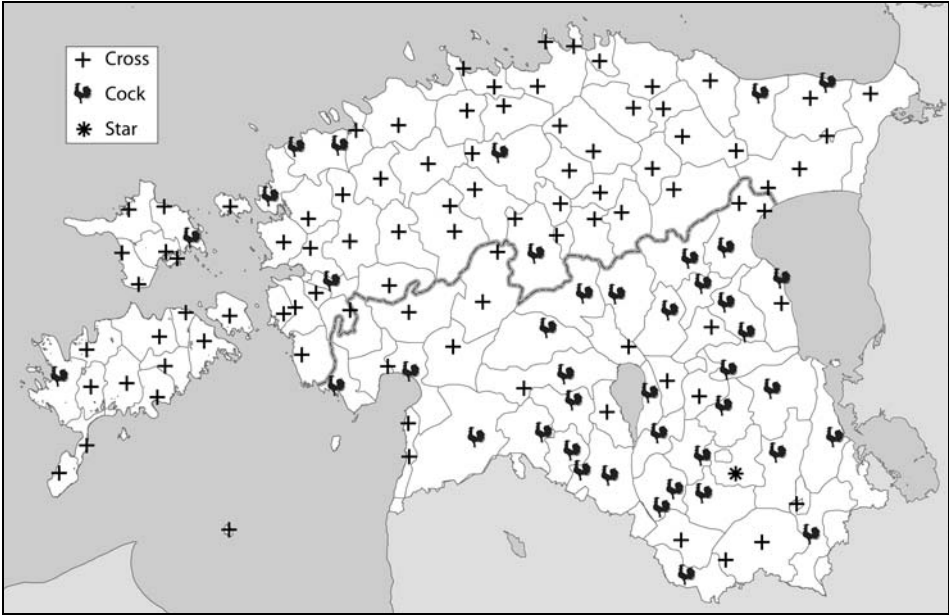


Figure 4. Church tower symbols of Estonian rural churches.

7. DISCUSSION

As becomes evident from the described examples, in case of several cultural events a clear line runs along the province border between Livonia and Estonia. This kind of administrative border started to develop in the 13th century, when Christianisation of the region of Estonia took place. The Daugava River estuary, where the city of Riga was founded, became the first location for crusades that arrived from Germany and from where the further action originated. The Danish invasion took place through Tallinn and in the beginning of 13th century the counties of Northern Estonia belonged to Denmark. Due to the conquest that originated from two directions, an administrative border developed in Central Estonia, that divided the territory of Estonians. Consequently Riga became the capital for southern Estonians, and the influence of Tallinn appeared only in Northern Estonia. At this point it is important to mention the fact, that after the ancient struggle for freedom the ancient counties of Estonia were not destroyed. The invaders formed new borders by considering the ancient ones (Uluots, 1933). Undoubtedly, natural conditions also played a big role in the development of province borders. Since the ancient borders of counties and parishes already ran along the areas unsuitable for settlement, the latter province border copied the extensive zone of mires and forests, dividing Northern and Southern Estonia. This ecological corridor, traversing Estonia in the east-west direction can be clearly distinguished on some historical maps (e.g. the map of Livonia and Kurland by Justus Danckerts, presumably from the year 1660, copy by Raid, 2002; see appendix VI). The border passing through Estonia in the east-west direction remained until the year 1917, when the habitat of Estonians was consolidated under single jurisdiction. Nowadays, the province border is not really traceable. The borders of local communities and counties run along it, but it is not considered relevant.

The examples, highlighted in articles attached to this paper, about the importance of province borders in the development of cultural phenomena, are certainly not the only ones. For instance most of the orthodox churches are located in Southern Estonia, because of the fact that religious conversion movement that took place in the 19th century influenced the Livonian Province in particular. Estonians, especially living in South Estonia came into contact with Orthodoxy during 1840s. Religious conversion movement began in the year 1841 and expanded in the year 1845. Several authors, first and foremost Hans Kruus (1930), think that the religious conversion movement had no connection with religion. Jaanus Plaat (2001; 2003), in his research on religious life in Western-Estonia in the 19th century, talks about the change of church not religion. In 1840s, ferment developed as a purely social movement, during which people demanded the improvement of economical and social situations. Even though spiritual knowledge of the people concerning new religion was often superficial, quite a lot of cultural expressions are noticeable. Most

important of which in the landscape are the orthodox churches, built mainly in the second half of the 19th century. This gave a reason for the establishment of graveyards and schools. The architecture of the Orthodox Church was without a doubt a new phenomenon for the Livonian peasantry (Pae and Kaur, 2003).

The phenomena resulting from the province border are until now noticeable also on the agricultural land, i.e. cattle breeding (see figure 5; Pae, 2006). In Livonia, the initiator of selective breeding was Alexander Theodor von Middendorff, on the initiative of whom Estonian Red cattle developed into a dominant cattle strain in Southern Estonia. To Northern Estonia, people mainly imported cows of the Dutch Frisian and East Frisian breed, which formed into Holstein herd (Lepajõe and Oll, 1998). The organizations coordinating cattle breeding differed in each province. If initially the Generally Useful and Economic Society of Livonia and the Estonian Agricultural Society handled relevant questions, then with the development of cattle breeding, it became necessary to fixate quality of the breed in herd books, in order to improve subsequent herds (Kivimäe, 1994). In the year 1885, by the initiative of Middendorff, a Baltic Cattle Breeders' Association, the first to start registering cattle in herd books, was established as the branch of Generally Useful and Economic Society of Livonia. This association registered both Estonian Red

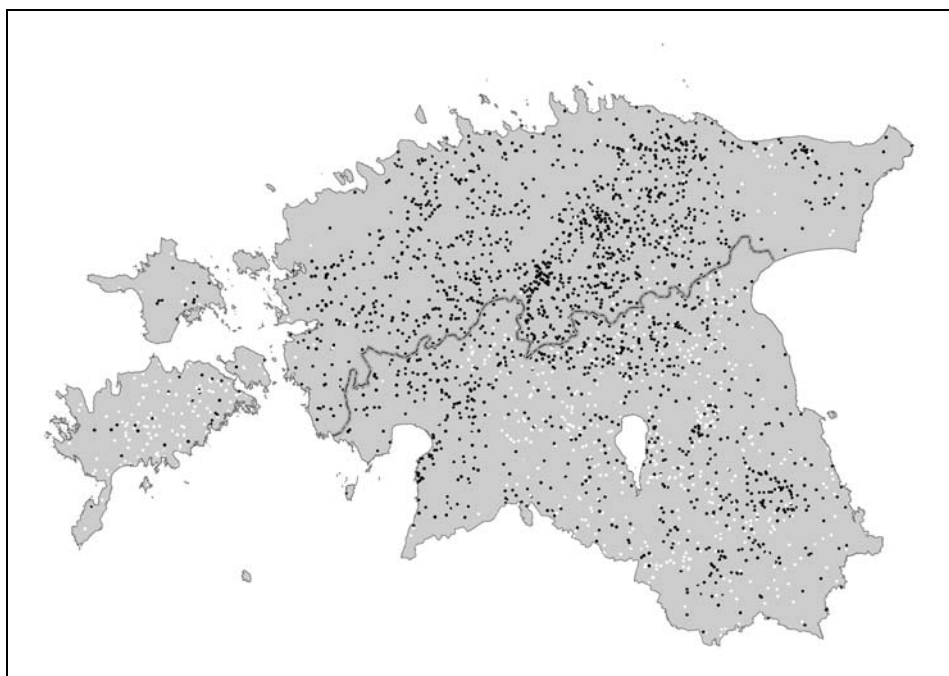


Figure 5. The division of Estonian cattle breeds in 2005. Each dot marks 100 individuals. White dots stand for Estonian Red and black dots for Estonian Holstein (PRIA, 2005).

and Dutch Frisian breeds. But in the middle of 1890s the Estonian cattle breeders decided to separate from Livonians and established a society for cattle breeders of Estonian Dutch Frisian breeds. The organizational division between the two provinces is definitely one of the main reasons why cattle breeding in dissimilar provinces differed.

In terms of cultural geography, it is also interesting to observe the division of the German nobility on our territory during the history of Estonia. In the course of time, due to a combination of several political factors, by the 16th century, actually three knighthoods had evolved on the territory of Estonia: the knighthoods of Estonia, Livonia and Saaremaa. As a result of the difference between knighthoods, several processes ran their own course (i.e. buying farms for perpetuity) (Talve, 2004; Laar, 2005). In the University of Tartu, students were grouped into corporations according to the family background of the student. As a result, corporations such as Livonia, Curonia and Estonia were formed (Piirimäe, 1996). There was no corporation for people from Saaremaa.

In addition to being different province by province, knighthoods had also different politics. The biggest of Baltic provinces – the Knighthood of Livonia – can be characterized as the most dynamic, variegated in the sense of political groups, and also prone to reforms. This was the kingdom from which the initiatives of the most important reforms for Baltic provinces originated from (e.g. the transition from quitrent to financial lease for peasants) (see Tobien, 1925; Wittram, 1934; Wittram, 1954). The knighthood of Estonia on the other hand, was more conservative and not very active in following reforms of the Livonians (Tobien, 1925; Pistohlkors, 1978). The difference between nobilities in different counties is nicely concluded by the words of Berndt von Staden (2004): "...the relationship between the old provinces balanced between mutual respect and backstabbing for a long time. Livonians were reproached for being intellectually imperious as well as slightly arrogant; whereas Estonians were accused of being flippant sybarites, having hardly any intellectual interests and an inclination to adapt themselves according to a situation." The closeness of St. Petersburg undoubtedly played an important role for the Estonian nobility (Stackelberg, 2003). One can recognize that a similar contrast between south and north of Estonia applies to Baltic Germans as well.

7.1. The connections between province borders and the field of folk culture

On the basis of the examples given in the research, it is not possible to recognize that a province border has differentiated the two large cultural geographical regions. The spread of phenomena described in given examples is mainly the result of the discretion of foreign rulers that have ruled on the territory of Estonia, whereas the cultural geographical division of peasantry

went the other way. There are references, indicating that the province border has also represented a border for the distribution of characteristic national culture. So Ilmari Manninen (1927) makes an example out of the national clothing on the territory of Estonia, in the case of which certain decorative motives did not spread across the province border i.e. the border hindered the spread of a cultural phenomenon. But Aliise Moora recognizes that since neither the territory of the Estonian Province nor the Livonian Province is culturally undivided, the tribe relations reach far back into the history. The areas of national culture groups and the districts of Estonian idiom usually overlap (Moora, 1956). The influence of the province border on the communication between people living near the border has been analyzed by Heno Sarv (2000). He recognizes that within the present-day context and in case of cultural relations, province border could be studied differently. In case of Mihkli parish that was mentioned earlier, province border pervading the territory, has not changed the feeling of identity of the local people. Mihkli parish is treated as unitary also in ethnographical studies. However, Sarv also brings an example from the present day Kāru community, in which northern villages, that had historically belonged to Harju County, do not feel closely related to southern villages, which belonged to Pärnu County.

When analyzing several distribution maps of folk culture, indeed, one can assert that the province border was not especially significant for the spread of the phenomena of folk culture. Liivia Kivisaar-Feoktistova (1959) recognizes that for instance, in case of the spread of most important agricultural tools one can notice the distribution between three districts. Simply put, these are the areas of West Estonia and the islands, Northern and Central Estonia, and South and South-East Estonia. This distribution applies to a number of other phenomena of material culture as well (see e.g. the map of regions of Estonian folk culture; Viires, 2004).

Although according to Tiit Hennoste and Karl Pajusalu (2002), dialect borders do not run correspondingly to the province border, from the viewpoint of dialect development, the importance lies in east-west directional administrative borders. Even though province border lies north from the borderline dividing North Estonian and South Estonian dialects, dialects in the so called heart of Estonia can be treated as a transitional area (Saareste, 1932). One can notice regional peculiarities when studying ethnonyms as well. The difference between provinces is not likely to be of big importance here either; there is an overlap rather between regional abundance of tribe- and nicknames and the areas of language and culture. When analyzing ethnonyms proceeding mainly from the dictionary of Ferdinand Johann Wiedemann (1973), one can find regularity, which shows that people in South Estonia and the islands have used pejorative nicknames more often. North Estonia has not been that wealthy in nicknames or their nicknames just are not that widespread (Pae and Rimmel, 2006; Rimmel, 2003).

7.2. Estonian landscape regions

As became clear from the examples presented earlier, there are a number of cultural phenomena, that are conditioned by the historical division of the territory of Estonia into two districts. The regionalisation of Estonian landscapes has up until now been grounded on characteristics of natural landscape components (see e.g. Granö, 1922; Varep, 1964; Kildema, 1969; Arold, 2005; Järvet and Kask, 1998). Most of the regionalisation experiments are based on the conception of Higher and Lower Estonia. According to this, Estonian settlement pattern has evolved during a longer period in Higher Estonia where more fertile soil has been available. The retreat of the ice sheet took longer in Lower Estonia, which remained under ice lakes for a longer period of time and as a result, the development of landscape has been over a shorter period (Kant, 1935; Tammekann, 1933; Varep, 1964). The border between the outcrops of Silurian limestone and Devonian sandstone, traversing the mainland Estonia rather similarly to the province border, is considered the second important natural geographical border (Mander and Palang, 1994). Because of the bedrock, several cultural practices, first and foremost using of building materials, are rather different district by district. While natural clay buildings were quite typical in the farm architecture of South Estonia, then in North Estonia, people frequently used limestone. While in South Estonia the main building material for churches are burnt bricks, in North Estonia, it is limestone. The two most prominent sacral buildings in South Estonia, the Dome Cathedral and St. John Church in Tartu, were constructed of burnt bricks. The most northern medieval sacral building, where burnt bricks are used, is the parish church in Türi (Eesti arhitektuur III, 1997; Raam, 1972).

At the same time, there are standpoints, stating that the Estonian landscape regionalisation contains similarities with the cultural division. In order to define landscape regions Mikk Sarv uses parish borders (Sarv, 1999). Kallio Kildema (1968; 1969) has also briefly dealt with the connections between administrative units and landscape categorisation units, indicating several overlaps between landscape regions and administrative units because of the relief, degree of paludification and the share of agricultural land. According to Leonid Arbusow (1911) the counties of that time coincide with landscape units (Landschaften). The influence of administrative borders while categorizing landscape units has not been thoroughly analyzed, but the data assembled into this research indicate that administrative borders also contain important components for regionalisation of landscapes. So it would be reasonable to also consider administrative borders while categorizing landscape units.

Kildema is one of the few researchers, the landscape division conception of whom proceeds from the border between outcrops of limestone and sandstone (see Kildema, 1969). Based mainly on relief, degree of paludification and the share of cultivated land, he divides the territory of Estonia into two halves along

the border between the outcrops of Silurian and Devonian sediments. Earlier attempts of landscape regionalisation proceed mainly from geomorphology and less attention is paid to human factors (Peil et al; 2004). When considering the values created by human activities, one can consent with Kildema's (1969) division of the territory of Estonia into two major regions – Northern and Southern Estonia. This division is especially well noticeable in the eastern part of Estonia, where in addition to the particularities proceeding from the administrative province border, also differences due to the bedrock appear in architecture, dialect, and folk culture. In reality, borders defining the regional differences of these aspects of culture do not exactly run over one another, but in general terms, one can identify the so-called transition zone in Central Estonia between two major landscape regions. It can be stated that the folk culture and landscape of Southeast Estonia and Viljandi County belong together and differ significantly for instance from Pandivere area in Higher Estonia. When taking into consideration the folk culture as well, then Pandivere Upland, located on the border area between Järva County and Viru County, belongs together rather with the Harju plateau and the Viru plateau.

North Estonia or the so-called limestone Estonia is characterized by extensive industrial activity. The development of many small North Estonian towns is associated with industry. The basis for industry in this area lies in Ordovician or Silurian limestone, as well as Cambrian clays. Kildema (1969) has referred to North Estonia as “the Industrial North”. The landscape of North Estonia (especially Northeast Estonia) has undoubtedly been more influenced by large-scale human activity (see Pae et al., 2005). An economic-geographical position at the seaside, an east-west direction railway passing through the whole area and the influence of Tallinn as the capital of Estonia, are the main factors defining the development of the region. Northeast Estonia and the surrounding areas of Tallinn became the prioritized industrial areas during the Soviet period, because of which the share of North Estonian population rose drastically (Raagmaa, 2000). The ethnic composition of the population in North and South Estonia also features significant differences. According to the census of the population conducted in the year 2000, 57% of the population in the counties of North Estonia¹³ is Estonians, whereas the percentage of Estonians in the counties of South Estonia¹⁴ was 88.

South Estonia on the other hand can be characterized as an agricultural region. Kildema (1969) refers to South Estonia as “the Agricultural South”. Due to the geographical position of South Estonia, compared to that of North Estonia, the area is less advantageous in terms of economic opportunities, and moreover, in the view of the fact that agricultural production has decreased

¹³ Ida-Viru County, Lääne-Viru County, Järva County, Harju County, Rapla County, Hiiu County, and Lääne County.

¹⁴ Võru County, Valga County, Põlva County, Tartu County, Jõgeva County, Viljandi County, Pärnu County, and Saare County.

severely during the last one and a half decades, South Estonia has been forced to introduce rearrangements. South Estonia, Southeast Estonia in particular, is becoming one of the main destinations of inner tourism.

People have often tried to contrast North and South Estonia, both mentality-wise as well as with reference to the individual characteristics of people. Friedebert Tuglas (1914) discusses that due to the differences of natural environment in South and North Estonia, two types of people with different turns of mind exist. This is revealed for instance in literature, since most of the realist writers come from North Estonia and romantic poets from South Estonia. While observing both the differences proceeding from the historical administrative division of cultural phenomena as well as physical geography, the author of this research suggests that regionalisation of Estonian landscapes should be based on the division of the territory into three major landscape regions: North Estonia, South Estonia and West Estonia. From this kind of generalization it is possible to proceed with a more detailed landscape categorization.

8. CONCLUSION

In the current summarizing paper of the thesis, an impact of the borderline between the Estonian and Livonian provinces on the formation of cultural phenomena in respective administrative territories has been analysed. Although the border separating Estonia and Livonia has had no practical importance for almost a century by now, the remnants resulting from it can still be seen in the landscape. Thus, we can observe numerous cultural phenomena, the occurrence of which varies between the two provinces. The provincial border started to develop in the beginning of the 13th century and lasted until the beginning of the 20th century.

It can be assumed that North and South Estonia differed culturally already during ancient times, but no doubt, the province border formed a kind of barrier that made the existing provincial differences in the way of life and cultural background even more apparent. These kind of differences in the spread of cultural phenomena derives from administrative arrangements implemented in respective administrative space for the most part, and partly from the spread of traditions. Estonian and Livonian churchyards represent the best example to illustrate the varying impact of regulations performed by administrative authorities in respective provinces. The preferences of authorities have also influenced standard design projects in architecture. Preferences in the use of symbolics of church spires demonstrate how traditions can transfer. The extensive usage of the cockerel as a symbol on church towers in Livonia has followed the lead of Riga, whereas in Estonian Province Tallinn has given a lead to use cross as a prevailing symbol.

Similarly to the province border, a border between the outcrops of Devonian and Silurian bedrock runs through Estonia from east to west, resulting in dissimilar scenery in North and South Estonia. In the cultural landscape this is distinctively reflected in the use of building materials: in South Estonia clay and burnt brick have been used as traditional building materials, whereas in North Estonia limestone is the basic material.

In addition to the previously mentioned borderlines, a border between the fields of folk culture also passes through Estonia from east to west. In terms of folk culture, Estonian territory can be divided into three major regions – South Estonia, North Estonia, and West Estonia together with the islands. The regionalisation of Estonian landscapes has so far been based mainly on the differences in natural landscape components. In order to include also the societal influences, landscape regionalisation should be based on the division of Estonian territory into three parts: South, North, and West Estonia. A Central Estonian swamp and forest zone should be seen as the border area between North and South Estonia; it starts from the southern part of Alutaguse region and runs through Endla mires into the bogs on the catchment of the River Pärnu in Soomaa (coinciding largely with the Devonian-Silurian border). West

Estonia should embrace the islands and the West-Estonian lowland together with the upland of Tõstamaa.

Considering the significance of historical administrative division in Estonian culture it would be good to mark the former provincial border on major roads with signposts and information boards for tourists. This kind of way mark has been set up on the Kuivastu–Kuressaare road, Saaremaa Island, to indicate the medieval border between the possessions of the Order and Bishop along the Maadevahe River.

All the borders described above have played a significant role in the development of our nation and country. We may not want to admit it, but for sure, our origin follows us as a trademark forever. It sometimes finds its expression even in everyday life, e.g. in the opposition between people from North and South Estonia (Tallinn vs. Tartu). What has existed for a long time does not retreat so easily. The Subconscious likes and dislikes for a certain region may influence human relationships also nowadays, even in such a small country as Estonia. Undoubtedly, the existence of this kind of borders has diversified our culture. While being one of the smallest nations in Europe, which needs a feeling of identity to endure as a nation, we can still be proud of our internal diversity.

SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN: Ajaloolise haldusjaotuse mõju kultuurinähtuste väljakujunemisele Eestis

Haldusruumid on ikka ja alati uurijatele suurt huvi pakkunud. Eesti ala on ajaloo jooksul kuulunud erinevate võimude alla. Meie maad on valitsenud nii venelased, sakslased, rootslased kui ka poolakad. Kõigist neist on jäänud jälgi ka meie kultuuri. Euroopa ajalooline haldusjaotus on jätnud oma jälje paljudele selle maailmajao kultuurinähtustele. Nii näiteks võime laialdaselt kohata mälestisi kunagisest Rooma keisririigist. Üks kuulsamaid ja keskusest kaugemal asuvaid on Hadrianuse vall Inglismaa ja Šotimaa piiril. Lääne-Ukrainas kohtame ehitismälestisi Austria-Ungari keisririigist, Soomes Rootsi ülemvõimust jne. Näiteid, kus ajaloolisest haldusjaotusest tulenevad kultuuriilmingud on vaadeldavad ka tänapäeva maastikus, on palju. Läänemere idarannikul, mis keskajal kuulus ühte haldus- ja kultuuriruumi Saksamaaga, on samuti säilinud rohkesti mälestisi Lääne-Euroopa erinevatest kunstiajaloo perioodidest. Ometi pole Eesti alal paljud kultuurinähtused ühtlaselt levinud. Enamiku Eesti ala valitsenud võimude halduskorraldus on lähtunud jagunemisest põhjapoolseks Eestimaaks ja lõunapoolseks Liivimaaks¹⁵. Valdavalt on mõlemat ala valitsenud korraga üks suurvõim, aga on olnud ka perioode, kus Lõuna-Eestit valitses üks ja Põhja-Eestit teine riik. 16. sajandi teisel poolel oli Eesti ala ajuti jagatud lausa nelja Euroopa suurvõimu – Poola, Rootsi, Venemaa ning Taani vahel. Võimujao- jaotustest tingituna on meie maa erinevatesse osadesse ladestunud ka mõnevõrra erinev kultuurikiht.

Käesoleval uurimisel on kokkupuuteid nii kultuuri- ja poliitgeograafia, ajaloo, kodu-uurimise kui ka loodusgeograafiaga. Siiski võib tööd žanrilt kõige lähedasemaks pidada kultuurigeograafiaga. Kultuurigeograafia on ruumiline teadus, kus peamiselt on vaatluse all inimeste kultuuriline suhtlemine läbi ruumi, kultuuri mõju inimeste käitumisele, aga ka inimühiskonna materiaalsete jälgede paigutus ja ruumiline korraldus. Just seda viimast aspekti käsitleb peamiselt käesolev väitekiri. Just niinimetatud materiaalsed jäljed, mitte niivõrd kultuur ise, oli 20. sajandi esimesel poolel kultuurigeograafia peamine uurimisaines. Kultuurigeograafia meetodeid kasutavad ka mitmed teised teadusharud. Rahvusteadustest võib mainida näiteks etnoloogiat ja rahvaluulet, kus teatud nähtuste levikukaartide koostamine on tihti uurimistöö ülesandeks. Ka geograafide jaoks on levikukaardid alati tähtsal kohal olnud. Siinkohal võib eeskujuks tuua Edgar Kanti (1935), kelle peateoses eestlaste eluruumist

¹⁵ Täpsemalt jagunes praegune Eesti ala aastani 1917 nelja kubermangu vahel. Lihtsustatud käsitlusena kuulus Eestimaa kubermangu alla Põhja-Eesti ja Liivimaa kubermangu Lõuna-Eesti. Siiski kuulus Narva (hõlmas ka Jaanilinna) Peterburi kubermangu ja Setumaa Pihkva kubermangu. Eraldiseisva haldusühikuna käsitletakse tihti ka Saaremaad, kuid Eesti ala suurjaotusena on käibel siiski jagunemine Eestimaaks ja Liivimaaks ning Saaremaad vaadeldakse enamasti viimase koosseisus.

käsitletakse mitmeid geograafilisi aspekte just ruumilise paiknemise taustal. E. Kant tugines oma töös küll peamiselt rahvastiku ja majanduslastele andmetele, kuid mitmed tema poolt analüüsitud nähtused sisaldasid ka kultuuri-geograafilisi aspekte. Just nii-öelda vana paradigma kultuurigeograafia meetodid ongi käesoleva väitekirja aluseks. Neid on küll palju kritiseeritud ja nende vajalikkuses on kaheldud, kuid neist ei ole siiski loobutud. Geograafilises ruumis paiknevate nähtuste kaardistamine, reeglite leidmine ja analüüsimine on hoolimata teadusharu arengust omanud ikka oma kindlat kohta.

Käesolevas doktoritööd kokkuvõtvas artiklis analüüsiti Eestimaa ja Liivimaa kubermangu piiri mõju nende haldusruumi kultuurinähtuste väljakujunemisele. Kuigi Eestimaad ja Liivimaad eraldanud halduspiir ei oma juba ligi sadakond aastat mingit rolli, on jäljed sellest piirivõtmest meie maastikus loetavad. Veel tänapäevalgi kohtame arvukalt kultuurinähtusi, mis kahe kubermangu vahel erinevad, tingituna 13. sajandi algul välja kujunema hakanud ja 20. sajandini alguseni püsinud halduspiirist. Töö peamises osas analüüsitakse kahte kultuurinähtust – kalmistute paiknemist ning kirikutornide sümboolika ruumilist levikut, samuti neid tinginud asjaolusid. Kahtlemata on veel terve rida kultuurinähtusi, mille esinemine on seotud Eesti ala ajaloolise haldusliku jagunemisega Eesti- ja Liivimaaks, kuid põhjaliku vaatluse all on just nimetatud kaks, kuna need on tänapäeva maastikus väga selgesti jälgitavad. Teisi näiteid kultuurinähtustest, mille levik tuleneb ajaloolisest haldusjaotusest Eestimaa ja Liivimaa kubermangu vahel, on kajastatud lühemalt.

Võib küll oletada, et Põhja- ja Lõuna-Eesti eristused kultuuriliselt ka juba muinasajal, kuid kubermangupiir moodustas kahtlemata tõkke, mis kinnistas teataval määral erinevat elukorraldust ja kultuuritausta kummaski kubermangus. Kubermanguliste erinevuste põhjuseks kultuurinähtuste levimisel võib pidada ühest küljest haldusruumi korralduslikku mõju ja teisest küljest traditsiooni levikut. Haldusvõimu korraldusi võib pidada erisuste peamiseks tekitajaks. Eesti- ja Liivimaa puhul on siinkohal parim näide kirikuaedade erinevus kubermanguti. Kui Eestimaa kubermangus kohtame kirikuaias reeglina kalmistuid, siis Liivimaa kubermangus likvideeriti need pärast keisrinna Katariina II poolt 1772. aastal välja antud kalmistuseadusi. Teise võimaliku levikuviisi – traditsiooni kandumise – näiteks võime pidada kiriku tornikiivri sümboolika kasutuse eelistusi. Kui Liivimaa kubermangus on luteri kiriku tornides reeglina kukk, siis Eestimaa kubermangu jäävates kirikutes rist. Selle erisuse taga on tõenäoliselt omal ajal kubermanguti erinevaks kujunenud traditsioon. Kahtlemata on Liivimaa kirikutele eeskujuks olnud Riia linna keskaegsed kirikud, kus hiljemalt 15. sajandist alates on kukesümboolika kirikutornides kasutusel olnud.

Kubermangupiiriga sarnaselt läbib Eesti ala ida-lääne suunaliselt ka Devoni ja Siluri aluspõhjakiivimite avamusala piir. Selle tulemusena on maastikupilt Põhja- ja Lõuna-Eestis erinev. Väga selgelt väljendub see näiteks hoonete materjalivalikus: Lõuna-Eestis on traditsiooniliseks ehitusmaterjaliks savi ja põletatud tellis ning Põhja-Eestis paas.

Eeltoodule lisaks kulgeb läbi Eesti ida-lääne suunaliselt ka rahvakultuuri valdkondade piir ning Põhja- ja Lõuna-Eesti murdepiir. Eesti ala jaguneb rahvakultuuriliselt kolmeks suureks piirkonnaks – Lõuna-Eesti, Põhja-Eesti ning Lääne-Eesti ja saared. Eesti maastikulised liigestused on seni lähtunud peamiselt looduskomponentide erisustest. Arvestamaks enam ühiskondlikke mõjureid, tuleks ka Eesti maastikulisel liigestusel lähtuda Eesti ala suurjaotusest kolmeks piirkonnaks: Lõuna-, Põhja- ja Lääne-Eestiks. Lõuna- ja Põhja-Eesti vaheliseks piirivöötmeks tuleks lugeda Alutaguse lõunaosas algavat soodevööndit, mis kulgeb üle Endla soostiku Pärnu jõe jõgikonna soodeni Soomaal (ühtides niiviisi suuresti Devoni-Siluri piiriga). Lääne-Eesti hõlmaks aga saari ja Lääne-Eesti madaliku maastikurajooni koos Tõstamaa kõrgustikuga.

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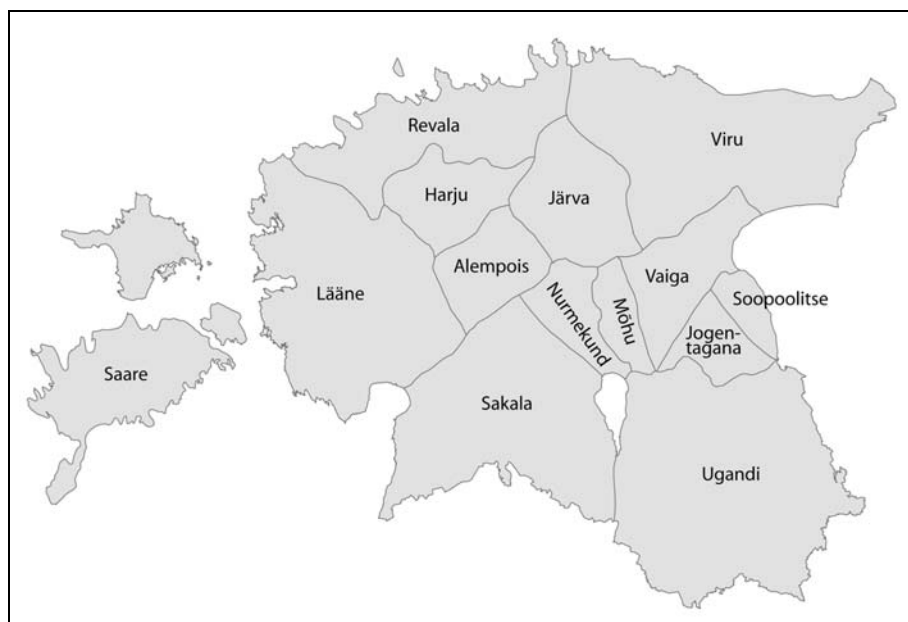
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APPENDICES

Appendix I

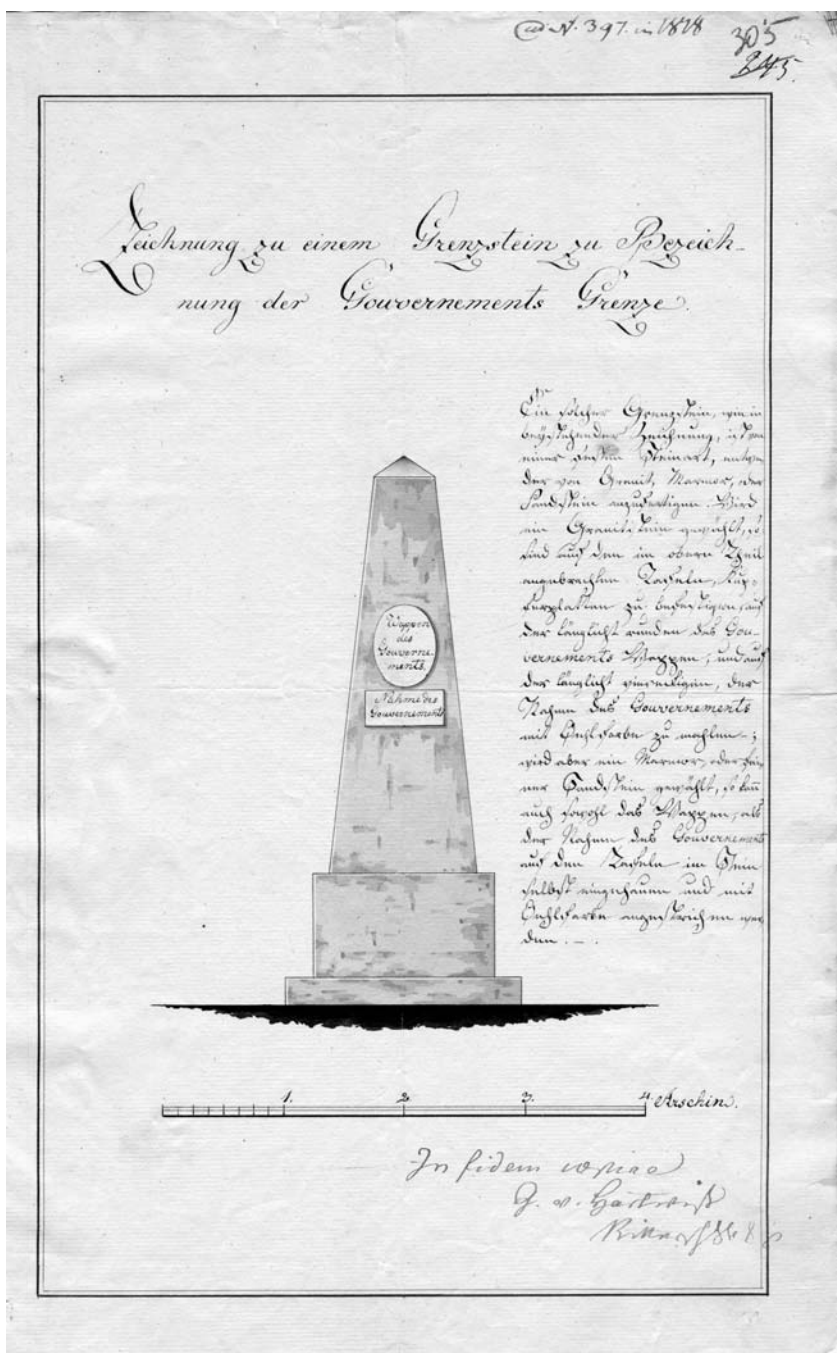


Counties of Ancient Estonia.



Administrative division of Estonia in the turn of the 19/20 century.

Appendix II



The mark of the province border (Estonian Historical Archives F. 30; S. 1; I. 9785; s. 305).

Appendix III



The signpost of the Noble Corporation of Saaremaa in the port of Kuivastu in 1938 (Estonian National Museum, Photo collection 828:48).

Appendix IV



Keila churchyard in North Estonia.



Nõo churchyard in South Estonia.

Appendix V

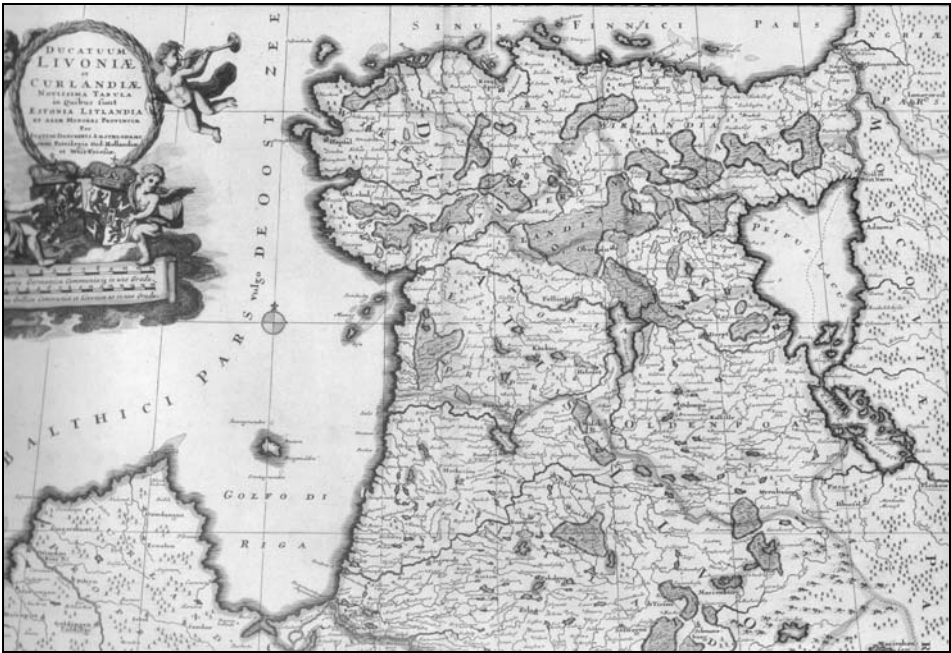


Symbols of church steeple characteristic to Livonian Province (from left: Vara church, Rāpina church and the cockerel of Rāpina church).



Symbols of church steeple characteristic to Estonian Province (from left: Lääne-Nigula church, the cross of Lääne-Nigula church and Väike-Maarja church).

Appendix VI



The map of Livonia and Kurland by Justus Danckerts, presumably from the year 1660, copy by Raid, 2002.

PUBLICATIONS

Pae, T., Kaur, E., Aasa, A., Ahas, R. 2006.
Estonian cemeteries – formation and location features. –
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Pae, T., Sooväli, H., Kaur E. Landmarks of Old Livonia –
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ESTONIAN CEMETERIES – FORMATION AND LOCATION FEATURES

ABSTRACT

Cemeteries are not just burial sites. They mirror the development of a society and carry identity value. The way cemeteries are located and arranged may suggest the former administrative boundaries, population dynamics and other aspects of past life. This article gives an overview of civic cemeteries of Estonia, focusing mainly on the formation of location pattern of burial places since the end of the eighteenth century. The principal aim is to provide a comprehensive database and typology of Estonian cemeteries, based on historic and religious characteristics. As a result of the analysis of location rules of cemeteries a number of key factors determining the network of cemeteries were detected. These included legislation, administrative division, religion, regional economic peculiarities, population movements, and traditions.

INTRODUCTION

Cemeteries quite seldom form the focal interest in geographical studies (e.g. Kong 1999), receiving more attention from other disciplines such as history, sociology, ethnology and anthropology (e.g. Francis et al. 2000; Reimers 1999; Rugg 2000; Talve 1988). Today's studies on cemeteries comprise several fields such as history, religion, landscape research, demography, ethnology and other areas. In common notion cemeteries stand for places where dead are buried and commemorated according to religious, ethnic as well as customary traditions of a given community. In essence, cemeteries are something more than just burial sites. They mirror the formation and development of a society and hold identity value.

The way cemeteries are located and arranged may give allusions on former administrative boundaries, population dynamics and other aspects of past life. Cemeteries have always been carriers of both individual and collective identity (see also Holloway and Valins 2002; Raivo 2002). In line with decreasing church attendance, the latter can prove to be extremely vital for preserving local identity, in rural areas in particular.

This article aims to give an overview of Estonian civic cemeteries¹ in historical perspective. A special focus is drawn to formation and location of cemeteries and their spatial peculiarities in Baltic region. The period under investigation embraces the years from 1772 to the present time. In 1772 the law

passed by Russian Empress Catherine II prohibited burials in churchyards. As a result of this episode extensive establishment of new cemeteries was launched. Many of the graveyards established back then are still in active use. In total, there are 623 cemeteries in Estonia at present^{II}.

A comprehensive database of Estonian cemeteries was formed at the start of the study. Cemeteries of all religious groups (Lutheran, Catholic, Orthodox, Russian Old-Believers, Moslem, Judaic, Taara faith^{III}, various free congregations) and ethnic minorities as well as private burial grounds were included in the database. Numerous war cemeteries, representing a specific type of burial space were excluded from the study as the establishment and maintenance of these is fairly different from that of civic cemeteries. Based on historic and religious characteristics mainly, a typology of cemeteries was created in order to frame and facilitate the analysis.

1. DATA SOURCES AND METHODS

The principal data sources used in the study included materials of National Heritage Board, literature (e.g. Pärnumaa... 1930; Rebane 2001; Saaremaa... 1934; Setumaa... 1928; Tartumaa... 1925; Valgamaa... 1932; Võrumaa... 1926), and maps. Russian topographic maps (scale 1:42 000) from the shift of the nineteenth and twentieth century provided useful information on the religious background of cemeteries. Furthermore, due to their large scale maps proved useful in locating graveyards in the scene during fieldworks, especially in case of graveyards not easily distinguishable in landscape due to abandonment and overgrowth.

Another set of information was obtained from Estonian Historical Archives where records on death data of Baltic German people can be found^{IV}. Some additional data were derived from questionnaire survey. The sample, representing all Estonian counties, included people (n=20) involved in Estonian Local Heritage Society. The respondents were asked to provide complementary data on cemeteries of respective region. Data about several cemeteries in Estonia and Latvia (primarily those in Courland) were collected also during the fieldworks.

On the basis of collected data, a comprehensive database and typology of Estonian civic cemeteries was established. The database included information on locality, parochial belonging, religious background, and metadata of cemeteries. In case of private cemeteries, the name of family using particular cemetery is indicated in the database.

Typology of Estonian cemeteries

The following sections give a brief description of the cemetery types distinguished mainly on the basis of historical and religious factors (see also table 1).

- Lutheran churchyards – old burial grounds established at parish centres next to Medieval churches. In Medieval Christian tradition the ground in or around church was considered the only acceptable interment place. Therefore, as a rule, the backyards of all Medieval parish churches in Estonia were used for burials.
- Lutheran parish cemeteries – cemeteries founded after the law prohibiting burials in churchyards in the late eighteenth century. The most common cemetery type in Estonia. Usually there is one or two, rarely three parish cemeteries at one parish centre.
- Orthodox cemeteries – cemeteries established after the conversion into Orthodoxy in the nineteenth century. The second most common cemetery type in Estonia.
- Orthodox churchyards – commonly not used as burial places, as only a small number of graves can be found there. Only priests and few selected persons closely related with church were privileged to rest in the vicinity of church.
- Cemeteries of Russian Old-Believers – cemeteries established shortly after the arrival of Russian Old-Believers in Estonia in the seventeenth century.
- Russian Orthodox cemeteries – cemeteries, situated mainly in northeast of Estonia, used by traditional Russian population.
- Setu^V Orthodox cemeteries – cemeteries used by Setu ethnic group in Southeast Estonia
- Baltic German family cemeteries – private cemeteries established by Baltic German landlords mainly during the eighteenth century.
- Estonian family cemeteries – cemeteries established in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century by Estonian peasants to bury their family members.
- Cemeteries of free congregations – cemeteries established by free congregations in the end of the nineteenth or in the beginning of the twentieth century.
- Cemeteries of Lutheran chapels of ease – cemeteries established at peripheries of some bigger parishes.
- Swedish Lutheran churches – cemeteries of ethnic Swedes who settled in the coastal areas of West Estonia and on islets since the fourteenth century. This ethnic group was expatriated from their home during the Second World War.

- Municipal cemeteries – in terms of religious background very heterogeneous group of cemeteries situated in urban areas.
- Specific cemeteries – Cemeteries representing establishment reasons other than religious or ethnic belonging^{VI}.

Table 1. Overview of main cemetery types in Estonia (typology is based on historical tradition; many congregations, especially in rural areas, have been shut down, however, respective cemeteries still operate).

Site type	Number of cemeteries	Establishment chronology	Catchment group served	Size	Principal location characteristics
Lutheran churchyards	43	In many cases since the 13th century	Parish population, in the 19th century mostly Baltic Germans and clergy	1 ha approx.	Around the parish church
Lutheran parish cemeteries	129	Since the end of the 18th century	Parish population	5–6 ha	Close to the church, at the distance of 600 m approx.
Orthodox cemeteries	112	Mostly in the second half of the 19th century	Members of Orthodox congregations	0,5–2 ha	Close to the church
Orthodox churchyards	13	Mostly in the second half of the 19th century	Mostly clergy	Few graves	Around the church
Cemeteries of Russian Old-Believers	11	In the 17th and 18th century	Local community of Old-Believers	0,5 ha on average	In villages of Old-Believers, sometimes accompanied by small chapel
Russian Orthodox cemeteries	5	Mostly in the 19th century	Local Russian population	1 ha approx.	Close to the church
Setu Orthodox cemeteries	6	In many cases since Middle Ages	Setu ethnic population	1 ha approx.	In major Setu villages, often close to the church or chapel, sometimes accompanied by chapel

Baltic German family cemeteries	101	Since the 1760s	Baltic German families	10–50 graves approx.	Close to the manor house, often part of the manor park
Estonian family cemeteries	24	End of the 19th century	Families of farmsteads	Up to 20 graves	Close to the farm houses
Cemeteries of free congregations	12	Shift of the 19th and 20th century	Congregation members	1 ha approx.	Close to the chapel
Cemeteries of Lutheran chapels of ease	71	Mostly in the 18th and 19th century	Congregation members	1–2 ha	Close to or around the chapel
Swedish Lutheran churches	9	In some cases in Middle Ages	Coastal Swedes	1 ha approx.	Close to or around the church
Municipal cemeteries	87	In the end of the 18th century	Urban population		Often divided into parts distinguished according to the religion

2. HISTORY OF BURYING AND BURIAL GROUNDS IN ESTONIA

Interment prevailing in Stone Age was accompanied by cremation in late Neolithic period. Cremation was adopted in Estonia in the third century and remained dominant up to the eleventh and twelfth century. After Christianisation the space in church and in churchyard as a consecrated ground became the only acceptable interment place. Some exclusionary practices demonstrated the sacred value attached to churchyard and were meant to protect the sacred nature of the burial place from the ‘unholy’ dead (Rugg 2000). For example it was considered inappropriate to inter criminals and suicides in the churchyard. As such, burial location also expressed social status. Moreover, within the churchyard, the location of the grave pointed to the position of the dead in the society, e.g. burial place near the altar inside the church was strictly restricted to the clergy and rich. Likewise, the graves adjacent to the altar and towards east and south of the church building were regarded as the most preferred sections of the churchyard (Valk 1999). Nevertheless, the requirement to bury the deceased in the consecrated ground was not always met.

Burials in churchyards by Estonians were initiated soon after the Christianisation. Parallel to this, in Middle Ages also some village cemeteries were used, which often were located in the immediate surroundings of Catholic chapels (Campe 1956; Hope 1995). About the latter not much is known in detail due to the lack of data from this period (Valk 1999).

In the Lutheran provinces of the Russian Empire burials in churches and churchyards were performed up to 1772 when the legislation forbidding the use of churchyards for interment was introduced by the Empress Catherine II. According to the law new cemeteries had to be established in proper places (Полное ... 1830). Provincial governments implemented the law by passing respective local-level regulations that gave rise to the occurrence of cemeteries outside the settlement^{VII}.

Around this time, i.e. in the end of the eighteenth century, similar regulations were established also elsewhere in Europe, especially in overcrowded inner-city churchyards due to sanitary requirements (Rugg 2000). Another reason for removing cemeteries from churchyards was the rapid population growth. Compared with the population at the end of the Northern War the number of inhabitants in Estonia had tripled by the time of the above-mentioned cemetery reforms. Another but no less important was the common boost of Enlightenment outlook decreasing the authority of church.

The municipal authorities of Paris insisted on removing cemeteries from inner-city area already in 1763 (Ariès 1980). Similar regulations were adopted in Sweden, Spain, and England, in 1783, 1787, and 1853, respectively (Rugg 1998; Talve 1988). The most renowned were the adjustments carried out in Austria by Emperor Joseph II. In accordance with the rational principles of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment Joseph drastically limited the power of the church (Sörries 2002).

In Estonia the implementation of the laws on cemeteries passed by Catherine II had significant effect on the landscape, as a number of new cemeteries were established in completely new physical setting. Later legal regulations have had minimal impact on landscape, dealing with memorial rites and arrangements rather than with funerary scene.

After Estonia gained independence for the first time the law on burial places was adopted by Parliament in 1925. All graveyards were proclaimed civic cemeteries where interment could be carried out independent of religious conviction (Riigi Teataja 1925). Furthermore, private cemeteries were authorized. Primarily these included family burial grounds. The share of private cemeteries however was very low.

Public cemeteries, although allocated for community use, they were still managed by church congregations. In 1930s also the first secular cemeteries were established, the very first and the most well-known of which was *Metsakalmistu* ('Forest Cemetery') in Tallinn, widely used for burying famous people known for cultural activities or as politicians. In Soviet Estonia graveyards became under the jurisdiction of local executive committees who became responsible for the management of cemeteries. The number of people buried according to ecclesiastical ceremony diminished drastically.

Currently, burial arrangements are not subject to any comprehensive national-level legislation. As a substitute, some local governments have ratified

rules on using community cemeteries. Moreover, a national Cemetery Act is being prepared.

3. LOCATION OF CEMETERIES

3.1. *Lutheran churchyards*

Throughout the history cemeteries have been interconnected with church. The connection to a place of ritual religious significance has, in the past, defined the reason for the use of churchyards: it was believed that benefits in the afterlife could be secured by being buried in land considered to be holy (Rugg 2000). Even in nowadays we find graves around churches. In Estonia, despite the ban imposed on interments in churchyards in the eighteenth century, burying still went on in some places and in very few ones interments take place even today. Several authors (Hupel 1777; Kõpp 1934; Miller 1973) have discussed regional dissimilarities regarding the use of churchyards for burials. Indeed, a distinct territorial division exists, as can be seen on figure 1 – cemeteries in churchyards can be found only in northern part of the country that belonged to Estonian province. In most of the churchyards that long ago have deprived of active use, mainly graves of nobility and clergy can be found. In the southern part, i.e. the former Livonian province, interment practice in churchyards has been missing at least for last 200 years. This dissimilarity is most often explained by unlike interpretation and implementation of central laws by the authorities of former provinces of the Russian Empire. In Estonian province the governmental regulations were disregarded and the exploitation of churchyard as cemeteries was prolonged in many parishes.



Figure 1. Cemeteries at Lutheran churchyards of Lutheran parish churches.

3.2. *Lutheran parish cemeteries*

Parish cemeteries, the dominant type of burial space in Estonia, were established soon after the regulations enacted by Catherine II in 1770s. The church still retained the influence over cemeteries. Usually parish cemeteries occupy large area (5–6 hectares) and typically they comprise old and new parts. Often, the Monument of Independence War, commemorating the events of 1918–1920 have been set up at parish cemetery. Every parish cemetery celebrates Cemetery Sunday, the biggest annual assembly of parish inhabitants even today. Burial places of famous persons in a number of these cemeteries are often the main tourist sights in the parish. Although the law of 1925 turned the cemeteries into public space, they still belonged to congregations, several of which resumed the authority over cemeteries also after Estonia regained independence. However, at the present most of the cemeteries are managed by local community governments.

3.3. *Private cemeteries*

3.3.1. *Baltic German family cemeteries*

Rulers and elite have always set up burial sites separate from those of common people. The most famous of these worldwide are the pyramids of Egypt (Leisner 2003). The most pompous tomb buildings are known as mausoleums, e.g. the Halikarnassos (Bodrum) mausoleum^{VIII} in Turkey and mausoleum of V.I. Lenin on Red Square in Moscow^{IX}. In Estonia the most outstanding burial chamber is the mausoleum of Barclay de Tolly at the family cemetery in Jõgeveste (*Beckhof*).

As a result of the legislation adopted in Estonia in 1772, nobility was obliged to start burying outside the church and churchyard. Consequently, many Baltic German family burial grounds occurred, some of which were founded within the public graveyard and some were separate.

In fact, the very first private cemeteries emerged already before 1772. Family cemeteries were established in Adavere (*Addafer*) and Purdi (*Noistfer*) as early as in 1761^X. In 1760 also in Latvian part of Livonia private cemetery of Ungurmuiža (*Orellen*) Estate was established (Lancmanis and Dirveiks 1998).

Data on the earliest burials in private cemeteries show that most of them in Estonia were founded between 1830 and 1840^{XI} when the free-design English garden tradition was widely copied. Alongside with the establishment of pavilions, arbours, and bridges also memorial monuments were common in gardening. In Western Europe English landscape gardens developed and flourished in 1700s (Leisner 2003). In Estonia the landscape garden style appeared by the end of the eighteenth century. However, it became more extensively adopted in the first half of the nineteenth century (Brafmann 1980).

Typically, Baltic German private cemetery was attached to a particular estate and it was used to serve the owner and his relatives. Typically, the estate cemetery included a small chapel and several graves (up to 10). Occasionally, one cemetery could also be used by several estates or families, e.g. in Esna (*Orrisaar*) Estate. The cemetery at Esna is the biggest among the cemeteries of this type – altogether 61 members of the von Gruenewaldt family representing different estates (Koigi and Huuksi) were buried there. One can also encounter estates with several burial grounds, e.g. in Väimela (*Waimel*) where extra burials place was established after the purchase of the estate by new owners. Another peculiar example can be drawn from Rägavere (*Raggafér*) Estate where previous landlords continued to use the place for burials even after selling the property.



Figure 2. Baltic German family cemeteries.

Territorial distribution of Baltic German cemeteries shows clear variation between administrative provinces (see figure 2 and table 2). There are more private graveyards in Livonian part of the country. As was already mentioned in previous section, laws from the eighteenth century prohibiting burials in churchyards met unlike implementation by provincial authorities. In Estonian province many landlords went against the rule and kept on burying in churchyards. A more practical inference suggests that Livonian landlords were wealthier to afford the establishment and maintenance of private graveyards. This point is supported by the fact that, on an average, the size of private land estates in the counties belonging to Livonian province exceeded that of Estonian province twice (Rosenberg 1994).

Within Livonia the majority of Baltic German family cemeteries are found in the eastern part of the province that was better-off than the rest of the country at that time, owing to more favourable soil conditions (see Kant 1935). Private cemeteries were the most frequent in Viljandi County where almost half of all estates had family cemeteries (table 2).

Table 2. The number of manor estates and estate cemeteries per county in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Province/County	Number of private estates (Rosenberg 1994)	Number of private estate cemeteries	Frequency
Estonia			
Harju County	149	6	4
Järva County	98	10	10
Lääne County	145	7	5
Viru County	157	13	8
Livonia			
Tartu County	117	16	14
Võru County	79	15	19
Viljandi County	56	25	45
Pärnu County	38	6	16
Saare County	66	3	5

The number of estate cemeteries in Estonian province is the highest in Jõhvi parish in northeast of Estonia. Curiously, the churchyard of Jõhvi parish is one of the few ones in the province that has not been exploited for burials for last couple of hundred years, thus probably assisting to bring about the abundance of private graveyards in the area. In closer inspection of the location of Baltic German family cemeteries a cluster-like pattern can be detected. Formation of these clusters can be explained by the subsequent follow-up of establishing cemeteries by neighbouring estates.

Today, most of the Baltic German family cemeteries are deteriorated. Nevertheless, many of them are popular tourist attractions. Around one fourth of all Baltic German burial grounds (n=101) are designated as cultural monuments under heritage protection^{xii}.

3.3.2. Estonian family cemeteries

Following the manners of Baltic German landlords, a number of native peasants established private cemeteries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century to bury their family members. It has been argued (Viires 2001) that alongside

with other customs adopted from Baltic German elite also the making of private burial places contributed to the escalation of national self-concept.

In the second half of the nineteenth century Estonians could start purchase farms for keeps. Thus, Estonian peasants became the owners of landed property, which enabled to consider establishing private burial places for burying their families. This had not been possible or practical formerly, as the land was in the possession of Baltic German landlords. About 2/3 of all Estonian family cemeteries (n=24) are still actively used.

The first family cemeteries were created in the end of the nineteenth century. A family cemetery of C. R. Jakobson (1841–1882), a renowned leader of the national awakening process, was a pioneer example that fostered the expansion of Estonian family graveyards. The daughter of C. R. Jakobson was the first one to be interred in this particular burial ground in 1875. Today the burial ground of the Jakobson family forms a part of the Kurgja Farm Museum, a frequently visited tourist sight.

One cemetery used to serve or serves a single household or family. Normally, it was located near the farmhouse. Motives for establishing private cemeteries were multiple. The question whether it was more attributable to prosperous farmsteads or to poor ones remains open to contrasting interpretations. Obviously, prosperity and prominence of the farm was an important prerequisite for burying deceased beyond public cemetery, as the expenses on establishment and maintenance of private burial ground generally exceeded the expenditure on taking care of the grave on community cemetery. However, also contrary has been suggested^{XIII} that separate cemeteries were established for retrenchment, especially when farmstead was located distant from public graveyard. A more intriguing cause could be conflict with local pastor^{XIV}.

In a similar way with Baltic German family cemeteries a cluster-like pattern of Estonian family cemeteries appear in some localities. The most distinct of such groups has formed in Vändra Parish situated near the provincial border (see Figure 3).



Figure 3. Estonian family cemeteries.

3.4. Cemeteries of Lutheran chapel of eases

In addition to main churches in parish centres many communities had smaller churches in peripheral areas. Quite a large number of chapels were built in coastal region. Not all coasts had permanent settlement after Christianisation and therefore parish centres were mainly formed in inland areas. With the growth of population density along the coast a need for worship establishments emerged. Concurrently, also cemeteries were set up in churchyards. Cemeteries of this type are particularly numerous on the north coast of Estonia. As a rule, people associated with seamanship were buried at these grounds. Hence, quite a many eye-catching tombs of former skippers and captains can be found there. One of the most famous cemeteries of this kind lies in Käsnu.

3.5. Orthodox churches

Majority of cemeteries in Estonia serving Orthodox population are located on the territory of former Livonia (Figure 4) in consequence of extensive religious conversion into Orthodoxy in the middle of the 1840s. Back then also the first rural Orthodox cemeteries were established, as the Lutheran church no further accepted Orthodox believers to be buried on Lutheran cemeteries. As a rule, the Orthodox cemeteries are not as extensive as Lutheran ones, embracing the area of 2–3 hectares approximately. The emergence of Orthodox cross on graves is the main difference in the appearance of Orthodox cemeteries.

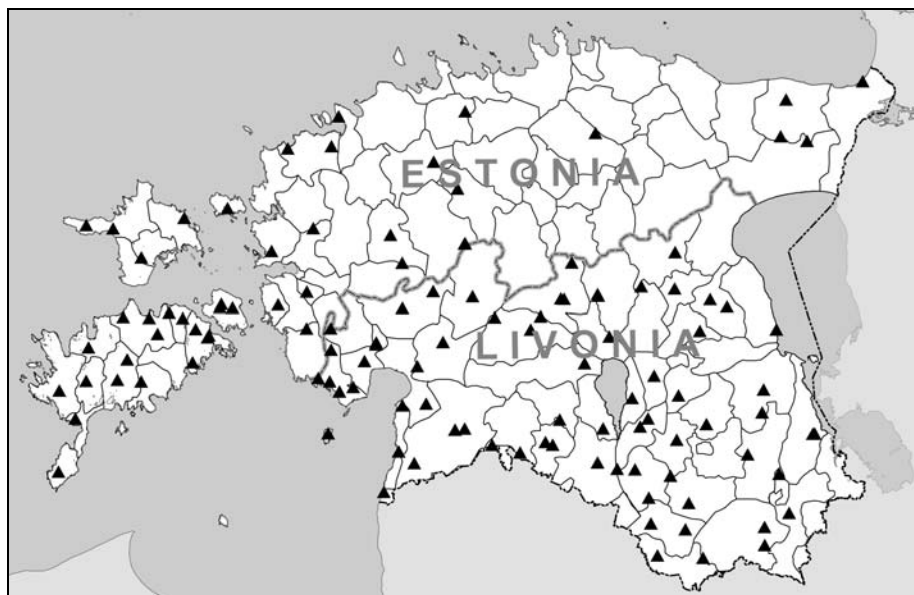


Figure 4. Rural Orthodox cemeteries.

In Estonian province the conversion into Orthodoxy took place towards the end of the century and was different in essence. In contrast to deliberate acceptance in Livonia^{xv}, in Estonia consent with Orthodoxy predominantly developed from persistent Russification carried out by the Tsarist Russian Empire.

Quite often poverty has been regarded as the driving force pushing people to convert religion. As nothing explicitly proves the latter, Kruus (1930) finds this argument ambiguous. Instead, he comes upon a plain idea that towards the west people are more open to religious conversion. As contacts with Russia were tight and frequent in eastern part of Livonia, people there realised that in real life no economic advantages resulted from conversion into Orthodoxy. Numerous Orthodox cemeteries in coastal areas and on Saaremaa Island provide some evidence on these statements.

Along with remarkable drop of Orthodox believers in last decades, a number of congregations have been shut down^{xvi}. By today, nearly half of all cemeteries with Orthodox background have remained without congregation.

Distinct from other Orthodox cemeteries are those used by Russian Old-Believers on the coast of Lake Peipus, Setu ethnic group in southeast of the country and traditional Russian population of Alutaguse region (Berg 1998). All these lie in the areas inhabited by respective population group. Additionally, Russian Old-believers used to have their own cemetery in Tallinn and they still have one in Tartu (see figure 5).

The Orthodox cross is prevailing on cemeteries of both Russian Old-Believers and traditional Russian settlers. Usually the texts in Cyrillic are used

on tombstone and crosses, with the exception of some texts in Old Russian at the cemeteries of Russian Old-Believers. The main distinct appearance feature of the cemeteries of Setu people is the usage of benches and sometimes tables on graves owing to the tradition of Setu people to have meal there at Cemetery Sundays. Several other distinctive customs occur at Orthodox cemeteries, e.g. dissimilar of the Lutheran tradition where the cross lies at the head of the dead, the Orthodox cross is placed at the feet.

Some of the cemeteries of Setu ethnic group can be characterised by very long-established location tradition, reaching in some cases back to the Middle Ages (Valk 1999). The oldest cemeteries of Russian Old-Believers were most likely established in the eighteenth century, as a consequence of the arrival of Old-Believers at the coast of Lake Peipus.



Figure 5. Cemeteries of Russian Old-Believers.

3.6. Cemeteries of free congregations

Cemeteries established by free congregations to bury members of their church are particularly abundant in West Estonia and on islands. Coastal Estonia has been portrayed (Plaat 2001; 2003)^{xvii} as a region historically open to religious conversions. The very first free congregations were founded in western counties of Estonia in 1880s. Among different denominations Baptists were the most eager to establish their own cemeteries. At first they met hostile attitude by Lutheran and Orthodox Church with regard to establishing new congregations and burying their members on public cemeteries (see Plaat 2001). This antagonism was the principal motivation to create separate cemeteries. More-

over, it has been suggested^{xviii} that the identity of congregation gained significantly from having special burial places.

Since the total number of cemeteries of free congregations is quite small, conclusions about location pattern would not be solid here.

3.7. Municipal cemeteries

Municipal graveyards were studied separate from rural cemeteries, due to dissimilar aspects concerning the formation and location of cemeteries in urban areas. Many municipal cemeteries were established along with the reforms launched by Catherine II in the end of the eighteenth century. Most of them were laid out in the periphery of towns. By now they are located within the municipal borders (e.g. Raadi cemetery in Tartu, Siselinna cemetery in Tallinn). The cemeteries of major towns have high cultural heritage value due to the abundance of graves of popular public persons and artistically valuable tombstones (e.g. Raadi cemetery with a number of burial places of scholars of Tartu University). Up to the World War II the cemeteries were managed by congregations for the most part. The very first cemetery autonomous from church congregation was founded in Tallinn in 1933. Within this cemetery type three sub-groups can be distinguished:

- 1) Towns devoid of connection with parochial system. In these the formation of cemeteries followed the needs of different religious groups. For instance in Tallinn different communities, both major (Lutherans and Orthodox people) and smaller ones (e.g. Jews, Moslems, Old-Believers, Catholic people) had separate cemeteries (Laane 2002).
- 2) Former parish centres. In these municipalities both the congregations of former rural churches and posterior town congregations are represented (e.g. in Tartu, Rakvere).
- 3) Towns that have expanded along with the industrial growth and development of transportation in the nineteenth and twentieth century. Inhabitants use cemeteries established within the municipality as well as parish cemeteries located in the vicinity. In several towns (e.g. Paldiski, Tapa) two graveyards were established to provide both Lutherans and Orthodox people with convenient burial places. On the other hand, in towns the development of which took place mainly during the independence period in 1920s and 1930s, only one common cemetery was established as the religious affiliation had become less significant both in terms of public opinion and legislation.

3.8. Cemeteries of minority groups

Several ethnic and religious minorities have established cemeteries, mainly situated in districts of their residence. Ethnic Swedes who settled on the western

coast and islands of Estonia have had centuries-old history in Estonia. Swedish villages were abandoned in 1940s as a result of Soviet occupation. The location tradition of some of the chapels and cemeteries of coastal Swedish people (e.g. on Ruhnu Island) reaches back to Middle Ages.

Graveyards of Jewish population are exclusively located in urban areas (Berg 1994; Jokton 1992). Members of the Catholic Church in Tallinn, mainly of Polish and Lithuanian origin, have also used a separate ground for burials (Klinke 2000). The Jewish cemeteries show a great dissimilarity from other types of cemeteries in terms of outer appearance, featuring similar characteristics with Jewish cemeteries elsewhere in Europe. Together with Yiddish texts writings in Russian and German are also used on many tombstones.

In major towns (e.g. Tallinn, Narva) certain parts of public cemeteries have been designated for Muslim population. The crescent, an Islamic symbol can be seen depicted on gravestones.

Peculiarly, a number of congregations representing adherents of the indigenous Taara faith initiated the establishment of Taara cemeteries in 1930s. This initiative was impoverished because of the start of the World War II and subsequent socio-political transformations (Päevaleht 1934).

4. DISCUSSION

The study reveals some regional variation in localities of Estonian cemeteries. A clear borderline between the former administrative provinces (i.e. Livonia and Estonia) occurs, defining a number of regional peculiarities. This kind of distinction line splitting the area of Estonian settlements already became evident in the thirteenth century when Estonia became Christianised. The mouth of Daugava River where the town of Riga was founded became the basis of German crusades. The town of Tallinn was invaded by Danes and the counties of North Estonia belonged to Denmark in the thirteenth century. Resulting from these two conquest routes, a demarcation line passing through central Estonia formed into administrative border, dividing Estonia into two provinces. The capital of Livonia (South Estonia and North Latvia) was Riga, while Estonian province (North Estonia) was ruled by Tallinn. Since 1645 the whole territory of present Estonia fell under Swedish power, concurrently the division between Livonian and Estonian provinces became even clearer. Provincial differences were evident also among Baltic German landlords. Both provinces had its own knighthood controlling different spheres of life. In general, the provincial distinction endured effectively until 1917 when the area inhabited by Estonians fell under the unified jurisdiction. For instance, in Courland (West and South Latvia), another Baltic province, the situation was less fixed. Both types (i.e. churchyards operating as cemeteries and churchyards without burial function) are represented there (Figure 6). This can be explained by the fact that Courland was united with Russia only in 1795, i.e. after the laws endorsed by Catherine

II. As a result, the requirement to remove cemeteries from churchyards could be passed over.



Figure 6. 1. Estonian Province – the presence of cemeteries in churchyards; 2. Livonian Province – the absence of cemeteries in churchyards; 3. Courland Province – both churchyard types represented.

The main factors influencing the formation of cemeteries' system were provincial differences that had impact also on other phenomena, e.g. sacral architecture and religious conversion. For instance, the figure of cock, a common feature on the top of the church towers in Livonian province, is rare in churches of Estonian province where the towers mainly hold crosses. The abundance of Orthodox churches in Livonia due to extensive religious conversion in the province is another major dissimilarity from Estonian province.

The analysis of location rules of different cemetery types revealed a number of key factors shaping the location pattern of Estonian cemeteries:

- Legislation – legislation introduced by Russian Empress in the end of the eighteenth century had significant effect on forthcoming funerary practices in Estonia. Laws adopted in 1772 can be regarded as milestone in the history of cemeteries, as a number of new cemeteries were established because of the ban imposed on burials in churchyards. A network of parish cemeteries locating outside the settlements and quite extensive in size was developed. These cemeteries serve as main burial places also today. In addition, Baltic German landlords introduced a whole new type of burial place, setting up private cemeteries to bury their family members.
- Regional differences in economic welfare – variations in economic wealth have been best reflected in location pattern of Baltic German family

cemeteries, suggesting that more cemeteries were established in areas with more advantageous soil conditions.

- Population movements – migration has played an important role in shaping the cemetery system by both occupying and abandoning the residence areas. It can be concluded that the number of abandoned cemeteries is higher in areas of active migration such as Western Estonia and coastal areas.
- Tradition – development of any customary practice is often associated with adopting behaviour patterns of neighbouring regions or people. This aspect gives some explanation about the cluster-like location pattern of several cemetery types present in Estonia.
- Administrative division – reflections of administrative boundary developed already in the thirteenth century between the southern and northern regions of Estonia can be traced in location pattern of cemeteries even today. The development of cemetery network in former provinces of Russian Empire varied between Estonia and Livonia. The most distinct of variations concerned interments in churchyards that was continued in Estonian province and brought to an end in Livonia. Similar to South Estonia, also in North Latvia interments in churchyards were halted.
- Religion – geographical position of Estonia in the transition area of two major Christian denominations (Lutheran and Orthodox Church) has contributed to higher diversity of cemetery types. Both cemeteries connected with Lutheran and Orthodox background are present here.
- Regional and local identity – community cemeteries can be considered highly significant for maintaining or strengthening of local identity. For instance, days of cemetery Sundays of many parish cemeteries are among the most crowded events of the year, receiving both dwellers and people historically related with the parish as visitors. The catchment area of graveyard can be regarded as the only reminiscent socio-cultural factor of the ancient parochial structure. Positive impact of a cemetery on community identity can also be noticed in case of ethnic and religious minorities.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The present article aimed to give an overview of civic cemeteries of Estonia, concentrating mainly on the formation of location pattern of burial places. The period under investigation embraces the years from 1772 to the present time. Cemeteries of all religious groups represented in Estonia were included in the study. Both public and private graveyards were examined. Based on data from literature and maps a comprehensive database and typology of Estonian cemeteries was developed, providing good basis for further investigations.

Additional attention should be paid to cultural ties of Estonia and Latvia with Western European and Russian cultural tradition. The study revealed that in terms of cemetery reforms Russia (including Baltic provinces) at that time was quite advanced. Restructurings in Russia conformed well with respective reforms carried out in Western Europe. Additionally, the Baltic Sea region was in close relation with Western Europe via Baltic Germans who contributed to the transmission of various cultural phenomena to Russia.

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Полное собрание законовъ Россійской Имперіи 1770–1774 [Total set of laws of the Russian Empire in 1770–1774], 1830. Том XIX.

NOTES

- ^I In the current paper the terms ‘cemetery’ and ‘graveyard’ are used synonymously. The notion ‘churchyard’ signify the area surrounding the church that have been used for burials either historically or presently.
- ^{II} Figure indicates the number of cemeteries (incl. abandoned ones) in the database.
- ^{III} This group includes the adherents of the indigenous Estonian god Taara.
- ^{IV} Estonian Historical Archives (EHA), F 1674, S 2, I 333–338. Nekropolis von Estland, Banden 1–6.
- ^V Orthodox ethnic Estonian minority in southeast Estonia.
- ^{VI} Burial grounds representing this type include cemetery of lepers in Viidumäe, Saaremaa Island, established for sanitary reasons in the beginning of the twentieth century as well as cemeteries on some islands (e.g. Mohni, Vilsandi) which become inaccessible occasionally.
- ^{VII} Provincial regulation of Estonia, Estonian Historical Archives, F 858, S 1, I 123: 37; provincial regulation of Livonia “Livländische Gouvernements-Regierungs-Patente. Gesammt und nach Herrn General-Superintendenten Dr. Sonntag chronologischen Verzeichnisse geordnet v. C.F.W. Goldmann.” – Library of the University of Tartu, Estica: 1955.
- ^{VIII} The word ‘mausoleum’ is associated with the name of king Mausolos, the famous king of Caria. Monumental tomb of king Mausolos and his wife Artemisia was built in 351 BC at Halikarnassos (Bodrum). It became a structure so famous that it was called one of the seven wonders of the world. Halikarnassos was destroyed in 334 BC by Alexander the Great.
- ^{IX} Constructed in 1930.
- ^X Estonian Historical Archives, F 1674, S 2, I 333–338.
- ^{XI} Estonian Historical Archives, F 1674, S 2, I 333–338.
- ^{XII} In most cases the objective of designation of Baltic German family cemeteries as monuments is the architectural value of the tomb or historical value of the buried

person. For more about the current status of Baltic German burial grounds in Estonia see the outline by Pae and von Schilling (2003).

XIII Personal communication with L. Sõukand in 2001.

XIV Personal communication with M. Schröder in 2001.

XV In some Livonian parishes the share of those converting was as high as 75% of the whole population.

XVI In 1939, there were 157 Orthodox congregations in Estonia. By 1992 this number had dropped to 84. Most of them were closed in 1950s and 1960s (Sild, Salo 1995).

XVII Openness to Scandinavia where the first preachers arrived from.

XVIII Personal communication with T. Pilli in 2002.

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