



TARTU UNIVERSITY and LATVIA





TARTU UNIVERSITY AND LATVIA

WORLDWIDE RELATIONS

IN THE WORLD AND IN

THE FUTURE

AND THE PAST

TARTU UNIVERSITY AND LATVIA

**WITH AN EMPHASIS ON RELATIONS
IN THE 1920s AND 1930s**

Hain Tankler

Algo Rämmer

Tartu

2004

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THE UNIVERSITY OF TARTU AS A LATVIAN UNIVERSITY

An ordinary tourists who come to visit Estonia and Latvia learn very soon that, contrary to their expectations, our languages have very little in common; the language ties are close between Estonia and Finland, and between Latvia and Lithuania. Those who know more, including ourselves, notice that Latvian and Estonian history has been almost identical over the previous two hundred years. It is actually almost absolutely identical, because to a great extent we have not only had similar fates, but one common fate and one common history. We have been occupied at almost the same time, we have had common oppressors, and we have regained our freedom at the same time.

Until the foundation of the University of Latvia in 1919, we also had a common university, where students were taught at first in Latin, then in German, and finally, mostly in Russian. The number of Estonians and Latvians who graduated from this university is almost the same — about 1400 persons in both cases. If we ask a history-conscious Latvian or Estonian to point out a building where their ancestral compatriots first acquired higher education, where they learned the importance of their nationality and how to demand independence for their people, both of them would envision the same classical building with six frontal columns in Tartu, the address of which is 18 Ülikooli Street. The Latvians even have a small historical advantage — no students of the Estonian nationality are known of from the Swedish university in Tartu, but we know of one Latvian student who was there. After the reopening of the university in 1802, the first Latvian student was im-

matriculated in 1803, but the first Estonian student only a few years later.

Co-operation did exist between the University of Tartu and the University of Latvia during the years of independence in the 1920s and 1930s, but mostly, each university was engaged in training their own national intellectuals. However, there were different specialities taught at the universities, which attracted students from both countries. It has been noted that technical specialities were better developed in Latvia, but that the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Tartu drew many students from Latvia. Some exceptional cases demonstrate that some of the young people learned quite easily the neighbour's language; sometimes the language had already been learned at home, or it was familiar from the surrounding environment. The most prolific co-operation developed between scholars, but culture and sport made their contributions to the closeness of the two nations. Latvians and Estonians supported each other during the years of alien occupation from 1940–1991, but the scope of real co-operation in higher education during that time was narrow.

We have reason to believe that very soon we may again see more Latvian students in Tartu. Maybe their number will grow to the extent that we can talk about the restoration of the students' corporation Lettonia, which had been founded in Tartu in 1882. Why should we think this? In a united Europe, a wise student goes to the university where the subject he wants to learn is taught best. This notion should make us decide very quickly as to which of the subjects taught at our universities have the potential of being internationally renowned, so that we can start concentrating on developing and financing them. These subjects should be internationally promoted and taught not only in Estonian and Latvian, but in English as well. The kind of national university that offers doctoral programmes in all specialities, regardless of whether they offer excellent scholars in these specialities or not, will soon be forgotten.

In any case, it may happen that an eager Latvian student of semiotics packs his or her bags and, following the footsteps of their grandfather, comes to Tartu to study at Jurij Lotmans' school. On their way they

may meet an Estonian student who studies Baltic languages at the University of Latvia, or high-level engineering at the Riga Technical University.

With such developments, the University of Tartu may again become a Latvian university. It is sometimes good when history repeats itself; and it is good when we know the history and study it still deeper.

Peeter Tulviste,

Vice-President,

The Estonian Academy of Sciences,

Rector at the University of Tartu 1993–1998

A LATVIAN FAREWELL TO ESTONIAN STUDY

The role of Tartu University cannot be overestimated, not only regarding the intellectual history of Estonia, but also for that of Latvia's. Dorpat, Tērbata, Mētraine. From Tartu have come notions that have made deep roots in the consciousness of the Latvian nation. Throughout the 19th century up to the year 1918, Dorpat University was not only a centre of European significance regarding higher education and science, but it was also a common centre of education and science for the entire Baltics — Vidzeme (Livland), Estonia (Estland), and Kurzeme (Kurland). The first Latvian doctors, parsons, lawyers, linguists, and representatives of natural sciences were educated there, and Latvian social movements — jaunlatvieši (Neo-Latvians) and jaunstrāvnīeki (members of the movement New Stream) — got their beginning there. In 1882, the first students' fraternity, Lettonia, was founded and officially acknowledged in Dorpat as well. The place also witnessed the establishment of contacts between Latvian and Estonian intellectuals.

The above facts have been studied in rather great detail and have been discussed in the works of many Latvian authors, as well as in scientific Estonian issues. It is good that the authors of this book remind people of them. However, there is one more accomplishment achieved by the authors that deserves a still greater acknowledgement, because of its originality. Nobody has so far tackled it seriously. And namely, it is that for the first time contacts with Latvia and initiatives taken regarding Latvia are being analysed in terms of the Estonian Tartu

University (after 1919), and not in terms of the German Dorpat or Russian Yuryev University.

*After old Russia had broken down and the Baltic states had won their independence, Riga got its own university in 1919, the University of Latvia. This was similar to Tartu University being transformed into a national university, except that the Latvian language was the one of tuition in Latvia. Latvia's ties with Tartu, and with Estonia, certainly grew weaker. However, they were gradually resumed and saw development on another, new, basis — on the basis of intellectual co-operation between two nations. Against the background of much factual material, the process is aptly demonstrated in an instructive book by Hain Tankler and Algo Rämmer. Unfortunately, a similar study has not been undertaken in Latvia. However, the authors have also published their study in the journal *Latvijas Zinātņu Akadēmijas Vēstis* [Proceedings of the Latvian Academy of Sciences] (2004, No. 1), and it has been taken notice of in Latvia.*

It should be pointed out that, since 1919, both the University of Tartu and the University of Latvia have developed not only as national universities, but also as European ones. The above-mentioned evolution has had an important influence on the intellectual history of both countries, as well as on the future of the two nations. This equally concerns the years spent under the Soviet regime and the current accession to the European Union.

Historical experience is of great value in regards to the strengthening of friendship and intellectual co-operation between our two neighbouring peoples. The Europe of the future will certainly be a Europe of regions. I am convinced that a "Baltic Europe" will be a rather dynamic and important part of a Europe that will include the Baltics as respectable partners, as well as the Nordic Countries and Poland. Being a bright star in this region of the world, Tartu University will be a signpost for many intellectuals. Friendship and partnership between Tartu and Riga, and between the Estonians and Latvians, is rooted in tradition, and provides impulses for the future. This is particularly true at this important stage of history, when we are beginning a new epoch in the European Union.

It is very pleasing that the publication of the book has been timed for ESTO 2004, a gathering of Estonians from around the world in Riga. Estonians will always be dearly welcomed guests in Riga.

Prof. Jānis Stradiņš,

Latvian Academy of Science,

Foreign member of the Estonian Academy of Sciences

PREFACE

The late 19th and early 20th centuries saw an increasing number of Estonians and Latvians begin to acquire higher education. They could receive it mainly at two institutions — the University of Tartu and the Riga Polytechnic. The relations that students developed during their studies later played an essential role in the foundation and development of national universities — extremely important, since both states experienced a great shortage of academics, teachers, doctors, pharmacists, knowledgeable officials and creative intellectuals as they became newly independent. Both Estonia and Latvia lacked experience in organizing the work of universities, as well as that of other institutions vital for the state. Therefore, in the beginning, discussions between the neighbours proved particularly beneficial. When the system was already running, visits were made to learn about each other's achievements. Practical specialities required closer co-operation; usually the links between experts in different areas (doctors, pharmacists, lawyers, etc.) were maintained by university lecturers. A global economic crisis considerably hampered co-operation, and new enlightenment occurred only years later. In the mid-1930s, cultural ties in the Baltic Sea region became particularly extensive, with representatives of many diverse specialities participating. An important role in this development belonged to organizations of mutual co-operation, friendship societies, and professional associations and state officials, but also to the experts themselves. Convergence between the Baltic states was interrupted by war and the Soviet occupation.

In our book, we have not attempted to embellish the relations between the two countries; the predominantly positive character of co-

operation in education and research is directly revealed in archive materials and in reports written after visits. Nearly all academics had a justification for their trips — why it was necessary to visit Latvia, what could be arranged better there, etc. The impressions were used to broaden one's own knowledge and to find support for one's points of view. There was no feeling of a feud or competition between the academics of the neighbouring countries — everyone did their own thing, while also attempting to benefit from the neighbours' achievements. Joint congresses, conferences, mutual visits and other events broadened the lecturers' and researchers' outlooks, enriched their experience and contributed to an understanding of a number of problems. Close co-operation developed in several research areas, which was beneficial for the academics of both sides, as well as for the general public. In many specialities, the state border did not mean a limit to the research theme. Original culture had evolved in areas with mixed populations; the language was open to mutual influence, and local customs differed from those of the general population in both states. Archaeological finds, building traditions and place names testify that these manifestations originated in the distant past. Natural features — plant cover, geographic landforms, the sea, the forest as an important resource — did not recognize the borders between the states. In agriculture, which used to be an essential branch of economy, both sides had something to learn from their neighbours — from plant and animal breeding to technological innovations. In specialities where modern equipment and new research or treatment methods played a significant role, direct contacts and exchanges of experience proved particularly beneficial. Co-operation was necessary in terms of legislative drafting, ecclesiastical life and even in the treatment of prisoners. When the time arrived that it was necessary to conform to international requirements and norms, to save money sometimes one person represented the Baltic states in the international arena. Both states aimed to acquire extensive collections of books and to develop a modern scientific research base. If the neighbours needed the use of resources, help was kindly offered. Nonetheless, scholars did not manage entirely without misunderstandings — different interpretations of some historical events caused problems. Estonians

were not indifferent to the fate of the Livonian ethnic group in Latvia, which gave rise to a number of conflicts. Politicians, whom the book mentions only briefly, embellished their speeches with high-minded phrases about great friendship between the neighbours and the need for sticking together, but were unable to reach agreements; too much in regards to mutual relations depended on the will of superpowers.

Soviet censorship caused numerous “white spots” in the writing of history. This is also the reason why cultural ties between Estonian and Latvia in the 1920s–1930s have received relatively little attention. We attempted to bridge this gap from our side, and we hope that Latvian researchers will respond with their vision of the theme.

The manuscript of this book was read by many people, and we are thankful to them for their advice, for drawing our attention to a number of details, specifications of facts, editing of language, etc. Great help to us came from a number of Latvian researchers, particularly Academician Prof. Jānis Stradiņš and Academician Prof. Arnis Vīksna, but also from Prof. Māris Baltiņš, Dr. Ilgars Grosvalds, Dr. Māra Vīksna and Irēna Ondzule. During our visits to Riga, we received great assistance from the staff of the Latvian Academic Library and the Latvian National Library. The scholars who devoted their time to revising the manuscript include Prof. Eduard Vääri, Dr. Eero Medijainen, Prof. Tiit Rosenberg and Dr. Riho Altnurme from Tartu, Prof. Lembit Vaba from Tampere, Finland, and Dr. David J. Smith from Glasgow, the UK. Several specific problems were solved by our colleagues from Tartu: Prof. Ott Kurs, Dr. Toivo Meikar, Dr. Enn Ernits and Rein Saukas. The text was translated into English by Mariika Liivamägi and partially by Ilmar Anvelt, and edited by Zachary Gagnon from Tartu, parts of it also by Prof. Robert Fox and Dr. Mark Harrison from Oxford, and Dr. Annela Kelly and Dr. Brian Kelly from Monroe, Louisiana. In finding the illustrations, we received help from Sulo Lembinen. The book design is by Martin Nurm and the layout is by Mart Orav. The publication of the book coincides with the ESTO festival in Riga to be held at the end of June 2004. On the one hand, this made the authors speed up their work; on the other hand, we were not able to discuss many interesting contacts, particularly from

the Latvian side. We appreciate the moral support of the organizers of ESTO in Riga: Ylo Anson, Pārja Svarpstina and Tõnu Karma. The authors extend their sincere thanks to all those mentioned.

The illustrations come mostly from the Tartu University Library, and partly from the Estonian Historical Archives and the Estonian National Museum. The travel diaries of Ferdinand Leinbock (Linnus) are in the possession of Tanel Linnus.

Historiography

When examining relations between the University of Tartu and Latvia, researchers have been focussing mostly on the period of the Tsarist regime, paying much less attention to the later decades, and mainly following the role of the University of Tartu in the development of the Latvian intelligentsia and scholarly community. Latvian researchers have been more active in discussing the cultural and educational relations between Estonia and Latvia. The subject has also been highlighted during anniversaries at the University of Tartu. Already in 1932, Gustavs Šaurums wrote a book *Tērbatas Universitāte*,¹ and continued discussing the subject later as well.² The anniversary of the University of Tartu in 1982, and Arnis Vīksna's book published a few years later, greatly promoted research regarding our relations. Some other articles were published to mark the event.³ Jānis Stradiņš has repeatedly touched upon the relations of Latvian scholars with the University of Tartu in his presentations and articles,⁴ as well as in sev-

¹G. Šaurums. *Tērbatas Universitāte, 1632–1932*. Rīga, 1932.

²G. Šaurums. *Tērbatas Universitāte pagātnē un tagadnē* = Tartu Ülikool minevikus ja olevikus. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts = Lāti-Eesti Ühingu Kuukiri*. 1936, 1. nr., 41.–44. lpp.; 3./4. nr., 19.–22. lpp.; 1937, 1. nr., 24.–28. lpp.; 2. nr., 15.–19. lpp.; 4. nr., 11.–14. lpp.

³A. Vīksna. *Tērbatas Universitāte*. Rīga, 1986; A. Vīksna. *Tērbatas Universitāte un mēs*. *Karogs*. 1982, 11. nr., 146.–158. lpp.

⁴J. Stradiņš. Tartu (Tērbatas) universitāte un tās ietekme Latvijā. *Latvijas PSR Zinātņu Akadēmijas Vēstis*. 1977, 12. nr., 139.–142. lpp.; Я. П. Страдинь. Тартуский университет и Латвия. *Роль Тартуского университета в развитии отечественной науки и в подготовке научно-педагогических кадров: тезисы докладов XI Прибалтийской конференции по истории науки и техники*. Тарту, 1977, с. 5–9; Я. П. Страдинь. Ста-

eral books.¹ Quite recently, he has published several comprehensive articles on intellectual co-operation between the Baltic states,² and two studies on the relations of the University of Tartu with Latvia.³ During recent decades, much attention has been paid to the role of the University of Tartu in training Latvian physicians. It has been confirmed that about 700 Latvian physicians and pharmacists have studied at the University of Tartu, and 21 of them later became professors at the University of Latvia.⁴ A. Vīksna and other Latvian authors have written several articles emphasising the role of the University of Tartu

рый Рижский Политехнический институт (1962–1918 гг.) в контексте истории региональной и мировой науки. *Из истории естествознания и техники Прибалтики*. Т. 8. Рига, 1991, с. 18–46; J. Stradiņš. Augstākā izglītībā Baltijā un Latvijas Universitātes priekšvēsture. *Latvijas Universitāte* 75. Rīga, 1994, 13.–14. lpp.; J. Stradiņš. Latvijas Universitātes veidošanās, tās devums Latvijai un pasaules zinātnei. *Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurnāls*. 1995, 2. nr., 108.–131. lpp.; М. В. Шиманская, В. А. Яунсила, Я. П. Страдынь. Профессор Янис Карлович Маизите и его вклад в развитие фармаций в Латвии. *Latvijas PSR Zinātņu Akadēmija Vēstis*. 1987, 12. nr., 106.–115. lpp.; Я. П. Страдынь, У. В. Пальм. Связи химиков Тарту и Риги в XIX–XX вв. *Тартуский государственный университет. История развития, подготовка кадров, научные исследования. I, Общественные науки (Тезисы докладов Всесоюзной (XIII Прибалтийской) конференции по истории науки, посвященной 350-летию Тартуского университета*. Вып. 2, ч. 2. Тарту, 1982, с. 148–148; see also: *Latvijas Zinātņu akadēmijas akademiķis Jānis Stradiņš: biobibliogrāfija*. Sast. I. Andersone. Rīga, 1993.

¹J. Stradiņš, H. Strods. *Jelgavas Pētra akadēmija: Latvijas pirmās augstskolas likeņgaitas*. Rīga, 1975; *Etides par Latvijas zinātņu pagātņi*. Rīga, 1982; *No Grindeļa līdz mūsdienām. Apceres par farmācijas tradīcijām un jaunu ārstniecības preparātu meklējumiem Latvijā*. Rīga, 1996; *Latvijas Zinātņu Akadēmija: izcelsme, vēsture, parvertības*. Rīga, 1998; J. Stradiņš. *Tartu University in the history of culture and science of Latvia: aula-lecture 25th November, 1997*. Tartu, 1998.

²J. Stradiņš, Dz. Cēbere. Establishment of an Intellectual Entente in the Baltic States. *The Baltic States at Historical Crossroads*. Rīga, 2001, pp. 291–314.

³J. Stradiņš. Tartu ülikool Läti teadusloos. *Ajalooline Ajakiri*. 2002, 1/2 (116/117), lk. 219–230; J. Stradiņš. Tērbatas universitāte Latvijas zinātnes un kultūras kontekstā. *Latvijas Zinātņu Akadēmijas Vēstis*. A daļa. 2003, 1.–2. nr., 103.–109. lpp.

⁴A. A. Виксна. Памятные места воспитанников медицинского факультета Тартуского университета в Латвии. *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*. 12. Tartu, 1981, lk. 127.

in the medical and other sciences of Latvia.¹ Biographical dictionaries of the physicians of Estonia (Estland), Livonia (Livland) and Kurland, compiled by Isidor Brennsohn, a historian of medicine, also have indirect relations with the subject.² Regarding recent events, we should like to point out the exhibition "Latvia and the University of Tartu" and the accompanying publication by A. Vīksna and others.³

¹ А. А. Виксна. Тартуский университет и развитие медицины в Латвии. *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*. 6. Tartu, 1977, lk. 34–41; А. А. Виксна. Памятные места воспитанников медицинского факультета Тартуского университета в Латвии. *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*. 12. Tartu, 1981, lk. 126–134; А. А. Виксна. О первых латышских профессорах-медиках — воспитанниках отечественных медицинских школ. *Вопросы медицины и биологии Прибалтики*. 1977, с. 120–123; Я. М. Смильга, Ю. О. Якобсон, Р. А. Кукайн. Первые латышские микробиологи — воспитанники Тарту. *Вопросы медицины и биологии Прибалтики (Тезисы докладов XI Прибалтийской конференции по истории науки и техники)*. Тарту, 1977, с. 181–184; А. П. Милтиньш, А. А. Виксна. Тартуский университет и развитие дерматовенерологии в Латвии. *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*. 9. Tartu, 1979, lk. 20–21; see also: Profesors Arnis Vīksna. *Biobibliogrāfiskais rādītājs*. Rīga, 2002; А. П. Милтиньш. Из истории дермато-венерологии в Прибалтике. *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*. 15. Tartu, 1983, lk. 34–38; И. Я. Гросвалд. Вклад воспитанников Тартуского (Дерптского, Юрьевского) университета в развитие Рижского политехникума, Рижского политехнического института и Латвийского университета. *Тартуский государственный университет. История развития, подготовка кадров, научные исследования. I, Общественные науки (Тезисы докладов Всесоюзной (XIII Прибалтийской) конференции по истории науки, посвященной 350-летию Тартуского университета)*. Тарту, 1982, с. 159–166; Р. Аписитис, П. Ярвелаид. Влияние Тартуского университета на создание отделения правовых наук в Латвийском университете. *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*. 16. Tartu, 1985, lk. 84–89; M. Vīksna. Walter Anderson and Latvia. *Studies in Folklore and Popular Religion*. Vol. 1. Tartu, 1996, pp. 35–39.

² I. Brennsohn. *Die Ärzte Livlands*. Mitau, 1905, Nachdr.: Hannover-Döhren, 1971; I. Brennsohn. *Die Ärzte Estlands*. Riga, 1922, Nachdr.: Hannover-Döhren, 1972; I. Brennsohn. *Die Ärzte Kurlands*. Mitau, 1902, Nachdr.: Hannover-Döhren, 1972.

³ *Latvija un Tērbatas universitāte = Latvia and Tērbata University (izstāde)*. Rīga, 2003.

In Estonia, the subject has been discussed by Sergei Isakov in the three-volume history of the University of Tartu, where he focused on the role of Tartu in Latvian cultural life.¹ Karl Aben has studied the teaching of Latvian literature and language at the University of Tartu.² Enn Ernits has written on the contacts in the field of veterinary medicine.³ Dainis Ozoliņš's diploma thesis offers research on the Latvian student community at the University of Tartu.⁴ The authors of this book have also contributed to the topic under discussion.⁵ During the 21st Baltic Conference on the History of Science (October 13–15, 2003), a plenary paper was presented with the title “The relations between the University of Tartu and Latvia in the 1920s and 1930s: an overview”. Although the area of the subject under discussion — relations between Latvian and Estonian universities in 1918/1919–1940 — has not yet been very deeply studied, it does not mean that the importance of the alumni of the University of Tartu to the development of the University of Latvia, or to Latvia in general, is not known, or that facts concerning the co-operation between the Baltic states from about 70–80 years ago are unknown. We believe that the publication of this book will also inspire our colleagues in Latvia to examine these relations closer.

The sources

Most of the archival materials used in this study are preserved in the Estonian Historical Archives, in the documents collection of the Uni-

¹ *Tartu ülikooli ajalugu (1632–1982)*. II kd. (1798–1918). Koost. Karl Siilivask. Tallinn, 1982, lk. 378–379.

² K. Aben. Läti keele ja kirjanduse õpetamine Tartu ülikoolis 1803–1918. *Tartu Riikliku Ülikooli Toimetised*. Vihik 51. 1957, lk. 15–30.

³ E. Ernits. Latvian-Estonian veterinary contacts between two World Wars. *Latvijas Universitātes Raksti*. 2004, 661. seļ., 142.–146. lpp.

⁴ Д. Озолиньш. Латышские студенты в Тартуском университете 1802–1917. *Дипломная работа*. Тарту, 1980.

⁵ H. Tankler, A. Rämmer. On the relations between the University of Tartu and Latvia in the 1920s and 1930s. *Latvijas Zinātņu Akadēmijas Vēstis. A daļa*. 2004, I. nr., 27.–49. lpp.; H. Tankler, A. Rämmer. Academic contacts between the University of Tartu and various Latvian institutions during the 1920s–1930s, with the emphasis on the fields of natural sciences, agriculture and forestry. *Latvijas Universitātes Raksti*. 2004, 661. sēj., 83.–99. lpp.

versity of Tartu (stock No. 2100, ser. 2, 2b, 4; partly in stock No. 402, ser. 3). Most important among these materials are the annual reports of the university, and personal files of the university lecturers. Evidence of close contacts between the theologians of Tartu and Riga can be found in a file held in the materials of the Faculty of Theology, containing correspondences on the organisation of and participation in conferences of Baltic theologians (stock No. 2100, ser. 5, item 36). Several documents testify to the exchange of experiences between the rectors of the two universities of the neighbouring countries in the early 1920s (stock No. 2100, ser. 4, item 420, 423). In this work, we have also used the materials of the State Archives of Estonia in Tallinn, especially the stocks of the Ministry of Education (stock No. 1108) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (stock No. 957); but we could not find any substantial supplements for the materials found at the Estonian Historical Archives. These are very extensive stocks, where it is not easy to find the necessary material. Different personal and institutional collections at Tartu University Library (especially in the Department of Rare Books and MSS) and at the Estonian Literary Museum (especially the Estonian Cultural History and Folklore Archives) have been of assistance in writing this work. To study the general political background, we used the collection of documents *Estonian-Latvian relations 1920–1925*¹, which relies on the materials of several archives and other publications.

Different articles on educational and scholarly contacts between Estonia and Latvia have also been published in professional journals, such as travel reports, conference reviews, notes about events in Latvia, obituaries and anniversary notices of Latvians, reviews of works published in Latvia, news items regarding the visits of prominent figures, etc. Current information has been published in both Estonian and Latvian newspapers. An important source for our research has also been the *Monthly of the Latvian-Estonian Society* (*Latvias-Igaunias Biedrības Mēnešraksts = Lāti-Eesti Ühingu Kuukiri*).

¹ *Eesti ja Läti suhted 1920–1925: dokumentide kogumik*. H. Arumäe, T. Arumäe (koostanud). Tallinn, 1999. Ad fontes, 7; *Eesti lepingud välisriikidega*. I–XIV. Tallinn, 1923–1938.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNIVERSITY OF TARTU AND LATVIA DURING THE TSARIST ERA

The University of Tartu was founded in 1632 by the Swedish King Gustavus II Adolphus. Its first period lasted until 1710. Estonia in this period was under Swedish rule, and the university worked with some interruption, under the names of *Academia Gustaviana* (1632–1656) and *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* (1690–1710). The role of Germans was crucial during both periods. Between 1632 and 1656 the number of students of Swedish origin was larger than that of German origin, but for the professors the numbers were reversed. Between 1690 and 1710 when, due to the war, the university moved to Pärnu, the situation was the opposite, students of German origin and professors of Swedish origin predominated. It is interesting to point out that the first and probably the only Latvian student at the Swedish University of Tartu was Jānis Reiters whose Germanised name was Johannes Reuter. He was enrolled at the university in 1650.¹ So far, no ethnic Estonians have been identified among the students of the Swedish University.

Tartu University was reopened in 1802, when Estonia was governed by the Russian Emperor. Since this time the university has worked

¹K. Karulis. *Jānis Reiters un viņa tulkojumi*. Rīga, 1986; A. A. Виксна. О медиках Прибалтики — воспитанниках Густавианской и Густаво-Каролинской академий в XVII–XVIII веках. *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*. 6. Tartu, 1977, lk. 80–82, A. Tering. *Album Academicum der Universität Dorpat (Tartu) 1632–1710*. Publicationes Bibliothecae Universitatis Litterarum Tartuenssis, 5. Tallinn, 1984, S. 257–258.

without interruption. From its reopening, Tartu University officially worked in the German language until the beginning of the 1890s; from then until 1918, the Russian language was used for twenty-five years. In the 19th century German-born students were predominated in Tartu; from the end of the century until 1918 students came to Tartu from all over Russia, representing different ethnicities.¹ The local inhabitants of the territory around Tartu University, Estonians and Latvians, mainly belonged to lower social classes (peasants and artisans), which for a long time had no opportunity of higher education. Their number at the university gradually started to grow from the end of the 19th century. In 1919, a year after the independence of Estonia was declared, Tartu University was able to start working as an Estonian-language university.

A historic episode concerning the University of Tartu took place in Jelgava in Latvia. The preparatory period for opening the university in Tartu came to an abrupt end, when Emperor Paul I issued an ukase on December 25, 1800 about transferring the university to Mitau (today Jelgava). Allegedly, Baron Friedrich Frh. von Ungern-Sternberg was secretly asked to delay the opening of the university in Jelgava as long as possible to enable the circles who preferred Tartu as the site of the university to make Paul I change his mind.² Then Alexander I came to power and the university was opened in Tartu. The well-known scientist Karl Ernst von Baer was of the opinion that the proper place for a university in the Baltic provinces would have been Riga, although it would have been too large and noisy for a university town. "Just as for a long time in Germany, here too, it was considered right to keep students away from the hustle and bustle of the world. If only they didn't create disturbances themselves".³

¹H. Tankler. Dorpat, a German-speaking International University in the Russian Empire. *University and Nation. The University and the Making of the Nation in Northern Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries*. Helsinki, 1996. Suomen Historiallinen Seura. *Studia Historica*, 53, pp. 91–100.

²Aus dem Leben des Landraths Friedrich Baron Ungern-Sternberg. *Baltische Monatschrift*. Bd. 24 (1875), S. 118.

³*Nachrichten über Leben und Schriften des Herrn Geheimraths Dr. Karl Ernst von Baer...* Braunschweig, 1886, S. 111.

Latvian students in Tartu

The total of ethnic Latvian students at the University of Tartu in the 19th and early the 20th centuries probably amounted to around 1366. The first list of Latvian students in Tartu was compiled by Gustavs Šaurums; the later authors, including Arnis Vīksna ja Dainis Ozoliņš, have confessed that they generally relied on his list.¹ Studying the personal files of students and lists of student organizations in the Estonian Historical Archives, D. Ozoliņš succeeded in his diploma paper of 1980 in increasing the number by 32.² The number of Estonians among the students at that time was roughly the same.³ Incidentally, the number of students in Tartu University from present-day Lithuania was approximately the same as the number of Latvians and Estonians.⁴

The first student of Latvian origin, a free farmer's son from Lugažu parish Kārlis Williams (Wiljams, 1776–1847), entered the university as early as in 1803. He studied mathematics in Tartu until 1809,⁵ probably earlier than any ethnic Estonians. In the first half of the 19th century more than 50 Latvians were studied at the University of Tartu, among them the first Latvian philosopher, well-known public figure and man of letters Kaspars Biezbārdis, and the physician and linguist

¹G. Šaurums. *Tērbatas Universitāte, 1632–1932*. Rīga, 1932; A. Vīksna. *Tērbatas Universitāte*. Rīga, 1986; Д. Озолиньш. *Латышские студенты в Тартуском университете 1802–1917*, с. 80.

²Д. Озолиньш. *Латышские студенты в Тартуском университете 1802–1917*, с. 78–80.

³P. Hänni. *Eesti üliõpilased Tartu Ülikoolis aastail 1889–1917. Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*. 14. Tartu, 1983, lk. 30; V. Juhanson. *Esimesed eesti üliõpilased Tartu ülikoolis ja Eesti Üliõpilaste Selts. Tartu üliõpilaskonna ajalugu*. Toim. J. Vasar. Tartu, 1932, lk. 98–99.

⁴A. Tyla. *Lietuvos jaunimas Tartu universitete 1802–1918 m. Lietuvos TSR Mokslų Akademijos Darbai. A. serija = Труды Академии Наук Литовской ССР, Сер. А. Т. 3 (44)*, 1973, с. 120–123; А. Тила. *Роль Тартуского университета в развитии культуры в XIX–начале XX века. Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*. 10. Tartu, 1981, lk. 100–107.

⁵Г. Жельнин. *Астрономическая обсерватория Тартуского (Дерптского, Юрьевского) университета. Исторический очерк. Eesti NSV Teaduste Akadeemia W. Struve nimelise Tartu Astrofüüsika Observatooriumi publikatsioonid*. Kd. 37. Tartu, 1969, lk. 16.

Juris Bārs. Among the students of the University of Tartu, we can find the leader of Latvian national movement Krišjānis Valdemārs, the greatest Latvian folklorist Krišjānis Barons, the founder of Latvian national literature, poet and publicist Juris Alunāns and Jānis Jurjāns (these four started the Young Latvians' (*jaunlatvieši*) movement, so important in the history of Latvia). The teacher, linguist and writer Atis Kronvalds, and writer Juris Neikens also studied in Tartu. Latvian students in Tartu founded their organisation *Lettonia*, which gained official authorisation in 1882,¹ and in 1888 the Academic and Literary Society of Latvian Students *Pīpkalonija*. The latter society initiated the national movement of Latvians *Jauna strāva* (The New Stream), which included several well-known persons in the history of Latvian culture — Kārlis Kasparsons, Eduards Veidenbaums, Aleksandrs Dauge, Janis Jansons-Brauns, Fricis Roziņš-Āzis, Pauls Kalniņš and Jēkabs Alksnis. From 1891–1897 the society published the journal *Pūrs*. *Pīpkalonija* was also rather well known for its revolutionary activities.² At the beginning of the 20th century several new Latvian student organisations were established: *Atauga*, pharmacists' society *Lettgallia*, and in 1917 *Ventonia*.³

The University of Tartu educated a number of physicians, teachers, clergymen, chemists, officials and scholars for Latvia. In every field we find in Latvia graduates of the University of Tartu who played an important role in Latvian culture. Thanks to the biographical lexicons, compiled by Isidor Brennsohn,⁴ we have quite a detailed overview of the physicians who acted in the territory of present-day Estonia and Latvia, but the exact number of Latvian physicians, who studied in Tartu, has been determined only recently. At least 679 Latvian physi-

¹Läti uus üliõpilaste seltskond "Lettonia" kinnitatus. *Olevik*. 1882, nr. 21, lk. 3; nr. 22, lk. 2; *Perno Postimees*. 1882, nr. 23, lk. 1; *Eesti Postimees*. 1882, nr. 21, lk. 3.

²E. Kaup. *Marksism-leninism Eestis. 1880-ndad aastad–1904*. Tallinn, 1984, lk. 93–103.

³J. Stradiņš. Tartu Ülikool Läti teadusloos, lk. 224.

⁴I. Brennsohn. *Ärzte Estlands*. Riga, 1922; I. Brennsohn. *Ärzte Livlands*. Riga, 1905; I. Brennsohn. *Ärzte Kurlands*. Riga, 1929; A. A. Вискна, В. В. Калнин. Вклад воспитанников Тартуского университета в изучение истории медицины Прибалтики. *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*. 9. Tartu, 1979, lk. 98–99.

cians and pharmacists, among them 21 professors, were educated at the University of Tartu.¹

Teaching of the Latvian language began soon after the reopening of the university, mainly with the aim to give schooling for local clergymen in local languages. Former students of Tartu University renewed the orthography and compiled the first dictionaries of the Latvian language (J. Bārs, K. Mīlenbahs, Juris Neikens, J. Endzelīns and others). We should make special mention of Jānis Endzelīns, who finished and published K. Mīlenbahs' Latvian dictionary (4 volumes, 1923–1932 and two supplementary volumes, 1934–1946). Endzelīns studied in Tartu from 1893 to 1903 and started his academic career as a private docent in Tartu (1903–1908). His master's thesis on Latvian prepositions was also defended in Tartu in 1905. The defence procedure lasted for two days, longer than usual, as Endzelīns's paper caused heated discussion. Leonhard Masing was one of the reviewers who supported Endzelīns, and the other wing, represented by Mikhail Krasheninnikov and Anton Jasinski, had to retreat.² August Bielenstein, a Baltic German from Latvia, studied Latvian language, ethnography³ and early history. He also gathered Livonian material.⁴ The students of the well-known professors of mathematics in Tartu Ferdinand Minding and Carl Eduard Senff included the prominent Latvian mathematician Karl Peterson, who later worked in Moscow and laid the foundations of the school of differential geometry. Peterson was

¹A. A. Виксна. Тартуский университет и развитие медицины в Латвии, lk. 35, 37; A. A. Виксна. Памятные места воспитанников медицинского факультета Тартуского университета в Латвии, lk. 126–134; A. Виксна. Тартуский университет и латышские фармацевты, lk. 84–96.

²P. Булатова. Леонгард Готхильф Мазинг (1845–1936). *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*. 1. Tartu, 1975, lk. 157; Tartu University Library Department of MSS and Rare Books (henceforth TÜR KHO), stock 43, item 100–102.

³For example, Ilmari Manninen, a lecturer of ethnography at Tartu University, acknowledges that A. Bielenstein's book *Die Holzbauten und Holzgeräte* bore direct relation to Manninen's own research (I. Manninen. *Die Sachkultur Eslands*. Bd. I. Tartu, 1931. Õpetatud Eesti Seltsi Eritoiimetised, S. IX.).

⁴E. Vääri. Tartu Ülikooli osa liivi keele ja liivlaste uurimisel. *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*. 13. Tartu, 1983, lk. 93.

the first to deduce the two basic equations of the theory of surfaces.¹ Piers Bols (Bohl), who was born in Valga/Valka, is still well known today as a classic of mathematical analysis. P. Bols worked in the Polytechnic of Riga as an docent from 1895–1898 and as an adjunct professor and full professor from 1898–1901.² Fricis Blumbahs, assistant to the world-famous chemist D. Mendeleyev and a professor in Riga after 1940, also studied in Tartu.³ The above-mentioned persons form only a small part of the graduates of Tartu University who had a certain importance in the cultural history of Latvia. These graduates have been studied in some detail by Latvian scholars, as the historiographical section of this book indicates.

The Veterinary Institute of Tartu that was founded in 1848 and gained the rights of a higher school in 1873, trained approximately 200 Latvian-born veterinary scholars, some names are well known even today (Eižens Zemmers, Kristaps Helmanis, Alfreds Bertušs, Oto Kalniņš etc.). Some graduates of the Veterinary Institute even started their academic careers in Tartu but decided to carry them on in Riga in order to serve their own nation (Ernests Paukul(i)s, Ludvigs Kundziņš and Kārlis Kalniņš).⁴

Tartu University had special significance in the training of lecturers and professors for Riga Polytechnic (founded in 1862), which has been studied several times, as has the role of the Polytechnic in prepar-

¹ *History of Tartu University, 1632–1982*. Tallinn, 1985, p. 117.

² А. Д. Мышкис, И. М. Рабинович. *Математик Пирс Поль из Риги*. Рига, 1965; Ю. Гайдук. К творческой биографии П. Г. Боля. *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*. 14. Tartu, 1983, lk. 154–161.

³ И. М. Рабинович. *На страже точности. Страницы из жизни и деятельности Ф. И. Блумбаха*. Рига, 1965.

⁴ *Eesti Põllumajandusülikooli loomaarstiteaduskond 1848–1998*. Koost. E. Ernits. Tartu, 1998, lk. 6, 13, 23–24, 33, 36; А. А. Вискна. Латышские профессора — воспитанники Тартуского (Дерптского, Юрьевского) университета. *Тартуский государственный университет. История развития, подготовка кадров, научные исследования. I, Общественные науки (Тезисы докладов Всесоюзной (XIII Прибалтийской) конференции по истории науки, посвященной 350-летию Тартуского университета*. Тарту, 1982, с. 138.

ing technical (including agricultural) and economic specialists.¹ At different times, the graduates of Tartu University formed a quarter, a third and in the academic year 1886–1887 over 40 percent of the whole staff.² This makes a total of at least 35 persons, the best-known of them W. Ostwald, Piers Bols, August Loeber, Karl Kupffer, etc.

Researchers have established that until 1870 most Latvians with academic education had studied in Tartu University, and that it was only later that Latvians started to study in St. Petersburg and Moscow as well as in Western Europe.³

Tartu played some role in the foundation of the Latvian national university. The suggestion that Latvia should open its own university was made in Tartu, during the Latvian Teachers' Congress in Tartu that gathered in June 1917.⁴

Another issue that was under discussion will briefly be summarized below. In 1910 the enlargement of Tartu University was discussed and there was even talk of its moving to other towns. As possible locations for the medical faculty Riga, Pskov and Vitebsk were proposed.⁵ In 1910, after the opening of a modern clinic in Riga, 13 ethnic Latvian members of the town council, influenced by Dr. Pēteris Sniķers, suggested that the medical faculty of Tartu University should be moved to Riga or that an independent medical academy should be established there. The public discussion lasted for several months but did not get very far. One side supported the traditional location of the

¹К. Мартинсон, Х. Мартинсон. Научные связи между Рижским политехническим институтом и Эстонией. *Из истории естествознания и техники Прибалтики (Acta historiae scientiarum Baltica)*. Riga, 1991. Т. 8, с. 104–105, 113–114, 116; К. Мартинсон, Х. Мартинсон. Рижский политехнический институт и Эстония (1862–1917). *Из истории естествознания и техники Прибалтики (Acta historiae scientiarum Baltica)*. Riga, 1980. Т. 6, с. 30–44.

²К. Мартинсон, Х. Мартинсон. Рижский политехнический институт и Эстония (1862–1917), с. 31.

³J. Stradiņš. Tartu Īlikool Lāti teadusloos, lk. 219.

⁴J. Stradiņš. Tartu Īlikool Lāti teadusloos, lk. 227; *Latviešu skolotāju delegātu kongresa darbība un lēmumi Tērbatā, no 8.–13. jūnijam 1917. g. Tērbatā*, 1917.

⁵Zur Verlegung der Dorpater Universität. *Nordlivländische Zeitung*. 1910, 5./18.02 (Nr. 29), S. 3; 21.04./4.05 (Nr. 88), S. 3.

university; others feared that the appearance of a large number of new students in a busy urban environment might threaten public order in Riga.¹

Latvia in the biographies of Tartu University lecturers²

Natural sciences. In mathematics and astronomy the links are rather close. Magnus *Georg³ Paucker (1787–1855, died in Jelgava), well known as a mathematician and astronomer, studied at Tartu University from 1805–1809 and defended his master's and doctoral theses in 1813, having written one and the same dissertation for both degrees. Soon after being elected extraordinary professor (1813), he left Tartu and taught mathematics and physics in the academic *gymnasium* of Jelgava, until retirement in 1846. In 1818 he tried to return to Tartu but was defeated by his rival, Professor Johann Wilhelm Andreas Pfaff, who had worked in Tartu earlier but later decided to carry on his activities in Erlangen. In 1833 Paucker sought the post of a professor in Tartu again, but the former professor Martin Bartels was re-elected to his post. Living in Jelgava, Paucker took part in the Russian-Scandinavian Meridian Arc Measurements, started by professor of Tartu University Wilhelm Struve, and Karl Tenner. Paucker has written some well-known works in the field of mathematics.⁴

¹J. Stradiņš, Dz. Cēbere. Neuzrakstīta Rīgas augstskolu vēstures lappuse (1910. gada ierosinājums dibināt Medicīnas akadēmiju Rīgā). *Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurnāls*. 2000, 1. nr., 97.–125. lpp.

²This theme has never received comprehensive treatment. The present chapter deals only with the lecturers who worked at Tartu University under Tsarist rule; the biographical relations with Latvia of lecturers who worked in Tartu from 1919–1940 will mostly be discussed in Chapter 2. In this subchapter German and Latvian names are used in parallel for less-known places.

³Asterisk before Christian names indicate the name used most often.

⁴И. А. Даубе. Елгавская астрономическая обсерватория и развитие астрономических обсерватории на территории Латвийской ССР. *Из истории естествознания и техники в Прибалтике*. Рига, 1976. Т. 5, с. 217–233; И. М. Рабинович, Я. П. Страдинь. Елгавский астрономо-математический центр в конце XIX в. *Вопросы физико-математических наук*. Москва, 1963, с. 481–486; И. М. Рабинович. Приоритет Магнуса Паукера в применении метода наименьших квадратов для обработки опытных данных. *Научные связи Прибалтики в XVII–XX веках. Материалы VII Прибалтийской*

Professor of Jelgava *gymnasium* Wilhelm Gottlieb Friedrich Beitler (Beutler) applied for the post of the professor of mathematics in Tartu University twice, in 1804 and 1809.¹

For a short time, from 1819–1820, we find Johann Michel Hausmann (1788–1864, born in Grobiņa/Grobin, died in Riga), lecturing on mathematics at Tartu, when the professor's post was vacant. Later Hausmann worked as a teacher of mathematics in Riga (1823–1830) and Jelgava (1830–1847).

Pēteris Kadiķis (1857–1923, born in Snēpele/Schnepeln), a former student and private docent in Tartu (1892–1894), was a professional mathematician who acted in the last years of his life (1922–1923) in Riga as a private docent of the Latvian University. Today Kadiķis is perhaps even better known as a champion of esperanto than as a mathematician.²

Lecturer of Tartu University, mathematician *Theodor Georg Andreas Molien (1861–1941), was born in Riga. He served as an docent at Tartu University from 1885–1900; later he was a professor in Tomsk. He became rather well known as one of the classics of the theory of abstract algebras.³

One of the professors who arrived in Tartu via Latvia was the former professor of physics Georg Friedrich Parrot (Parrot Sr., 1767–1852). He was born in Monbéliard (which at the time was known as Mömpelgard in Württemberg) and started his scientific and social activ-

конференции по истории науки. Рига, 1968, с. 51–54; Н. Tankler. Tartu Ülikooli õppekoosseisu kujunemisloost 19. sajandi esimesel poolel. Loodusteadused. Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi. 17. Tartu, 1985, lk. 105–106.

¹Н. Tankler. Tartu Ülikooli õppekoosseisu kujunemisloost 19. sajandi esimesel poolel. Loodusteadused, lk. 103–104.

²Я. Депман, И. Рабинович. Математик Петр Христофорович Кадикис. *Наука в Прибалтике в XVIII–начале XX вв. Тезисы докладов IV Межреспубликанской конференции по истории науки в Прибалтике*. Рига, 1962, с. 55–56; <http://www.aliaflanko.de/latvio/latvio.html>.

³Н. Ф. Канунов. Федор Эдуардович Молин. Москва, 1983; U. Kaljulaid. Theodor Molien ja rühmaalgebrate teooria. Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi. 20. Tartu, 1987, lk. 16–24; У. Калюлайд. О результатах Т. Молина по инвариантам конечных групп и их возрождения в современной математике. Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi. 20. Tartu, 1987, lk. 111–119.

ities in Riga, where he acted from 1796 as the secretary of the local, rather important agricultural society *Livländische Gemeinnützige und Ökonomische Sozietät*.¹ In his writings, he supported Estonian and Latvian peasants, trying to convince academic circles that simple people needed sympathy and understanding. He found it important to raise their educational level and even to abolish serfdom. The local noblemen did not like his attitude, and he was accused of stirring up revolt.² Along with his busy social and organisational activities (especially the foundation of excellently equipped laboratories of physics in Tartu University and the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences), he was also well known as a versatile researcher, designer and builder of different pieces of apparatus; he studied osmosis and galvanic electricity, and wrote some text-books of physics.³

David Hieronymus Grindel (1776–1836, born in Fridrihsala/Friedrichsinsel, today in the territory of Riga, died in Riga) held the post of professor of chemistry in Tartu from 1804–1814. He was greatly interested in pharmacy and a variety of practical problems in chemistry. Before he came to Tartu, he worked in the *Elephantenapotheke* in Riga. Grindel, whose career was an unusual one, carried on his activities as the owner of a pharmacy in Riga (1814–1820). Afterwards he decided to continue his education in Tartu in the field of medicine (1820–1823). While a medical student, he simultaneously lectured on chemistry, as the chemistry professor's post was vacant at that time. Later, he worked as a practicing doctor in Riga. Here we would like to point out, invoking the examples of Paucker and Grindel, that the post of a professor

¹H. Moorits. Liivimaa üldkasuliku ja ökonoomilise sotsieteedi ning Tartu Ülikooli sidemetest XIX sajandil. *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*. 20. Tartu, 1987, lk. 3–8.

²A. Traat. G. F. Parrot ja talurahvaküsimus Liivimaal. *G. F. Parroti 200-ndale sünni-aastapäevale pühendatud teadusliku konverentsi materjale*. Tartu, 1967, lk. 163–175.

³Я. П. Страдынь. Академик Г. Ф. Паррот и его деятельность в Риге. *Из истории естествознания и техники Прибалтики*. I. Рига, 1968, с. 105–124; В. Г. Калнин. Ф. Паррот и медицина. *G. F. Parroti 200-ndale sünni-aastapäevale pühendatud teadusliku konverentsi materjale*. Tartu, 1967, lk. 107–117.

at Tartu University was not attractive enough to be seen as being obviously preferable to a position as a secondary school teacher, a practicing doctor or a pharmacy owner. The case of Grindel who was of Latvian origin, although germanized, is extraordinary, and his career has attracted much attention.¹ Grindel also published the first periodical of pharmacy in Russia — *Russisches Jahrbuch der Pharmacie* (1803–1808).

*Carl Ernst Heinrich Schmidt (1822–1894), a long-serving professor of chemistry in Tartu (1850–1892), was born in Jelgava. Having studied in Berlin, Giessen (under Justus von Liebig) and Göttingen in Germany, he started his scientific career in Tartu. At first he and his colleague, the professor of physiology Friedrich Bidder studied the chemistry of digestion (*Die Verdauungssäfte und der Stoffwechsel*, 1852). Later he dealt with the chemical analysis of soils, minerals, fertilizers, water and other substances. Carl Schmidt played an active role in updating the chemical laboratory of the university and made several foreign trips to procure equipment for it.²

The world-famous chemist and Nobel Prize winner Wilhelm Ostwald (1853–1932, born in Riga) studied at Tartu University (1872–1875) and worked for some time in Tartu as a laboratory assistant and private docent (1877–1881). Later he worked as a professor at Riga Polytechnic (1882–1887) and in Leipzig University (1887–1906). He is renowned as one of the founders of a new branch of chemistry — physical chemistry: an achievement that belongs mostly to his Riga and Leipzig periods.³

¹There is a relatively great number of studies on Grindel; earlier research has been summed up in *No Grindeļa līdz mūsdienām* (Rīga, 1996), which also includes a bibliography of the main sources on the scholar.

²У. В. Пальм. Значение научного наследия Карла Шмидта для развития химии. *Из истории естествознания и техники Прибалтики*. Рига, 1970. Т. 2, с. 169–178; *Carl Schmidt (1822–1894). Tagebuchaufzeichnungen, Briefe und wissenschaftliche Reiseberichte des Dorpater Chemikers Carl Schmidt aus den Jahren 1842 bis 1881*. R. Stefan Roß (Hg.). Aachen, 2002. Deutsch-russische Beziehungen in Medizin und Naturwissenschaften, Bd. 7.

³Literature on Ostwald is extensive and includes studies in several languages.

Professor of mineralogy Caspar Andreas *Constantin Grewingk (1819–1887) was probably an ethnic Latvian, like the professor of zoology in Tartu, *Gustav August Adam Flor (1829–1883).¹ C. Grewingk was born in Viljandi (Fellin) Estonia, he mainly studied the geology of the local Baltic region, Latvia included.² Flor made distinguished contributions to the taxonomy of insects of the group *Rhynchota* (Hemiptera). He was born in Vecsalaca (Alt-Salis). The manor of Vecsalaca was situated in a region of great landscape interest, and already in his childhood Flor had displayed a remarkable talent for science.³ Johann Karl *Eduard Eichwald (1795–1876), private docent of zoology from 1821–1823, was born in Jelgava. In 1822 he was the first person in Russia to lecture on oryctozoology (nowadays called palaeontology).⁴ It is also worth mentioning that one of the first professors of natural science in Tartu (1802–1809), Gottfried Albrecht Germann (1773–1809), was born in Riga. Ernst *Rudolf von Trautvetter (1809–1889, born in Jelgava) was a private docent of botany from 1833–1835. Later he worked as a professor at Kiev University and as the director of the famous St. Petersburg Botanical Garden. Trautvetter's works on plant geography were of great importance and dealt extensively with the flora of the European part of Russia. We should point out the significance of Trautvetter's *Incrementa florum phaenogamicarum Rossicae* (1882–1884), which is essentially the collection of knowledge on Russian flora gathered after the publication of *Flora rossica* (4 vols., Stuttgart, 1842–1853)

¹C. Schmidt. Prof. C. Grewingk's Wanderjahre 1842–1845. C. Schmidt. *Lebensbild des Professors der Mineralogie an der Universität Dorpat*. Dorpat. 1887, S. 3; Я. П. Страдынь. Тартуский университет и Латвия, с. 7; J. Stradiņš. Tartu Ülikool Läti teadusloos, lk. 219–230.

²C. Grewingk. *Geologie von Liv- und Kurland*. Dorpat, 1859.

³Estonian Historical Archives (Eesti Ajaloohiiv, henceforth EAA), stock 384, ser. 1, item 3149, p. 2.

⁴E. Eichwald. *Ideen zu einer systematischen Oryktozoologie, der über verändert und unverändert ausgegrabene Thiere*. Mitau, 1821; *History of Tartu University, 1632–1982*, p. 115.

by the famous professor of botany of Tartu University Carl Friedrich Ledebour.¹

In 1921 the former private docent of botany in Tartu, Nikolai Popov (1884–?), moved to Riga, where he became the first director and professor of the Russian Institute of Academic Knowledge.

Agronomist Johann Karl *Woldemar von Knieriem (1849–1935), private docent of Tartu University from 1874–1877 and professor from 1877–1880, preferred to work in Riga, taking up the post of professor in Riga Polytechnic. Later he worked as an docent at Herder Institute in Riga (1920–1925). His colleague *Carl Georg Franz Hehn (1821–1875) did the opposite; in 1868 he was appointed professor at Riga Polytechnic (the same year the department of agriculture was founded there, and Hehn is considered to have been its first head). He remained in this post until 1873, after which he worked as professor of Tartu University in the same field (1873–1875).

From 1802–1830 military science was taught in Tartu University; for a short time (1818–1819) the professorship was held by the retired major *Alexander Wilhelm Johann von Zoeckell (1787–1874). Zoeckell was born in Cēsis/Wenden, after leaving Tartu he acted as the general chancellor of the Livonian Mutual Loan Society. Zoeckell died in his manor Rauza/Rausenhof near Riga.²

Medicine. In the field of medicine, a study of the biographies of Tartu University lecturers reveals a number of links with Latvia. Latvia was the birthplace of several lecturers of anatomy of Tartu University.³ *Friedrich Hermann Schneider (1806–1865) was born in Kabile/Kabillen. He worked in Tartu as a private docent (1843–1847) and professor (1847–1853). *Ernst Andreas Reissner (1824–1878),

¹P. Magnus. Ernst Rudolf von Trautvetter. Nachruf. *Verhandlungen des botanischen Vereins der Provinz Brandenburg*, 31. Berlin, 1889, S. LIV.

²T. Tannberg. Sõjateaduse õpetamisest Tartu Ülikoolis aastatel 1802–1830. *Ajalooline Ajakiri*. 2002, 1/2, lk. 43.

³A. Lepp, E. Lepp, H. Tankler. Anatomy Teaching at the University of Tartu. *From the History of Medical Teaching and Research at the University of Tartu*. Lund, 1992. Sydsvenska medicinhistoriska sällskapets årsskrift. Supplementum, 17, pp. 11–17.

professor at Tartu University from 1853–1875 was born in Riga and died in Rundale/Ruhenthal. *Karl Wilhelm von Kupffer (1829–1902) was born in Lestene/Lesten. He worked in Tartu as a professor from 1858–1865. *Johann(es) Andreas Wagner (1833–1892, private docent 1862–1863) and Christian Hermann *Ludwig Stieda (1837–1918, private docent 1862–1866, professor 1866–1885) were both born in Riga. Private docent (1908–1912) and professor (1912–1918) *Hermann Ernst Adolphi (1863–1919) was born in Cēsis. Richard Jacob Weinberg (1867–1926, private docent 1903–1906) was born in Talsi/Talsen. The Jewish scholar Abram *Eber Landau (1878–1959, private docent 1909–1913) was born in the town of Rezekne (Rezhit-sa/Rositten, then in Vitebsk province, now belonging to Latvia). Several anatomists are still well known in our own day. Reissner studied the nervous system, particularly the inner ear (labyrinth). Karl von Kupffer is one of the founders of comparative embryology. Ludwig Stieda had broad scientific interests; besides anatomy he studied history of medicine and wrote biographies of many scholars who have worked in Tartu.¹

During the second half of the 19th century a branch of anthropology, craniology, became fashionable. Several disciples of professor August Rauber and lecturers in Tartu worked in this field at the beginning of the 20th century, studying the skulls of Estonians, Latvians and Livonians (R. J. Weinberg, E. Landau). In 1875 the professor of mineralogy C. Grewingk delivered a paper on the subject at the Learned Estonian Society — *Vortrag über Liven- und Estenschädel*.²

Jakob Ernst *Arthur Boettcher (1831–1889), private docent in Tartu from 1858–1861 and the first professor of pathological anatomy there (1861–1883), was born in Bärbele/Barbern. He equipped the new institute following the model of Rudolf Virchow's institute in

¹I. Käbin. *Die medizinische Forschung und Lehre an der Universität Dorpat/Tartu 1802–1940. Ergebnisse und Bedeutung für die Entwicklung der Medizin*. Lüneburg, 1986, S. 47–55; A. Lepp, E. Lepp, H. Tankler. *Anatomy Teaching at the University of Tartu*, pp. 13–14.

²E. Vääri. *Tartu Ülikooli osa liivi keele ja liivlaste uurimisel. Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*. 13. Tartu, 1983, lk. 93.

Berlin, which he visited in 1856.¹ Virchow had relatively close contacts with the Baltic region, visiting Livonia twice, in 1877 and 1896.²

Physiologist Georg *Friedrich Karl Heinrich Bidder (1810–1894, professor in Tartu from 1836–1869) was born in Bormani/Treppenhof, and *Carl Wilhelm Gaehtgens, a specialist in physiological chemistry (private docent and docent in Tartu from 1868–1874) in Rozēni/Koddiak. Bidder's name is well known even today; his studies dealt with the physiology of the heart and the circulatory system, digestion and metabolism, and, in particular, with the physiology of the nervous system.³

The Latvian origin of the well-known pharmacologist Johann Ernst *Oswald Schmiedeberg (1838–1921, taught in Tartu from 1867–1872, from 1869 as a professor) has been demonstrated convincingly enough.⁴ Yet the mistaken idea that Schmiedeberg was Estonian still circulates. This error may originate from the memoirs of Gustav von Bergmann where it is stated that his father, the well-known surgeon Ernst von Bergmann had taken Schmiedeberg for an Estonian, probably because of his strange accent and the fact that he had

¹H. E. Müller-Dietz. Rudolf Virchow: Reformen der Medizin. *H. E. Müller-Dietz. Ärzte zwischen Deutschland und Russland. Lebensbilder zur Geschichte der medizinischen Wechselbeziehungen.* Stuttgart, Jena, New York, 1995. Medizin in Geschichte und Kultur. Bd. 19, S. 114; A. B. Шабунин. Научное наследие Артура Бетхера. *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi.* 26. Tartu, 1991, lk. 81–84.

²Я. П. Страдынь, В. Я. Дерумс. Рудольф Вирхов в Латвии. *Из истории естествознания и техники Прибалтики.* 4. Рига, 1972, с. 105–111; R. Virchow. Über ältere Gräber in Livland. *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte.* 1877, Bd. 9, S. 255–259; R. Virchow. [Bericht] über eine archäologische Reise nach Livland. *Ibidem*, S. 365; R. Virchow. Der X. Russische archäologische Congress zu Riga. *Ibidem*, Jg. 1896, S. 479–497.

³I. Käbin. *Die medizinische Forschung und Lehre an der Universität Dorpat/Tartu 1802–1940*, S. 83–100; E. Käer-Kingissepp. Friedrich Heinrich Bidder — füsioloogia korraline professor Tartu Ülikoolis 1843–1968. *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi.* 15. Tartu, 1983, lk. 153–167.

⁴С. У. Пийола. К генеалогии И. Е. О. Шмидеберга. *Становление науки и научных коллективов Прибалтики. Тезисы докладов XIV Прибалтийской конференции по истории науки.* Рига, 1985, с. 266–268.

lived some time in Permisküla in Estonia.¹ O. Schmiedeberg developed a school of pharmacologists in Strasbourg, the equal of which is difficult to find. It consisted of 22 professors and top scientists who had studied in Strasbourg and later worked in Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Russia, Britain, Italy, Sweden, Denmark and America.²

Among the Tartu lecturers in pharmacy, two were born in Latvia. *Friedrich Karl Beckmann (1818–1885), who taught pharmacy from 1855–1866, was born in Dobeles/Doblen (later professor in Lodz, Poland) and Nikolai (Nicolas Napoleon) Kromer (1866–1941) in Jelgava. Kromer worked in Tartu as a private docent from 1893–1897; later he became a professor in Perm, Russia. It is interesting to note that when the centre of the local educational district was moved from Tartu to Riga in 1870, the vacant rooms were given to the pharmacy institute of Tartu University.³

*Herrmann Johann von Köhler (1792–1860), who for many years, 1820–1850, worked as private docent of state medicine in Tartu, was born in Riga.

One of the first professors of medicine at Tartu University Martin Ernst Styx (1759–1829, professor from the reopening of the university until 1826) was also born in Riga. He wrote a number of books and articles on therapy and remedies (the misuse of blood-letting in the Baltic provinces (1793), the effects of the Russian sauna (1802); he tried to find a possible replacement for quinine among local herbs (1817), studied whooping-cough, etc.)⁴ His colleague Daniel Georg Balk (1764–1826), professor of pathology, semi-

¹G. v. Bergmann. *Rückschau auf mein Leben*. München, 1954, S. 81.

²I. Käbin. *Die medizinische Forschung und Lehre an der Universität Dorpat/Tartu 1802–1940*, S. 169–170; H. Tankler, G. Laschinski, I. Roots. *Geschichte der deutsch-baltischen Beziehungen in der Medizin. Deutsche Medizinische Wochenschrift*. 2004, 129, S. 44.

³H. Martinson, A. Pärna. *Farmatseutide ettevalmistamised Tartu Ülikoolis enne 1917. aastat. Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*. 3. Tartu, 1975, lk. 158.

⁴V. Kalnin. Martin Ernst Styx (1759–1829). *Eesti arstiteaduse ajaloost*. Koost. V. Kalnin. Tartu, 1996, lk. 17; J. Kasmel. Professor Martin Ernst Styx ja kohuarstiteaduse õpetamise algus Tartu Ülikoolis. *Ajalooline Ajakiri*. 2002, 1/2, lk. 119–126.

otics, therapy and clinical medicine in Tartu from 1802–1817, lived for some years in Latvia. Having studied and defended his thesis in Königsberg, he moved to Kurland and worked as a physician in Jēkabpils/Jakobstadt from 1796. Soon he was appointed as the district doctor of Sēlpils/Selburg and later as a spa doctor in Baldone/Baldohn (1799).¹ Gottlieb *Franz Emanuel (Immanuel) Sahmen (1789–1848), professor of medicine in Tartu from 1826–1847, was born in Apukalns/Oppekaln.

Nikolai Pirogov (1810–1881), professor in Tartu 1836–1841, was one of the most prominent names in Russian medicine of the 19th century. He is recognized as a pioneer of experimental surgery, topographical anatomy and field surgery; his atlas of topographical anatomy became known all over Europe. His life was also episodically connected with Latvia. While working in Tartu, N. Pirogov often visited the military hospital in Riga, where he performed several operations on every visit.² Because of the patients' abundant loss of blood, one of his friends referred to these trips as the campaigns of Chingis-Khan.³ One of the most distinguished surgeons of the second half of the 19th century was *Ernst Gustav Benjamin von Bergmann (1836–1907). He was born in Riga and studied at Tartu University;⁴ later he worked in Tartu as an docent and professor of surgery (1863–1878). His impact on the development of surgery was vast, and his work as a lecturer and his textbooks were widely acknowledged. Bergmann did much to introduce antiseptics, and later, aseptics. He also exerted a great influence on brain surgery.⁵ Two other surgeons at Tartu University, *Julius Alfons Nikolai Szymanowski (1829–1868, private docent from 1857–

¹I. Brennsohn. *Ärzte Livlands*, S. 89.

²A. К. Халдин. Рижский военный госпиталь и развитие медицины в Прибалтике. *Из истории медицины*, 10. Рига, 1975, с. 74; С. Магилницкий. Оказание помощи при глазных заболеваниях в Латвии в первой половине XIX. в. *Из истории медицины*, 13. Рига, 1983, с. 82–83.

³N. Pirogov. *Lebensfragen. Tagebuch eines alten Arztes*. Stuttgart, 1894, S. 464.

⁴A. Buchholtz. *Ernst von Bergmann*. Leipzig, 1911, S. 53–137.

⁵Heinz Goerke. Ernst von Bergmann. *Berlinische Lebensbilder. Mediziner*. Hrsg. von Wilhelm Treue und Rolf Winau. Berlin, 1987. Einzelveröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin, 60, S. 191–202.

1858) and Bergmann's assistant *Carl Dietrich Christoph von Reyher (taught in Tartu from 1872–1877) were both born in Riga. L. Stieda refers to Szymanowski as one of the best surgeons of his time,¹ but today his name is relatively little known. C. Reyher was a well-known surgeon (also a field surgeon). By then Joseph Lister's methods had attracted attention all over Europe, and Reyher was fortunate enough to study them for two months in Edinburgh under Lister's personal supervision.² In 1874 Reyher participated in the congress of German surgeons and gave a presentation on Joseph Lister's methods.³

Surgeon *Otto Hellmut Robert von Hohlbeck (Holbeck, 1871–1953) was a private docent of Tartu University in 1912. For some time Hohlbeck worked as a physician in Riga.⁴

Gynaecologist *Piers Uso Friedrich Walter (1795–1874, professor in Tartu 1833–1859) was born in Valmiera. Before he came to Tartu, he had worked for some time as a physician in Valmiera (1819–1834).⁵

The dermatovenerologist of Latvian origin Pēteris Sņiķers was born in 1875 in Skulte/Adjamünde, on the coast north of Riga, and died in Riga in 1944. During the First World War (1916–1918) he worked as a at Tartu University and later as a professor of the Latvian University. His activities to curb prostitution and venereal diseases in Latvia were of great importance. Here we have to point out that, according to the data gathered by two Latvian researchers, in 1930 there were 1324 doctors working in Latvia. Among this number we can find 51 venereologists, about half of whom (24) had studied at Tartu University.⁶

¹*Biographisches Lexikon der hervorragenden Ärzte aller Zeiten und Völker*. 2. Aufl. Berlin, Wien, 1934. Bd. 5, S. 501.

²EAA, stock 402, ser. 3, item 1422; stock 403, ser. 3, item 1423, pp. 23–24; Ilo Käbin. *Die medizinische Forschung und Lehre an der Universität Dorpat/Tartu 1802–1940*, S. 256.

³H. Tankler. Tartu and the Wider World: Through International Contacts to the Peaks of Science. *Revue de la Maison française d'Oxford*. Vol. 1, No. 2 (2003), p. 90–91.

⁴Dr. med. Otto von Holbeck †. *Baltische Rundschau*. 1953, 15.07 (Nr. 7), S. 8.

⁵*Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*. Bd. 41. Leipzig, 1896, S. 27 (L. Stieda).

⁶A. П. Милтинш, А. А. Вискна. Тартуский университет и развитие дерматовенерологии в Латвии, lk. 21.

Hermann (*Hirš Šahne) Idelsohn (1869–1944), a psychiatrist of Jewish origin, acted as a private docent of Tartu University from 1907–1914. Later he worked as a doctor in Riga and Jelgava.¹

Humanities. It is logical that the Latvian language was taught at Tartu University by lecturers born in Latvia. *Otto Benjamin Gottfried Rosenberger (1769–1856) was born in Jaunpils/Jürgensburg and worked as a lecturer in Latvian at Tartu from 1803–1837. *Hermann Karl Ernst Clemenz (1818–1874), lecturer from 1851–1874, was born in Ungurmuiža/Ungershof, and Jēkabs Lautenbahs (Lautenbahs-Jūsmiņš, 1847–1928), lecturer from 1878–1896, of comparative linguistics from 1896–1917 and docent of world literature from 1917–1918, was born in Matkule/Mattkultn. The best known of them is Lautenbahs, who worked from 1919 until his death in 1928 as professor of general and Latvian literature in Latvian University. He wrote about Latvian folk religion, Latvian mythology; he studied the Latvian language and wrote epic ballads based on Latvian folklore.

Several lecturers in Estonian happened to be born on the territory of present-day Latvia. Friedrich David Lenz (1745–1809), lecturer in Estonian and Finnish from 1803–1809, was born in Dzērbene/Serben, and *Johann Samuel Friedrich Boubrig (1788–1852), lecturer in Estonian language from 1826–1837, in Riga. In the literature no doubt has been expressed about Lenz' knowledge of Estonian, but we do not know much about his knowledge of Finnish.² Nobody, on the other hand, has written about his knowledge of Latvian, although he would have known it from childhood. He translated at least one book from Latvian into "the language of the country", i.e. Estonian. The book by Samuel Holst, published under the title *Aija-Kalender kum-mast kik Kärnerit woiwa öppida mis tö egga kuu ajal sünnip teha...* (*The Garden Calendar From Which All Gardeners Can Learn What Work Should Be Done Each Month*. Tartu, 1796), gave practical ad-

¹E. Vātere. *Ebreji — mediķi Latvijā (1918–1996)*. Rīga, 1997, lpp. 51; A. Kreuter. *Deutschsprachige Neurologen und Psychiater. Ein Biographisch-Bibliographisches Lexikon von den Vorläufern bis zur Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Bd. 2. München, New Providence, London, Paris, 1996, S. 627–628.

²H. Rätsep. 175 aastat eesti keele õpetamisest Tartu Ülikoolis. *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*. 7. Tartu, 1979, lk. 28.

vice to gardeners. Boubrig's mother was Estonian and his father was said to have descended from Czech handicraftsmen.¹ The first researcher to visit Livonians was the lecturer in Estonian at Tartu University Dietrich Heinrich Jürgenson (1804–1841), who travelled to Salaca/Salis area in 1839. In 1840 Jürgenson published in the transactions of Learned Estonian Society the article *Über die Entstehung der beiden Hauptdialekte der Estnischen Sprache*, correcting the incorrect viewpoint of H. Jannau, according to which Livonians were ancient Estonians. Livonians and their language were also described in several works of *Friedrich Karl Hermann Kruse (1790–1866, professor of history in Tartu 1828–1853). Kruse's observations have been referred to by professor of anatomy Alexander von Hueck in his work *Darstellung der landwirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse in Ehst-, Liv- und Curland* (Leipzig, 1845).²

Undoubtedly, the best-known researcher of the Latvian language who studied and worked at Tartu University was J. Endzelīns (1873, Kauguri/Kaugershof–1961, Koknese), private docent of comparative linguistics and Slavic and Russian philology from 1903–1909, who was mentioned earlier.

Two lecturers in German had links with Latvia. August Heinrich von Weyrauch (Weirauch, 1788–1865, born in Riga) was a lecturer in Tartu from 1819–1821. Karl Wilhelm *August Riemenschneider (Riemschneider) (1815–1898) worked as a lecturer from 1852–1865, having earlier been a tutor in Lazdona/Lasdohn. The best-known lecturer in German at Tartu *Victor Amadeus Hehn (1813–1890) worked for some time as a tutor in Vainīži/Wainsel near Limbaži/Lemsal (1836–1838).³ The lecturer in Russian at Tartu from 1837–1858, Ivan Pavlovski (1800–1869, born and died in Riga), is still rather well known as the compiler of comprehensive German-Russian (Riga, 1856, ⁴1911) and Russian-German dictionaries (1859,

¹P. Ariste. Johann Samuel Friedrich Boubrig. *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*. 7. Tartu, 1979, lk. 45.

²E. Vääri. Tartu Ülikooli osa liivi keele ja liivlaste uurimisel. *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*. 13. Tartu, 1983, lk. 91–92.

³*Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*. Bd. 50. Leipzig, 1905, S. 116 (Theodor Schiemann).

³1911). Later Pavlovski worked as a teacher of Russian in Riga. He wrote some textbooks of Russian as well as geography.¹ Grigori Glinka, professor of the Russian language and Russian literature in Tartu from 1803–1810 translated from German into Russian a publication of Emperor Alexander I's visit to Riga.² The Estonian-born scholar Leonhard Masing was interested in the Baltic languages, including Latvian. The collection of his documents in the Library of Tartu University contains notes on Latvian vocalization and accent.³

Several classical philologists who worked in Tartu were born in Latvia. Johann Heinrich Neukirch (1803–1870, born in Talsi/Talsen) worked in Tartu as a private docent from 1835–1837; later he became a professor in Kiev (1837–1868). He did not leave a lasting mark on his area of research. Heinrich Eugen *Ludwig Mercklin (1816–1863, born in Riga) was a private docent in Tartu from 1840–1851 and a professor from 1851–1863. Mercklin was interested in Roman literature (Varro) and history as well as in ecclesiastical law. Several of his works dealt with Hellenism. *Carl Heinrich Johann Paucker (1820–1883) was born in Jelgava, the son of a former professor of Tartu University. Paucker worked in the *gymnasium* of Jelgava as a teacher of the Greek language (1850–1861) and then as a professor of Tartu University (1861–1875). In 1875–1878 we find him in Jelgava again, as the head of the local *gymnasium*. Paucker took an interest in Latin — its history, formation of vocabulary, and lexicography.⁴ *Hermann

¹А. Дуличенко. Славянское языкознание в Тарту в XIX–XX в. 200 лет русско-славянской филологии в Тарту. Тарту, 2003. *Slavica Tartuensia*, 5, с. 34; *Биографический словарь профессоров и преподавателей Юрьевского, бывшего Дерптского, университета за сто лет его существования (1802–1902)*. Под. редакцией Г. В. Левицкого. Т. 2, Юрьев, 1903, с. 370–371.

²*Биографический словарь профессоров и преподавателей Юрьевского...*, Т. 2, с. 350.

³Р. Булатова. Леонгард Готхильф Мазинг (1845–1936). *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*. 1. Tartu, 1975, lk. 144; TÜRKHO, stock 43, item 97–99.

⁴H. Rönsch. Karl Paucker. *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Alterthumswissenschaft*, Bd. 33. Berlin, 1884, pag. 2, S. 93–96; *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, Bd. 25. 1887, S. 240 (R. Hoche); *Русский биографический словарь. Павелъ, предобный—Петр (Илейка)*. С.-Петербург, 1902, с. 397–398 (К. Феттерлейн).

Wilhelm Alexander Graff (1829–1879, born in Radalka/Glauehof) worked in Tartu university as an docent from 1864–1868. The Latvian art historian Johann *Ernst Theodor Felsberg (Pelsberg; 1866–1928) was born in Nēkene/Nötkenshof. He worked in Tartu University as an docent (1905–1910) and a professor (1910–1918). In these years he studied the art collections of Tartu University. Later he worked as a professor of the Latvian University and concentrated mainly on the history of Greek art. He intended to write a history of Greek art in Latvian, but this did not materialize. Felsberg was elected the rector of the Latvian university in 1922–1923.¹

There is not much to be said about professors and lecturers of philosophy and education from Latvia. *Ludwig Adolf Heinrich Strümpell (1812–1899) worked in Tartu University as a private docent of philosophy from 1844–1845 and a professor from 1845–1870. Before he settled in Tartu, he worked as a tutor in Kurland in the castle Remte/Remten (1843).² The life of the philosopher Evgeni Bobrov (1867–1933) started in Riga. He worked as an docent of Tartu University from 1893–1896. The ethnic Latvian philosopher Jakob (Jēkabs) Ohse (Osis, 1860–1919, born in Kabile/Kabillen), acted as a private docent of philosophy in Tartu University from 1888–1889 and as a professor from 1889–1918.³

Among the lecturers in history *Carl Christian Gerhard Schirren (1826–1910) was born in Riga. In Tartu he was engaged as the private docent of statistics and geography (1856–1858) and professor of Russian history (1858–1869). Nowadays Schirren is much better known as a politician who bravely resisted the attempts of Russification in the Baltic provinces — Estonia, Livonia and Kurland — that in the end even cost him his position in Tartu. We cannot underestimate his activities as a historian, as he edited and published the sources connected with the Livonian War. The short stay of Georg *Friedrich Pöschmann (1768–1812) in Riga in 1800

¹ В. Бойков. Эрнст Фельсберг и Тартуский (Юрьевский) университет. *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*. 19. Tartu, 1983, lk. 43–47; *Latvijas Universitāte 1919–1929*. Rīga, 1929, 166.–168. lpp.

² A. Strümpell. *Aus dem Leben eines deutschen Kliniklers*. Leipzig, 1925, S. 6–7.

³ *Ideju vēsture Latvijā. Antologija*. Sast. E. Buceniece. Rīga, 1995, 558.–560. lpp.

became a turning point in his life. Travelling from Germany to Russia, he made a short stop in Riga both on his way to Moscow and during his return trip. His ship had to stop there longer than expected because of difficulties with the customs authorities, and the curator of Tartu University had enough time to invite him to Tartu to teach history there. Pöschmann agreed and worked as a professor of general history in Tartu until his death in 1812.¹ Pöschmann published *Einige historische Bemerkungen in Beziehung auf das Schulwesen in den Ostsee-Provinzen*.² The historian *Friedrich Karl Hermann Kruse (1790–1866) was interested in the history and archaeology of Livonia, and wrote several works that covered the present territories of Latvia and Estonia, titled *Necrolivonica oder Alterthümer Liv-, Ehst- und Curlands* (1842), *Bemerkungen über die Ostsee-Gouvernements* (1842), *Ur-Geschichte des estnischen Volkstammes und der Kaiserlich Russischen Ostseeprovinzen Liv-, Ehst- und Curland* (1846), etc. F. Kruse, who was a professor in Tartu from 1828–1853, belonged to the founders of the learned society *Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*.³ Before Heinrich *August Hansen (1813–1849) came to Tartu, he worked as a tutor in Jelgava (1836). In the university Hansen worked as a private docent from 1840–1849. He published a new edition of the 13th-century chronicle of Henricus de Lettis, translating the text into German and providing it with a commentary.⁴ *Carl Albert Rathlef (1810–1895) worked in Tartu University as a professor of history from 1854–1866 and was famous for his interest in natural sciences. He wrote *Orographische Skizze von Liv-, Ehst- und Kurland* (1851) and in the following year supplemented the work with

¹ *Биографический словарь профессоров и преподавателей Юрьевского...*, Т. 2, с. 372.

² *Биографический словарь профессоров и преподавателей Юрьевского...*, Т. 2, с. 372, 374.

³ *Биографический словарь профессоров и преподавателей Юрьевского...*, Т. 2, с. 377.

⁴ *Биографический словарь профессоров и преподавателей Юрьевского...*, Т. 2, с. 380, 382.

a section on hydrography.¹ Historians are well acquainted with the bibliography compiled by Eduard Winkelmann *Bibliotheca Livoniae Historica. Systematisches Verzeichnis der Quellen und Hilfsmittel zur Geschichte Estlands, Livlands und Kurlands* (St. Petersburg, 1870, ²1878, reprint 1969). Eduard Winkelmann worked in Tartu as docent of general history from 1866–1869. *Richard Gotthard Gustav Hausmann (1842–1918), a private docent in 1871, docent in 1871–1874 and the professor in 1874–1896 wrote several works on Baltic archeology, made systematic archeological excavations in the modern territories of Estonia and Latvia. One of his works registered local archaeological artefacts up to 1896.² The history lecturers and professors from the period of the Russian-language Yuryev University lectured on local history but seldom wrote on the subject, although as an exception we can mention the article by Pavel N. Ardashev on the Kurland colony in Africa.³

Two Tartu University professors of economics were born in Latvia. Johann *Theodor Grass (1806–1872, born in Riga) worked in Tartu University as a professor of cameralistics, finance and trade (1856–1865), later of political economy (1865–1872). *Wilhelm Christian Hermann Stieda (1852–1933), was the professor of geography, ethnography and statistics in Tartu University from 1877–1882. The well-known specialist in statistics Ernst Louis *Etienne Laspeyres (1834–1913) worked for some time (1866–1869) as a professor in the Polytechnic of Riga. From 1869–1873 he worked as a professor at Tartu University.

English was usually taught in Tartu University by native speakers of the language. Some of them first came to Livonia as teachers (Thomas Green and Robert Boyle, the latter also taught English in the Polytech-

¹ *Биографический словарь профессоров и преподавателей Юрьевского...*, Т. 2, с. 384; Der Geograph und Historiker sowie sein ältester Sohn. Die Rathlef. Eine deutsch-baltische Familie. Hrsg. Ewert Freiherr von Dellingshausen. Lüneburg, 1990. Lüneburger ostdeutsche Dokumentationen, Bd. 13, S. 51–60.

² *Katalog der Ausstellung zum X. archäologischen Kongress in Riga*. Riga, 1896.

³ Курляндская колония в Африке в XVII веке. *Новое Время*. 1891 (date unknown); *Биографический словарь профессоров и преподавателей Юрьевского...*, Т. 2, с. 404.

nic of Riga) and later took a post at Tartu University. The lecturer in English from 1859–1861 Alexander *Emil Serenus von Kiel (1804–1877) was born in Laidze/Laidsen; before he came to Tartu, he taught at his own private school in Riga (1840–1856).

Faculty of Law. In the faculty of law there were ten lecturers and professors who were born Latvia. Several of them taught international law. Erdmann *Gustav von Bröcker (1784–1854, born in Riga), worked in Tartu University as a professor from 1825–1850. His pupil *August Michael von Bulmerincq (1822–1890, born in Riga) started the successful period of Tartu University in this field. Bulmerincq worked in Tartu as a private docent (1854–1856) and then as a professor (1856–1875). Bulmerincq tried to modify the principles of international law. In his work *Die Systematik des Völkerrechts* (1858) he criticized his renowned forerunners. Another well-known book of Bulmerincq that found wider recognition was *Praxis, Theorie und Codification des Völkerrechts* (1874). Bulmerincq's disciple *Carl Magnus Bergbohm (1849–1927, born in Riga) worked in Tartu University as a private docent (1876–1877) and docent (1877–1893). Bergbohm became rather well known as a systematic representative of the positivist trend in international law.¹

The other group consisted of experts of local (provincial) law. Johann Ludwig Müthel (1764–1812, born in Cesvaine/Sesswegen), who worked in Tartu University as a professor from 1802–1812, played an important role in the foundation of the law faculty.² Friedrich Casimir Kleinenberg (1754–1813, born in Bārbele/Barbern) was the professor of Kurland law from 1803–1813. Heinrich Kurt Stever (1789–1827) was the professor of local (Kurland) law in Tartu from 1819–1820. Very soon after being elected, he was forced to leave Tartu and went on to work as a lawyer in Riga, where he died in 1827.³

¹Э. Рахумаа, П. Ярвелейд. Преподавание международного права в Тартуском университете во второй половине XIX и в начале XX века. *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*. 19. Tartu, 1987, lk. 202–205.

²М. Лутс. Johann Ludwig Müthel — Tartu Keiserliku Ülikooli õigusteaduskonna isa. *Ajalooline Ajakiri*. 2002, 1/2, lk. 75–96.

³Биографический словарь профессоров и преподавателей Юрьевского..., Т. 1, с. 557–558.

*Carl Christian (Christoph) Leopold Rummel (1812–1887, born in Aizpute/Hasenpoth) worked in Tartu University as a private docent from 1841–1843, as an docent from 1843–1845 and as a professor from 1845–1872. *Carl Eduard Erdmann (1841–1898), born in Valmiera, taught in Tartu University as a private docent (1870–1870), docent (1870–1872) and professor (1872–1893). Karl *Wilhelm Seeler (1861–1925, born in Riga) worked in Tartu University as the professor of Baltic private law from 1912–1913 and later as the professor of Roman law (1920–1925). For the first time local provincial law (of Estonia, Livonia and Kurland) became an object of academic discussion in the first half of the 19th century. Here the trailblazer was *Friedrich Georg von Bunge (1802–1897), private docent of local law from 1825–1831 and professor from 1831–1842, whose merits have been studied in detailed.¹ In their research many other professors and lecturers of provincial law (J. L. Müthel, *Woldemar Friedrich Carl von Ditmar (1794–1826), Carl Otto von Madai (1809–1850) and others)² also dealt with Latvia.

The private docent of Russian law from 1835–1839 was *Reinhold Bernhard Freiherr von Ungern-Sternberg (1808–1887). From 1852 he worked in Riga as an administrator of affairs concerning the nobility and assessor of the consistory. From 1867 he held the post of the secretary of the highest court of Livonia.³ *Ewald Sigismund Tobien (1811–1860, born in Jēkabpils/Jakobstadt) worked in Tartu as docent of Russian law from 1839–1844 and as professor in the same field from 1844–1860. *Johannes August von Engelmann (1832–1912), professor of Russian law from 1860–1900, was born in Jelgava. Special mention must be made of Engelmann's textbook of civil procedure, which was one the leading textbooks in Russia in his spe-

¹M. Luts. *Juhustik ja isamaaline: F. G. v. Bunge provintsiaalõigusteadus*. Tartu, 2000. *Disserationes iuridicae Universitatis Tartuensis*, 3, lk. 133jj.

²*Биографический словарь профессоров и преподавателей Юрьевского...*, Т. 1, с. 507, 523, 547.

³*Биографический словарь профессоров и преподавателей Юрьевского...*, Т. 1, с. 590.

ciality and appeared in many editions.¹ Louis Thal (1867–1933, born in Jelgava) worked in Tartu as the private docent of civil law from 1907–1908.

*Woldemar Eduard von Rohland (1850–1936, born in Riga) was the professor of criminal law in Tartu University from 1878–1892.

Several members of the University staff from the first half of the 19th century started their career as Baltic state and court officials. The following persons worked in Riga: J. L. Müthel (1764–1812), G. v. Bröcker (1784–1854), A. v. Bulmerincq (1822–1890); in Jelgava — Christian *Friedrich Lampe (1776–1823), C. Erdmann (1841–1898); in Jelgava and Liepaja — F. C. Kleinenberg (1754–1813, also a tutor in Kurland).

Vasili Sinaiski (1876–1949), private docent of Tartu University in civil law (1907–1910), worked later as a professor of the Latvian University (from 1922 until World War II).²

A rather special connection related to jurisprudence concerns Alexander Baron von Freytag von Loringhoven (1878–1942, professor of Roman law in Tartu from 1911–1916). As a student he was imprisoned in the fortress of Dünaburg (Daugavpils) in 1903 as a punishment for fighting a duel.³

¹L. Leesment. Ülevaade Tartu Keiserliku Ülikooli õigusteaduskonnast. *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*. 7. Tartu, 1979, lk. 81–82.

²P. Järvelaid. Tartu ülikooli kasvandik, rahvusliku Läti ülikooli õigusteaduskonna üks rajajaid Vassili Sinaiski (1876–1949). *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*. 29. Tartu, 1997, lk. 94–108; Н. Синайская. Памяти профессора В. И. Синайского. Воспоминания дочери. *Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis*, 914. Tartu, 1990, lk. 150–172; Н. Синайская. Научные связи профессора Василия Ивановича Синайского с западноевропейскими учеными. *Ibidem*, с. 173–176; Н. Синайская. *Круг жизни профессора Василия Ивановича Синайского: воспоминания дочери Н. В. Синайской, восстановленные по записям и памяти*. Рига, 1998.

³*Deutschbaltisches biographisches Lexikon 1710–1960*. Hrsg. W. Lenz. Köln, 1970, S. 226.

Faculty of Theology. Among the lecturers of the theological faculty eleven were born in Latvia;¹ they mainly worked as professors of practical theology. Hermann Friedrich Leopold Boehlendorff (1773–1828), Tartu University professor from 1801–1823 was born in Jelgava. Before he moved to Tartu, he worked as clergyman in Sesava/Sessau and Jelgava. *Julius Piers Ernst Hermann Walter (1794–1834, professor from 1830–1834) was born in Valmiera. Walter worked as a pastor in Ropaži/Rodenpois, Allaži/Allasch, Vangaži/Wangasch and Valmiera. Another rather well-known figure is *Karl Christian Ulmann (1793–1871), who was born and died in Valga/Valka and worked in Tartu as a professor in 1835–1842. One incident connected with Ulmann caused a great stir. In 1839 Ulmann was elected the rector of the university, but in 1841 he gave up the post for health reasons. He was very close to the students, who decided to present him with a silver goblet. When Ulmann resigned from the post of rector, a torchlight procession was organized with the participation of about 200 students and townspeople. During the procession, patriotic songs, among them *Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland*, were sung. The minister of education at the time, Sergei Uvarov, bore a grudge against Ulmann, who a few years earlier had written about the manifestations of Russification in the educational and religious life of the Baltic provinces. Uvarov was able to take advantage of the students' gift, as it was legally forbidden to give such presents, although earlier not much attention was paid to that. By the decision of St. Petersburg authorities, Ulmann was fired. This has been taken to be the first serious attack on Baltic Germans and their privileges; there was talk about closing the theological faculty at the university.² Ulmann's life was connected with Latvia at different times. He became one of the leaders of the Russian Lutheran Church; from 1856–

¹The section on theology mostly relies on the following sources: *Deutschbaltisches biographisches Lexikon 1710–1960*; *Биографический словарь профессоров и преподавателей Юрьевского...*, Т. 1, с. 53–125; J. Frey. *Die Theologische Fakultät der Kaiserlichen Universität Dorpat-Jurjew, 1802–1903*. Reval, 1905.

²E. Tammiksaar. *Ulmanni afäär Tartu ülikoolis 1842. a. novembris. Akadeemia*. 1999, nr. 12, lk. 2577–2581, 2588–2591.

1858 he acted in St. Petersburg as the vice president of the consistory general. He took an active part in local educational life. *Arnold Friedrich Christiani (1807–1886) worked in Tartu University as a professor of practical theology from 1852–1865. Then, in 1865, he was appointed as vice-president the Livonian consistory and the superintendent general of Livonia, a post from which he retired in 1882. *Johannes Matthias Lütken (1829–1894, born in Kastrāne/Kastran, died in Riga) worked in Tartu University as a private docent (1858–1862) and docent (1862–1875). After leaving Tartu, Lütken worked in Riga as the pastor general of St. Peter's Church. *Wilhelm Karl Emil Bergmann (1864–1907, born in Dobeles/Dobelen), was a private docent in Tartu University from 1898–1901 and a professor from 1901–1907. Before he decided to study theology in Tartu, he worked as a teacher in his native town (1883–1885). Jānis Sanders (1857–1951, born in Cēres/Zehren) worked in Tartu University as a professor from 1916–1917, and Kārlis Kundzin (Kundziņš) (1883–1967, born in Smiltene/Smiltene) first as an docent (1916) and then as a professor (1917–1918). The latter two were ethnic Latvians; both taught practical theology at Tartu University in Latvian for a short time. Sanders' father was a farmer, Kundzin's father a clergyman.

Johann *Heinrich Kurtz (1809–1890), taught historical theology, exegetics and oriental languages in Tartu University as a professor from 1849–1870. After 1833 he worked as a tutor in Ozolmuiža/Paulsgade (Kurland) and from 1835–1849 gave religious instruction and taught Hebrew and Greek in Jelgava *gymnasium*.¹ Robert Tiling (1853–1919, born near Bauska) worked in Tartu as the private docent of exegetics from 1878–1880. Exegetics was also taught in Tartu by *Konrad Karl Grass (1879–1927, born in Kursīši/Kursiten), private docent from 1895–1897 and 1901–1909 and professor from 1909–1916. *Adalbert Eduard Eugen Maximilian Otto Baron von Stromberg (1880–1922, born in Kalvene (Tašupadure)/Tels-Paddern) was the private docent of exegetics in Tartu

¹ *Биографический словарь профессоров и преподавателей Юрьевского...*, Т. 1, с. 113; *Deutschbaltisches biographisches Lexikon, 1710–1960*, S. 434.

University from 1914–1916 and professor of New Testament from 1919–1922. Semitic languages were taught in Tartu for several years by *Otto Emil Seesemann (1866–1945, born in Jelgava), as a private docent (1900–1912), docent (1912–1914) and professor (1914–1916). After an absence of a few years, Seesemann resumed his activities in Tartu University as the professor of New Testament (1928–1936).

Several works written by theologians concern Livonia as a whole; that means we can also find some information on Latvia there. Theodosius Harnack (1816–1889) wrote about the relations between the Lutheran Church and Herrnhuter (the fraternity of Bohemian Brethren);¹ *Ferdinand Dietrich Nikolai Hörschmann (1833–1902) wrote a monograph on Andreas Knöppen.²

Friedrich Adolph Philippi (1809–1882), professor of systematic theology in Tartu University from 1841–1851, played an important role in the history of the Livonian church, being the head of the wing that aimed to diminish the influence of Herrnhuter and sectarians in the region.³

Pavel Alekseyev (1822–1884) worked in Tartu University as the professor of orthodox theology from 1850–1884. Before that, he had worked in Riga as the rector of the orthodox seminary and headed the committee that supervised the translation of religious literature into Latvian.⁴

¹T. Harnack. *Die lutherische Kirche Livlands und die Herrnhutische Brüdergemeinde: ein Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte neuerer und neuesten Zeit*. Erlangen, 1860.

²F. Hörschmann. *Andreas Knöppen, der Reformator Rigas. Ein Beitrag zur livländischen Kirchengeschichte*. Leipzig, 1896.

³*Биографический словарь профессоров и преподавателей Юрьевского...*, Т. 1, с. 73–74.

⁴*Биографический словарь профессоров и преподавателей Юрьевского...*, Т. 1, с. 36.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNIVERSITY OF TARTU AND LATVIA IN THE 1920s AND 1930s

The basis for contacts

Relations between the University of Tartu and Latvia have been more substantial than with many other countries and peoples. The foreign policies of the two states have also been more closely connected (e.g. common activities aimed at achieving diplomatic recognition, co-ordinated activities at international conferences and at the League of Nations, defence issues, etc.). There is not much to say about economic co-operation; negotiations between Baltic states did not bring much success. The treaties of 1923 and 1934 provided for mutual assistance and support in case of aggression and for a co-ordinated foreign policy. Events in Latvia and Estonia were of great mutual interest to the populations of both countries, and were well covered by the press. Co-operation between the two states was well developed in all spheres of life, and co-operation between the universities formed a part of the overall activities.

Close contacts between the two states can first be explained by their being neighbours, but also by historical conditions. The former governments of Estonia (Estland), Livonia (Livland) and Kurland all together covered approximately what are now the territories of the modern states of Estonia and Latvia. For centuries, both of these countries were dominated by the nobility of German nationals and by Lutheran confession. Quite a large number of Estonians lived in Latvia, and the number of Latvians in Estonia was larger than that of many other

nationals.¹ For instance, in 1921 Latvians constituted 2.3% of the Estonian town population, being the third-largest ethnic group behind Russians and Germans.² Mutual relations would have been neighbourly and profitable, but living side by side or in mixed communities near the present border could also have caused “inherited national antagonism” between Estonians and Latvians, as Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald, the grand old man of Estonian letters, and some other authors once wrote. We agree with the opinion that Estonians and Latvians lived relatively segregated from one another towards the end of the Tsarist era.³

Latvians were quite used to studying at the University of Tartu, as they had no university before the establishing of their independent state. On the other hand, the Riga Polytechnic played an important role for Estonia, since there was no establishment of higher technical education in Estonia; and when the Tallinn Technical School was founded in 1919, for a few years its diploma was not recognised internationally. Already during the Tsarist period, many Estonians and inhabitants of Estonia studied at the Riga Polytechnic,⁴ where they were taught by several alumni of the University of Tartu. A number of the professors, who taught at the University of Tartu in the 1920s and 1930s, had in turn studied at the Riga Polytechnic.

These young and comparatively small states of relatively similar size faced similar problems, which had to be discussed and were easier to solve together. In the beginning, both states lacked men of large

¹T. U. Raun. Latvian-Estonian cultural and political contacts, 1900–1914. *Acta Historica Tallinnensia*. 1999, 3, pp. 67–69; E. Tiro. Lätimaa eestlasi ähvardab lätistumine. *Välis-Eesti*. 1931, nr. 7, lk. 2–4; *Rahvastiku koostis ja korteriolud: 1. III 1934 rahvaloenduse andmed. Viik II = Composition démographique de la population et logements: données du recensement de 1. III 1934. Vol. II*. Tallinn, 1935, lk. 48.

²Rahvastik Eesti Vabariigi linnades ja tema liikumine 1921. a. teisel poolel. *Eesti Statistika = Recueil mensuel du Bureau Central Statistique de l'Estonie*. 1922, nr. 1/2, lk. 45.

³T. U. Raun. Latvian-Estonian cultural and political contacts, 1900–1914, p. 67.

⁴К. Мартинсон, Х. Мартинсон. Научные связи между Рижским политехническим институтом и Эстонией, с. 104–105, 113–114, 116; К. Мартинсон, Х. Мартинсон. Рижский политехнический институт и Эстония (1862–1917), с. 30–44.

organisational experience, and this lack of experience was even more stressed by a general lack of intellectuals. The agendas of meetings included problems related to the structure of the establishments of higher education and their curricula, the work of schools,¹ the unification of school textbooks and the reflecting of each other's countries in them, the exchange of students, the unification of standards, norms and tariffs, problems of borders, the principles of state supervisory bodies (talks were held about the establishment of common methods and the unification of equipment), the problems of preserving national heritage, the questions of husbandry and cultivation, development of tourism, etc. Both countries faced difficult problems at the same time, such as economic depressions, the prevention of disease, the overproduction of physicians all over Europe, as well as the launching of health insurance schemes, the founding of Physicians' Boards, etc.² A number of fields required close co-operation (e.g. the compilation of pharmacopoeias, production of medicaments and serums, import of these items from abroad, etc.). Mutual assistance was provided. Foreigners were often treated at the Neurological Clinic of the University of Tartu (a total of 16 in 1928, 33 in 1929, and 25 in 1930); among the patients were also some citizens of Latvia.³ In the summer of 1932, Reinhold Kleitsmann visited the Women's Clinic of the University of Latvia, which had just had acquired a new location and "100 mg of radium". An offer was made to treat Estonian patients under favourable conditions.⁴ Two instances are also known of, one

¹In 1934 four schools worked in Latvia in Estonian, the biggest of them a 6-year primary school in Riga, comprising 25 pupils and four teachers (Igaunu, latvju un lietuvju tuvināšanās biedrību pārstāvju apspriede = Eesti, Läti ja Leedu lähen-damīshingute esindajate nōupidamine. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1935, 1. nr., lpp. 57).

²*Eesti Arst*. 1928, nr. 2, lk. 79; *Eesti Arst*. 1928, nr. 7, lk. 263; G. Lepasson. Rahvusvahelise Arstide Kutseühingu täiskogu poolt Genfis 15.–18. sept. vastuvõetud otsused suguhaiguste vastu võitlemise, koolitervishoiu ja arstide üleproduktsooni küsimusis. *Eesti Arst*. 1933, nr. 2, lk. 90–91; Eesti Arstideseltside Liidu märgukirju. *Eesti Arst*. 1934, nr. 5, lk. 347–348.

³J. Rives. Tartu ülikooli närvikliinik. 1.1.1921–1.1.1931. *Eesti Arst*. 1931, nr. 2, lk. 101.

⁴R. Kleitsman[n]. Berliini, Pariisi ja Riia naistekliinikutest. *Eesti Arst*. 1932, nr. 12, lk. 614.

when a highly revered expert regarding the flora of the eastern Baltics and Estonia, Karl Kupffer in Riga, was sent seeds of rare plants and trees that Estonian specialists had not been able to classify.¹

Mutual discussions on state organisation and systems and legislation were of crucial importance. The experience of all Baltic states, including Lithuania, was comparatively used to study and solve organisational problems of the states. In the 1920s and 1930s, relations between Estonia and Latvia were mostly concerned with the exchange of experience in the fields of practical activities. For instance, in 1924 Hans Madisson (Madisson) visited the detention centre for juvenile delinquents in Riga; in 1928, lecturer Ferdinand Neureiter familiarised him with educational work in prisons.²

In the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th centuries, we can notice mainly biographical relations between Estonian and Latvian sciences; but during the period under discussion, we can find more co-operation on professional and state levels. Such co-operation often included Finland and sometimes even a wider area, since delegates from other European countries participated in larger events. Common activities, conferences, meetings and seminars were in many fields organised successively by the Baltic states. Theologians, lawyers, agronomists, plant geographers, pharmacists, physicians (and ophthalmologists) began such meetings already in the 1920s. Common meetings were also held by Baltic archaeologists, historians, geodesists, hydrologists, foresters and statisticians. Representatives of neighbouring countries could meet at national meetings of different professionals. At such meetings, the role of historical consistency and the facing of similar problems were very often stressed. It was also marked that in the Russian Empire, it had been impossible to develop sciences dealing with national issues, such as Estonian (Latvian) history, linguistics, literature, ethnology, folklore, etc., and the newly acquired independence often inspired political enthusiasm.

¹*Eesti Loomaarestlik Ringvaade*. 1926, v. 4, lk. 87–88; K. Aun. Kase liikidest. *Eesti Mets*. 1926, nr. 9, lk. 200.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 596, pp. 28, 65v.

International relations and agreements — the basis for political, economic and cultural co-operation between the Baltic countries

National independence and its *de facto* recognition. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were born in complicated historical conditions arising from World War I. In 1915, Lithuania and half of Latvia fell into the hands of the German army, which went on to occupy the rest of Latvia and Estonia from late 1917 to early 1918. The collapse of Tsarist Russia in February 1917 and the German advance meant that the Baltics turned into a battlefield. The withdrawal of Russian troops could not stop the Bolsheviks, who assumed power in those districts not under German occupation. Only in 1919 did German troops finally leave the Baltics. In the meantime, Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia had just declared their independence (on February 16 and 24, and November 18, 1918, respectively). Fighting with each other, Russia and Germany weakened themselves to the extent that neither of them was able to subjugate the Baltic Sea countries to their control. The Entente States — France, Italy and especially Great Britain — supported the new independent states in order to counterbalance Germany and Bolshevik Russia. The lot of the small states was to play the role of buffer states between the two big countries; by their recognition the Allies also hoped to weaken Soviet Russia. *De facto* recognition by the Allies actually meant making use of the concrete situation of the moment; for instance, when speaking about the recognition of Estonia, the British Foreign Office publicly declared that the process would be temporary, provisional and with all the necessary reservations for the future.¹

At the end of 1918 and beginning of 1919, the Bolsheviks tried to occupy the Baltic states in order to build a bridge between the Russian and the German revolutions. On territories that had fallen into their hands, vassal states of Soviet Russia — the Estonian Workers' Commune, the Latvian and Lithuanian-Byelorussian soviet republics — were declared. The pro-independence Estonian provisional government had to cope with complicated tasks — waging a war against

¹ A. S. Hershey. Notes on the recognition of *de facto* governments by European states. *The American Journal of International Law*. Vol. 14 (1920), No. 4, p. 511.

enemies and building up the state. On December 23, 1918 the Estonians managed to stop the Red Army offensive, and in early 1919 they launched a counter-attack. Finland supported Estonia financially and with volunteers, and the sea border was defended by the British squadron. After the liberation of Estonia, Estonian troops were requested by the Latvian government to co-operate with Latvian troops in order to liberate their country from foreign troops. Both countries had to fight with the Red Army as well as with the *Landeswehr* units consisting of former German officers and Baltic Germans, who aimed to regain control of their historical possessions. The victory of Estonian and Latvian troops over the *Landeswehr* in the Battle of Cēsis (Võnnu in Estonian) on June 23, 1919 forced the Germans to retreat and relinquish power to the Latvian government. Latvia was fully liberated from foreign troops after victory in November 1919 over the White Army troops, and the remains of the *Landeswehr*, both of whom were lead by Bermond-Avalov.¹

The Paris Peace Conference, which started on January 18, 1919 and lasted until June 28, ended with the signing of the Versailles Peace Treaty. Its result was not a favourable one for Estonia and Latvia; despite the efforts of both countries, the Entente did not care much for their independence. Admiral Kolchak was declared the governor of a united and indivisible Russia on the condition that the non-Russian nations living within its border areas would get autonomy. The allies wished to punish a defeated Germany by making Russia the main controlling power in the region.² The representative of the Russian Provisional Government in London, K. Nabokov, said: "The independence movement in Livonia and Estonia is no more justified than a movement among negroes of the United States to proclaim the independence of the Negro Republic in Texas."³ The signing of the Tar-

¹O. Lahet. *Läti riigi tekkimine ja tunnustamine*. Tartu, 1938, lk. 116–117.

²Č. Laurinavičius. The Baltic states between the world wars: foreign policy options and the problem of neutrality. *Die baltischen Staaten im Schnittpunkt der Entwicklungen. Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*. Basel, 2002, p. 122; O. Lahet. *Läti riigi tekkimine ja tunnustamine*, lk. 136.

³R. T. Clark. Constitutional Russia and the Baltic States. *The Baltic Review*. Vol. 1, No. 6 (Jan. 1921), p. 220.

tu Peace Treaty with Bolshevik Russia on February 2, 1920 meant for small Estonia as well as for the huge Russian Federation *de jure* recognition by a foreign country. Besides Estonia, peace treaties with Russia were also concluded by Latvia and Finland. Making peace with Russia was a great political victory for the emergent nations, and paved the way for legal recognition by the western world. On September 22, 1921 the Baltic States joined the collective security system offered by the League of Nations. Article 16 in the statute of the League of Nations envisaged sanctions against any country that initiated hostilities, but on the whole the organisation tried to find peaceful solutions.¹

Attempts at wider co-operation. Together with the establishment of their independence, the political, economic and cultural co-operation between the Baltic states began. From the point of view of mutual relations, the conferences of the foreign ministers of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and also those of Finland and Poland, were of great importance, with different avenues of co-operation discussed. From 1919–1926, approximately 40 meetings between prime and foreign ministers were organized.² The most active supporters of co-operation were from the side of Finland (R. Holsti), Latvia (Z. Meierovics) and Estonia (A. Piip). During the first meetings in Riga, Tallinn and Tartu in 1919, making peace with Russia was discussed, as well as the foundation of a Baltic League. One of the most important events was the conference of Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Finnish and Polish foreign ministers organized in Bulduri, near Riga in August and September 1920. A great number of issues were discussed, and more than 100 different problems were on the agenda. Three different committees worked simultaneously: the committee on political and legal questions, the economic committee, and the committee on cultural,

¹Rahvasteliidu põhikiri ühes lisaga. *Riigi Teataja*. 1927, nr. 8, lk. 93; The Covenant of the League of Nations. *The American Journal of International Law*. Vol. 15, No. 1, Supplement (Jan. 1921), p. 9.

²M. Lehti. *A Baltic League as a construct on the new Europe: envisioning a Baltic region and small state sovereignty in the aftermath of the First World War*. Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, 1999. European University studies. Ser. 3, History and allied studies, vol. 817, p. 14.

social and health questions.¹ The projects for discussion were determined by the preparatory commission of the Bulduri conference, and were sent to the participating countries for discussion and amendment. In the text of the act concerning cultural co-operation, several problems connected with higher education were touched upon.² Only a small part of the conventions prepared in Bulduri were passed.³ On August 31, 1920 the final treaty was signed, which envisaged the mutual recognition of all contracting states, a willingness to solve vexing questions peacefully, if necessary by using neutral arbitrators (a special treaty of arbitration was signed). The treaty also touched upon preferences in the field of trading and custom duties, the recognition of the rights of ethnic minorities, the obligation to not participate in aggression towards a co-signatory country, and co-operation in the field of defence.⁴ The governments of the states participating in the conference had to ratify the decision no later than January 1, 1921 — which would have called into being the union of five countries.⁵

We cannot speak of Estonian and Latvian relations without discussing neighbouring countries. The area of Vilnius was conquered on October 9, 1920 by the Polish general Lucjan Żeligowski; many Poles were sure that it should belong to Poland. That event caused the failure of the Baltic League that had been planned for in Bulduri. Between Lithuania and Russia, a wedge-shaped Polish territory was formed. Diplomatic relations between Lithuania and Poland were broken, and were renewed only in 1938. There were circles also in Finland who thought that close co-operation between the Baltic States would endanger relations with Scandinavian countries. The leaders of the Scandinavian states and Finland were sure that mutual approaches

¹M. Lehti. Baltic cooperation after the First World War: independence through integration. *The Baltic States at historical crossroads*. Riga, 2001, p. 357.

²J. Stradiņš, Dz. Cēbere. Establishment of an intellectual Entente in the Baltic States, p. 294; a draft of the convention sent to Tartu University: EAA, stock 2100, ser. 4, item 418, pp. 22–26.

³O. Halecki. After Third Baltic Conference. *The Baltic Review*. Vol. 1, No. 4 (Nov. 1920), p. 133.

⁴M. Lehti. *A Baltic League as a construct on the new Europe*, pp. 285–286; A. Piip. *Nüüdne maailmapoliitika ja Eesti*. Tartu, 1932, lk. 105.

⁵A. Piip. *Nüüdne maailmapoliitika ja Eesti*, lk. 105.

would be easier, if the new states on the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea formed a strong power, rather than becoming "political dust".¹

The co-operation between the new states became possible in two groups of states in parallel: between Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Poland (also called the Baltic Quadruple Alliance), and between Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.²

In May 1921, the Lithuanian Minister of Foreign Affairs Juozas Purickis undertook an attempt to form a triple alliance: during his visits to Tallinn and Riga, he invited both Estonia and Latvia to contract mutual military and political partnerships with Lithuania. He succeeded only in signing a treaty between Latvia and Lithuania; the opposition of Estonia has been explained by the too-hostile character of the treaty in terms of Poland.³ On July 7, 1921 in Tallinn, a defence treaty between Estonia and Latvia was signed, which had more of the character of a political declaration, as there was no intention to send it to the parliaments for ratification.⁴

During the first years of independence, the development of Estonian and Latvian relations was hindered by disagreement over borders. The frontier dispute reached the international press. The representatives of Russian emigréés even claimed that the new states could not manage without Russian supreme rule.⁵ At the beginning of 1919, the Latvian government, being in great need, turned to the Estonian government, with a request for military help. The Latvians were ready to leave the town of Valga/Valka and the surrounding area to Estonia.⁶ Later, when the border commission of these two states started working, the Latvians wanted to keep the area for themselves. The border

¹ A. Piip. Eesti ja Läti. *Akadeemia*. 1937, nr. 4, lk. 210.

² A. Piip. *Nüüdne maailmapoliitika ja Eesti*, lk. 106.

³ A. Eidintas, V. Žalys, A. E. Senn. *Lithuania in European politics: the years of first republic, 1918–1940*. New York, 1999, p. 102; H. Arumäe. *Võitlus Balti liidu loomise ümber*. Tallinn, 1983, lk. 80–81.

⁴ A. Piip. Eesti ja Läti, lk. 212.

⁵ *Hommiku Postimees*. 1920, 25.03 (nr. 55), lk. 1.

⁶ J. Ant. *Eesti 1920: iseseisvuse esimene rahuaasta*. Tallinn, 1990, lk. 120–127; Läti valitsus ei tunnista 1919. a. 18. veebr. lepingut. *Postimees*. 1920, 22.03 (nr. 77), lk. 1.

commission did not reach an agreement, and the governments of both countries decided to find a neutral arbiter. This was the representative of the British Army in Estonia and in Latvia, Stephen George Tallents, who fixed during July 1–3, 1920 the so-called “Tallents’ Line”, a provisional frontier between the two countries. It took several years physically to demarcate the frontier, as the line crossed in its whole length territories of mixed Estonian-Latvian settlement, where in former times both nations used a joint network of roads for communication. Only in 1927 did the final precise protocol take shape.¹

In 1921, when the border conflict between Estonia and Latvia started to weaken, both countries were looking for possibilities to strengthen economic ties. The so-called “Baltic clause” could also be associated with the principles of the Baltic League — this would have concerned the rules regarding economic treaties between different countries, which established that the mutual trade benefits of Estonia, Finland, Latvia and Lithuania did not broaden to other states. In reality, this attitude was more political than actual; the presumptions for closer economic communication were created, but it did not bring any economic effect.²

One important event concerning mutual co-operation was the Estonian and Latvian conference in October 1923 in Tallinn. The delegations, led by foreign ministers Friedrich Akel (Estonia) and Z. Meierovics (Latvia), discussed economic matters and the settlement of war-time accounts, and this time an important preliminary treaty regarding economic co-operation and customs problems was signed between Estonia and Latvia.³ A. Piip, who acted during the conference as an expert, raised the problem of the need to ratify the defence treaty of 1921; he was supported by the foreign ministers. The basic text of the treaty was written by Ants Piip, as the foreign ministers had asked him to do so, and originated from the Estonian-

¹Deklaratiivne protokoll Eesti ja Läti vahelise piiri asjus. *Eesti lepingud välisriikidega*. VI. 1926–1927. Tallinn, 1927, lk. 109–110.

²J. Hiden. *The Baltic states and Weimar Ostpolitik*. Cambridge, 2002, p. 109; E. Medijainen. *Eesti välispoliitika Balti suund, 1926–1934*. Tartu, 1991, lk. 44–45.

³Majandus- ja tolliuniooni eelleping Eesti ja Läti vahel. *Eesti lepingud välisriikidega*. III. 1923. Tallinn, 1924, lk. 210–215.

Latvian defence treaty and the text of a small-Entente treaty that was signed between Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.¹ According to the defence treaty signed on November 1, 1923 the Estonians and Latvians were interested in developing the relations of friendship and economic co-operation with all states; both states came to an agreement to support each other mutually in the case of aggression, and were ready to co-ordinate activities in the field of foreign policy.

The foreign ministers of the Quadruple Alliance — Estonia, Latvia, Poland and Finland — gathered at the beginning of 1922 in Warsaw, where a treaty of political co-operation was signed (the Warsaw Accord). It concerned mutual help during aggression, the importance of solving conflicts peacefully, the protection of the rights of ethnic minorities, etc. The conference pointed out the lack of conventions regarding legal items and economic relations.² Finland was the only state that did not ratify the treaty, because of its too-anti-Germany character.³ As the treaty contained a paragraph to help a state that had fallen victim to aggression, it has been defined as a union treaty.⁴

On December 1, 1924 the Soviet Union made an attempt to liquidate the independence of Estonia. According to the plan worked out by the general staff of the Red Army, a well-armed band of insurrectionaries was to conquer important government offices, take control of the railway, post and telegraph connections, occupy military and police offices, and to hold out until reinforcements from Soviet Russia arrived. The Soviet Union participated actively in the preparation of the revolt. Storm troopers were sent to Estonia as well as military equipment; the rebels were supported financially.⁵ The frustration of

¹A. Piip. *Eesti ja Läti*, lk. 210, 213; *Eesti julgeolekupoliitika 1940. aastani*. Tallinn, 2004. Sõja ja rahu vahel, I, lk. 467–472.

²Poliitiline leping Eesti, Soome, Läti ja Poola vahel. *Eesti lepingud välisriikidega*. II. 1922. Tallinn, 1923, lk. 53–55.

³J. Hiden. *The Baltic states and Weimar Ostpolitik*, p. 122; A. Eidintas, V. Žalys, A. E. Senn. *Lithuania in European politics*, p. 103.

⁴N. Kaasik. Eesti-Läti liit. *ERK*. 1934, nr. 6, lk. 99–100.

⁵*Kas nad lahkusid Moskva rongiga? 1. detsember 1924. Artikleid ja dokumente*. Tallinn, 1996, lk. 11–15; J. Saar [E. Laaman]. *Enamlaste riigipöörde katse Tallinnas 1. detsembril 1924*. Tallinn, 1925, lk. 44–50.

the revolt induced demonstrations of support for Estonia in several countries.¹

On January 17, 1925, during a foreign ministers conference in Helsinki, the leaders of foreign policy of the five countries gathered for the first time since the Bulduri conference. The representatives of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Finland signed a document that regulated mutual relations — the “Protocol for Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes” — and relied on the Geneva protocol of the League of Nations. Discussions had been going on about the need for a similar treaty already in Bulduri; during the Warsaw meeting (1922), a special commission of lawyers gathered in order to work out the protocol.² The ministers pointed out the need for more intensive cultural and economic co-operation between the states.³

In the summer of 1925, different opinions appeared between Finland and the Baltic countries — Estonian and Latvian foreign ministers Kaarel Robert Pusta and Z. Meierovics aspired to sign the so-called “Baltic Protocol” between Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Poland, which would have meant that mutual relations would have relied on the statute of the League of Nations’ guarantee clauses and that meetings of foreign ministers would have been organised at least twice a year. The Finns did not find it possible to sign the treaty in this form, and regular conferences of foreign ministers were also not held.⁴ The Soviet Union offered an alternative to the Baltic states — the signing of non-aggression treaties. Agreement with Lithuania was gained very quickly; the Estonian, Latvian and Finnish proposal to conclude a pact that would also enclose a clause concerning a court of arbitration met with rejection from the side of the Soviet Union. These events are considered to be the final nail placed into the coffin of the Baltic bloc

¹J. Saar [E. Laaman]. *Enamlaste riigipöörde katse Tallinnas 1. detsembril 1924*, lk. 120–125; Tallinna sündmuste järelkaja välisriikides. *Postimees*. 1924, 8.12 (nr. 333), lk. 1.

²M. Lehti. *A Baltic League as a construct of the new Europe*, p. 457.

³*Eesti lepingud välisriikidega*. V. 1925–1926. Tallinn, 1926, lk. 3–10; Helsingi konverentsi saavutused. *Päevaleht*. 1925, 17.01 (nr. 18), lk. 3.

⁴M. Lehti. *A Baltic League as a construct on the new Europe*, p. 461.

schemes.¹ In the Soviet Union, which was becoming more and more powerful, the Baltic conferences, which could have been interpreted as being anti-Soviet, met with sharp opposition from the beginning of 1926.² Afterwards, during lectures held at the University of California, A. Piip noted that Baltic conferences raised certain “undesirable anxiety”.³ In this situation, bilateral foreign ministers meetings became more frequent; from 1926–1934, Estonian and Latvian foreign ministers met at least 27 times, and those of Latvia and Lithuania six times. The ministers also met during the annual meeting of the general assembly of the League of Nations in Geneva. From 1926–1934, 10 conventions were signed, as were six treaties, three agreements, 16 protocols and additional protocols.⁴

The intention to support Baltic unity was not only popular in the circles of politicians. In March 1923, the Association for Promoting Baltic Unity was founded in Riga.⁵ In 1926, when the congress of Latvian and Lithuanian friendship societies was held in Riga, the participants found it necessary to establish the Baltic League that would have primarily connected Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.⁶

Friendship societies. From our viewpoint, the establishment of the Latvian-Estonian Society in Riga in 1928 and the Estonian-Latvian Society in Tallinn in the same year played an important role in the relations of the two nationalities. The aim of these societies was to strengthen the friendship between the two nations and to develop mutual contacts in the field of culture and economy. The chairman of the Latvian-Estonian Society was the leader of the Latvian Farmers

¹E. Medijainen. *Eesti välispoliitika Balti suund, 1926–1934*, lk. 10–14; J. Hiden. *The Baltic states and Weimar Ostpolitik*, p. 166; H. Tammer. The rapprochement of the Baltic peoples. *Revue Baltique*. 1940, vol. 1, No. 2, p. 159.

²M. Lehti. *A Baltic League as a construct on the new Europe*, p. 464; Nõukogude valitsuse ärevus Balti riikide konverentsi pärast. *Postimees*. 1926, 6.02 (nr. 36), lk. 3.

³A. Piip. *Nüüdne maailmapoliitika ja Eesti*, lk. 106–107.

⁴Läti ministerpresidendi dr. K. Ulmanise 18. novembri puhul kolme liitriigi sõprusele pühendatud kirjutis. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1934, 4. nr., 2.–5. lpp.; Baltijas valstu politiskā sadarbība = Balti riikide poliitiline koostöö. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1938, 4. nr., lpp. 6.

⁵M. Lehti. *A Baltic League as a construct on the new Europe*, p. 498.

⁶Eesti, Läti ja Leedu liit tarvilik. *Postimees*. 1926, 20.06 (nr. 162), lk. 9.

Union and the minister of agriculture in those days, Arturs Alberings, the secretary was Vilhelms Munters, and the members of the board were Hermanis Albāts, Mārtiņš Antons, Pauls Kalniņš, Oto Nonācs, Eduard Virgo and others.¹ The Latvian society considered it important to promote Estonian culture in Latvia, translate Estonian literature into Latvian and to organize radio broadcasts introducing Estonia. The problem regarding the mutual learning of languages was raised. If language requirements had been easier, more Latvian students would have studied medicine in Tartu and more Estonian students would have studied technical subjects and economy in Riga.²

The friendship societies organized ceremonial public meetings in their capitals for both countries' anniversaries. Among participants one could find government members and prominent figures in the social sphere, the president of the organising country, etc. The heads of the friendship societies and ministers spoke at the meetings, and some scientific papers were presented. Usually the speeches on behalf of the Estonian-Latvian society were given in both Tallinn and Riga by A. Piip (the head of the society from 1931). At the concert, the music of the country that celebrated its anniversary was played, and guest soloists and choirs were present. It was a tradition to organise two joint meetings of the friendship societies per year, for the anniversaries of both republics, in Tallinn and in Riga. The societies had economic, juridical, cultural and academic sections and departments, and the Estonian-Latvian Society gathered in Tartu and Valga; this way it was possible to develop their activities outside of the capitals. In 1932, the Tartu department of the Estonian-Latvian Society was lead by the rector of Tartu University, Johan Kõpp, and the members of the board were professors Jüri Uluots and Paul Kogerman,

¹O. Nonats. Kümme aastat rahvaste lähendamise tööd. Tagasivaade Läti-Eesti Ühingu esimesele tööperioodile. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1938, 3./4. nr., 7.–8. lpp.; O. Nonācs. Desmit gadu tautu tuvināšanas darbā. Uz Latviešu-Igaņu biedrības pirmo darba cēlienu atskatoties. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1938, 3./4. nr., lpp. 4; Ed. R[iismann]. Naaberriikide ja Eesti sõprusühingud. *Vālis-Eesti Almanak*. Nr. 1 (1929), lk. 13.

²Eesti ja Läti lähenemine. "Postimehe" kaastöölise kõnelus Eesti saadik Virgoga Riias. *Postimees*. 1928, 22.11 (nr. 319), lk. 4.

Deputy of Chief Justice Anton Palvadre, a translator of Latvian literature Märt Pukits, etc.¹

Danger to security and economic depression bring about a rapprochement between Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The implementation of economic and customs union treaties between Estonia and Latvia became impossible after Latvia and the Soviet Union signed a five-year trade treaty during the summer of 1927, according to which the Soviet Union was bound to buy Latvian industrial products and sell to Latvia petroleum, raw petroleum, grain, etc., under more favourable conditions than it sold to Estonia.² In 1928, a temporary economic treaty between Estonia and Latvia was signed³ that, in combination with agreements that followed, became the basis for mutual economic relations.

In the summer of 1932, the contacts between the three states became more frequent. Latvia initiated preliminary negotiations for closer economic co-operation with Estonia and Lithuania. In June 1932, at the annual congress of the Latvian-Lithuanian friendship societies in Riga, several related topics were discussed. These topics included wider co-operation among the Baltic states in the fields of foreign policy, economy, and national defence. Furthermore, the idea of establishing a customs union was discussed and the idea of a common currency based on the golden franc was proposed.⁴ At the conference of the Latvian Farmers Party in the summer of 1932, prominent Latvian politician Kārlis Ulmanis stressed the importance of wider economic contacts among the Baltic countries as a means of combatting the consequences of economic crisis, and he reiterated the idea of es-

¹Tartus asutati Eesti-Läti Ühing. *Postimees*. 1932, 19.11 (nr. 272), lk. 4.

²J. Valge. Kas Eesti majandussidemete ümbersuunamine oli vältimatu? *Tundmatu Eesti Vabariik*. Tallinn, 1993, lk. 88–89.

³Ajutine majandusleping Eesti ja Läti vahel. *Eesti lepingud välisriikidega*. X. 1930–1931. Tallinn, 1931, lk. 186–188.

⁴Заключительное заседание конгресса литовско-латвийского сближения. *Сегодня*. 1932, 14.06 (№ 164), с. 2; A. Piip. *Nüüdne maailmapoliitika ja Eesti*, lk. 109.

establishing a customs union.¹ This union between Estonia and Latvia was not created due to differing views over customs policy: Estonia supported a mutual exemption from customs fees for products from neighbouring countries, but Latvia favored a complete customs union. Latvia's proposal was unsuitable to Estonia, due to Latvia's geographical position. Latvia could possibly collect custom taxes from goods destined for Estonia. Related to this, there was also an issue concerning the sharing of customs revenue.²

Representatives from the chambers of commerce, exchange committees, unions of manufacturers and traders held meetings beginning in 1928.³ After the first three (Riga in 1928, Tallinn in 1929, and Kaunas in 1930), the fourth economic conference of the Baltic states in Riga, held on September 8–9, 1933 was more noteworthy. The event was held in an atmosphere of Baltic co-operation and the reports and decisions were aimed at strengthening the economic relations between the states; the issues of customs union and common money were raised again.⁴ The leader of the Estonian delegation Joakim Puhk called for “stopping the quarrels and bargaining”, and considered it necessary for the “Baltic states to join together for closer economic co-operation which will ensure political co-operation and continued independence of Baltic states”.⁵ A highly successful attempt at establishing a committee for an Estonian-Latvian customs union was made at this conference.⁶ A new avenue of co-operation among the Baltic countries was begun in 1933. Several proclamations were published in Estonian periodicals in February 1933.⁷ A few months later in Riga, the

¹ Конференция Крестьянского союза. *Сегодня*. 1932, 4.07 (№ 183), с. 4.

² H. Tammer. Välispoliitilisi vaatlusi. *Eesti Kroonika* 1932. Tartu, 1933. Elav Teadus, 16; Eesti Kirjanduse Seltsi populaarteaduslik seeria, 1933, nr. 6, lk. 13.

³ *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1935, 3./4. nr., lpp. 77.

⁴ Baltiiriikide 4. majanduskonverents = Baltijas valšku 4. saimnieciskā konference. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1933, 4./6. nr., 37.–40. lpp.

⁵ Baltiiriikide 4. majanduskonverents = Baltijas valšku 4. saimnieciskā konference, lpp. 40.

⁶ H. Tammer. Välispoliitilisi vaatlusi 1933. *Eesti Kroonika* 1933. Tartu, 1934. Elav Teadus, 28; Eesti Kirjanduse Seltsi populaarteaduslik seeria, 1934, nr. 4, lk. 15.

⁷ H. Arumäe. *Kahe ilma piiril*. Tallinn, 1979, lk. 79–82.

first issue of the *Monthly of the Latvian-Estonian Society* (*Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts* = *Läti-Eesti Ühingu Kuukiri*) was published. In the first issue, Latvian President A. Kviesis and Minister of Foreign Affairs Voldemārs Salnais gave their best wishes for the monthly's success, and supported firmer economic and political co-operation between the two countries. The articles in the periodical were published in Latvian and in Estonian side by side. The editors of the monthly were Francis Balodis, Arturs Alberings, M. Antons and O. Nonācs. The first issue reveals that the publication received financial aid from the Latvian government and some financial support from the Estonian-Latvian Society.¹ The authors of the monthly included some high-level officials in Latvia and Estonia, and other prominent public and political figures.

In 1933, a meeting of representatives in Riga founded an important organization — "The Baltic Union" — to advance mutual co-operation. Former Latvian president Gustavs Zemgals was appointed as the chairman of the association. The union worked out principles of interstate co-operation with the aim of ensuring peace, prosperity and progress. In the field of economic co-operation, it said that the states should follow the principles of equality, justice and honour. Important emphasis was placed on the union's foreign policy based on disarmament, strengthening the League of Nations and providing for mutual assistance in case of aggression against one of the member states.² The same year, 242 members had joined the union; 15 of them from the University of Latvia.³ "The Baltic Union" focused on co-operation between the countries around the Baltic Sea, and mainly held meetings where presentations and reports were read. Professor A. Piip gave presentations at the meetings of the union. He considered the co-operation of armed forces, with the aim of defending the

¹ *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1936, 1. nr., lpp. 103.

² C. Ozols. Russia, Germany, and the Baltic States. *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs). Vol. 13 (1934), No. 4, pp. 558–560.

³ *Baltijas Ūnijas biedru saraksts* 1933. g. 1. oktobrī. *Baltijas Ūnija* = *L'Union Baltique*. Bull. nr. 1 (1933), 50.–52. lpp.; G. Zemgals. *Baltijas Ūnijas mērķi un pamatprincipi* = *Les buts et les principes fondamentaux de l'union Baltique*. *Baltijas Ūnija*. Bull. nr. 1 (1933), lpp. 8.

independence of the Baltic states, one of the most important tasks of the union.¹ Rector of the University of Latvia Jūlijs Auškāps gave a presentation on the possibilities for co-operation in the fields of higher education and research at a union meeting in 1935.² The union published a bulletin called *Baltijas Unija* (*L'Union Baltique*).

Without doubt, the work of embassies supported the development of good neighbourly relations. Estonian representatives in Riga were prominent political figures, such as Aleksander Hellat, Jaan Lattik, Karl Menning, Hans Rebane, Julius Seljamaa, Eduard Virgo, etc.;³ several of them were also ministers in various governments.

Further evidence of good neighbourly relations was reciprocated visits by the leaders of the states. Latvian President Jānis Čakste visited Tallinn from February 22–26 in 1925. During the visit, he awarded in the name of the Latvian government orders of Lāčplēsis to Estonians who had fought for the freedom of Latvia. From May 9–11, 1925 Estonian State Elder (Prime Minister) Jüri Jaakson stayed in Riga. In February 1930, State Elder Otto Strandman, who was returning from a state visit to Poland, stopped in Riga for a couple of hours. Latvian communists reacted sharply to the visit, connecting it with preparing for war against the Soviet Union. Corresponding protest statements were sent to the Latvian Parliament (*Saeima*).⁴ Latvian President Alberts Kviesis visited Estonia in June 1933, and delivered an address of welcome in Estonian at the 10th national song festival. State Elder Konstantin Päts visited Riga from November 17–19, 1933 to participate in the celebration of the 15th anniversary of independent Latvia. The closeness of Estonia and Latvia further developed because of ris-

¹ A. Piip. Balti Liidu mõtte arenemine = The evolution of the idea of the Union of the Baltic states. *Baltijas Unija*. Bull. nr. 2 (1934), 15.–26. lpp.; Baltijas valstu savienības domas izveidošanās = Balti Liidu mõtte arenemine. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1934, 1. nr., 20.–29. lpp.

² *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1935, 1. nr., lpp. 67; the same item was touched upon by J. Auškāps later, during the mutual congress of Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian friendship organisations in Riga 1935, the text of the paper: J. Auškāps. *Zināmei un tēvijai*. 3rd. ed. Rīga, 1993, 148.–155. lpp.

³ E. Medijainen. Eesti saatkond Riias. 75. aastat asutamisest. *Kleio*. 1994, 10, lk. 39–44.

⁴ *Postimees*. 1930, 23.02 (nr. 52), lk. 3.

ing tensions in world politics. On April 28–29, 1933 while addressing a conference of foreign ministers for the two countries in Riga, a high official in the Foreign Ministry of Latvia, V. Munters, emphasized that: “Now more than usual, mutual candour between Estonia and Latvia should rule completely, since at the present time every day brings changes in the international situation and even small misunderstandings can weaken our position.”¹

In 1934, an additional agreement to the Defence Union’s treaty was concluded between Estonia and Latvia, which provided for regular meetings between ministers of foreign affairs at least twice a year. The conference was authorized to appoint commissions regarding unification of legislation and developing the economic contacts. The agreement was open for other countries to join.² The conclusion of non-aggression pacts between Poland and Germany and between Poland and the USSR forced Lithuania to seek new security guarantees. These apparently far-off events benefitted co-operation among the Baltic states. Lithuania found a way out of worsening circumstances by strengthening contacts with Estonia and Latvia,³ which had a positive influence on the relations of the “Balts” in general.

On July 1, 1934 in Bulduri, representatives of the friendship societies of the Baltic states met to discuss ways of co-operating in the future. Under discussion was the merging of all six societies into one, but there was more support for establishing a co-operation bureau with the goals of co-ordinating the actions of friendship societies, developing joint projects, propagating the idea of the Baltic Union, and

¹ V. Munters. Lāti-Eesti nōupidamine. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1933, 1. nr., 9.–12. lpp.

² Leping Eesti ja Lāti vahel Liidu korraldamise kohta. *Eesti lepingud välisriikidega*. XII. 1934–1935. Tallinn, 1935, lk. 143–147.

³ A. Eidintas, V. Žalys, A. E. Senn. *Lithuania in European politics*, p. 61; J. Vileišis. Unity of the Baltic nations. *Revue Baltique*. Vol. 1 (1940), No. 1, p. 81.

arranging joint congresses.¹ Each society had two representatives in the co-ordinating bureau.²

The creation of the Baltic Union. An important step in the deepening of relations was the signing of the Treaty of Understanding and Collaboration by Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in Geneva on September 12, 1934. The main objective of the agreement was joint action in foreign policy. It also included mutual commitments to support each other politically, and to give diplomatic support in international communication.³ It has been noted that the document was similar to treaties of political co-operation proposed to Estonia and Latvia in 1921 by Lithuanian Minister of Foreign Affairs J. Purickis.⁴ Other countries could join in the agreement too. The creation of the Baltic Union was supported by the Soviet Union in 1934. This is because after authoritarian shifts, the government of Estonia on March 12 and government of Latvia on May 15 prohibited right-wing organisations, and the union of the three states provided a counterbalance to Germany's strengthening influence in the region.⁵ Lithuania had good relations with the Soviet Union earlier because the latter recognised the Vilnius area under Polish occupation as part of Lithuania. Tensions in dealing with Germany arose because of the Klaipeda area's mainly German population near the border of Lithuania. The Baltic conferences, regular meetings of foreign ministers, became the most important working institution of the Baltic Union. From 1934–1940, at least 11 tripartite conferences of ministers of foreign affairs took

¹Igauņu-latvju-lietuvju tuvīnāšanās biedrību apspriede Bulduros 1. jūlijā 1934. gadā = Eesti-Lāti-Leedu sõprusühingute koosolek Bulduris 1. juulil 1934. a. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1934, 3. nr., 34.–36. lpp.

²Igauņu, latvju un lietuvju sadarbības birojs = Eesti, Lāti ja Leedu koostööbüro. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1934, 3. nr., 36.–38. lpp.

³Eesti-Lāti-Leedu üksmeele ja koostöö leping. *Eesti lepingud välisriikidega*. XII. 1934–1935. Tallinn, 1935, lk. 277–283; Estonia-Latvia-Lithuania: Treaty of Understanding and Collaboration. *The American Journal of International Law*. Vol. 30, No. 4, Supplement (1936), pp. 174–177.

⁴A. Piip. Eesti-Lāti-Leedu koostöö. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1934, 4. nr., lpp. 6.

⁵H. Tammer. Välispoliitilisi vaatlusi 1934. *Eesti Kroonika* 1934. Tartu, 1935. Elav Teadus, 39; Eesti Kirjanduse Seltsi populaarteaduslik seeria, 1935, nr. 3, lk. 15.

place. The subjects discussed included the world political situation, political co-operation, unifying security measures of the Baltic states, joint work in the League of Nations, as well as legal and economic questions. Latvian Minister of Foreign affairs V. Munters was elected to represent the Baltic States on the Council of the League of Nations. Earlier, in 1927 and supported by Estonia and Latvia, Finland was elected to represent the interests of all three countries as a temporary member of the council.¹

National Committees of Intellectual Co-operation. The Estonian National Intellectual Co-operation Committee was formed by the Council of the University of Tartu in 1924. The first meeting took place on April 9, 1929. The work of the committee found more recognition and gained a wider base of support in 1931. In 1933, forty-two states, including the Baltic countries, participated in the international organisation of intellectual co-operation. At the first meeting of the national commissions of intellectual co-operation in Paris in 1929, Professor A. Piip represented Estonia. The national commissions carried out different types of actions in the work co-ordinated by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in Paris. This involved different spheres of culture and actions in various areas, such as the exchange of students, the mutual recognition of scientific qualification and diplomas, and problems regarding intellectual property rights. They also worked on the protection of and research into cultural heritage, exchange of scientific and bibliographic information, and co-operation between libraries and museums. Furthermore, the commissions considered miscellaneous questions regarding encouraging scientific communication between states, such as the determination of international communication languages, the establishment of national academies of sciences, etc. The institute published a periodical called *La Coopération Intellectuelle*.²

¹E. Anderson. The Baltic Entente 1914–1940 — its strength and weakness. *Acta universitatis Stockholmiensis. Studia Baltica Stockholmiensia*, 3. Stockholm, 1988, p. 86; R. Putins Peters. The Baltic States and the League of Nations: a study of opportunities and limitations. *Journal of Baltic Studies*. Vol. 10 (1979), No. 2, p. 108.

²F. Puksov. *Rahvusvahelise vaimse koostöötamise institutsioonid ja nende tegevus 1932–1933*. Tartu, 1935. Tartu Ülikooli toimetused. C, Annales = Acta et com-

The first congress of national intellectual co-operation committees for the Baltic states took place in Kaunas, October 29–30, 1935. Because the conference was held under the auspices of the League of Nations (the International Institute in Paris was a part of its framework), there were no difficulties with involving Finland and the Nordic countries in the joint activities of the Baltic states. The number of participating countries grew fast — while in Kaunas there were representatives of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland, the last conference in Riga in 1938 hosted delegations from the the Baltic and Scandinavian countries, Finland and representatives of Poland as observers. The Baltic congresses of intellectual co-operation attracted wider interest: they were referred to several times at the General Meeting of the International Intellectual Co-operation Committee in the summer of 1938, where Ludvigs Adamovičs gave an overview of the work done by the Baltic commissions.¹ At the first congress of Baltic intellectual collaboration in Kaunas, the issues of a common language for communication at academic meetings, co-operation in higher education, and the sharing of national statistics and data for neighbouring countries' textbooks were discussed. Previously, the Scandinavian countries had resolved this problem successfully.²

The second congress of Baltic intellectual collaboration was held in Tartu on November 29–30, 1936. In addition to topics discussed in Kaunas, the new issues of collaboration among libraries and museums, promoting the ideas of the League of Nations, etc., were discussed. The congress decided to start using English and French as official languages, like the League of Nations. In Tartu, the participants gave the first public lectures at an intellectual collaboration congress; for example, Latvian delegate Ernests Blese lectured on "The Forma-

mentationes Universitatis Dorpatensis. C, Annales, 17, lk. 4–19; *Handbook of international organizations (associations, bureaux, committees, etc.)*. Geneva, 1929. Series of League of Nations Publications. XII B, International Bureaux, 1929, XII B 1, pp. 228–230.

¹TÜR KHO, stock 46, ser. 1, item 3, p. 47.

²TÜR KHO, stock 46, ser. 1, item 3, p. 19; J. Stradiņš, Dz. Cēbere. Establishment of an intellectual Entente in the Baltic States, pp. 297–300.

tion of the Modern Latvian Literary Language", and L. Adamovičs spoke on "Nationality and Christianity in the Latvian Church".¹

The third Baltic congress of intellectual collaboration from November 4–6, 1937 in Helsinki emphasized the importance of educating the youth towards a pacifistic view of the world and mutual understanding. A proposal was made to standardise syllabi in high schools, to start exchanging professors and to consider the possibility of giving foreign scientists the rights of private docents. Latvian representative P. Kundziņš proposed the idea of exchanging art exhibitions. The congress gave the Lithuanian national commission the task of drawing up a draft of a cultural agreement between the Baltic and Nordic countries.²

The fourth Baltic-Nordic congress for intellectual collaboration took place in Riga, November 14–15, 1938. Two new states participated: Denmark and Norway. Animated discussion followed a report by A. Piip about intellectual collaboration between the Nordic and Baltic countries. Ludvig Puusepp gave a talk about universities as educational establishments in order to share his observations from a meeting in Paris a year earlier, where the same question was discussed. Poland requested to become a full member of the congress, but Lithuania disagreed with the idea.³

¹TÜR KHO, stock 46, ser. 1, item 3, p. 26; *Teise Balti riikide vaimse koostöö kongressi toimetis* = *Actes du deuxième congrès interbaltique de coopération intellectuelle, tenu à Tartu les 29 et 30 novembre 1936*. Tartu, 1937. Eesti Vabariigi Tartu ülikooli toimetused = *Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis (Dorpatensis)*, C, 22, lk. 124–150; F. Puksoo. The second Baltic intellectual co-operation congress. Tartu, November 29–30, 1936. *Baltic Countries*. Vol. 3, No. 1 [5] (Jan. 1937), pp. 186–187.

²TÜR KHO, stock 46, ser. 1, item 3, p. 37; E. Hiitonen. Regional congress of the national committees for intellectual co-operation of the Baltic and Scandinavian countries. Helsinki, [4.–5. November 1937]. *Baltic Countries*. Vol. 4, No. 1 [8] (Jan. 1938), pp. 141–142.

³Ajalugu ühtlustamisele. Prof. L. Puusepp vaimse koostöö kongressist. *Postimees*. 1938, 17.11 (nr. 312), lk. 5, TÜR KHO, stock 46, ser. 1, item 3, pp. 49–49v; *Quatrième conférence régionale des commissions nationales de coopération intellectuelle des pays Baltiques et Nordiques* = *Ceturtais Baltijas un Skandināvijas zemju nacionālo intelektuālās kopdarbības komisiju konference*. Riga, 1940; J. Stradiņš,

The congress in Riga was the last and largest event among the Baltic and Nordic countries in the field of intellectual collaboration, despite the plan to meet the following year in Stockholm. The chairmen of the national intellectual collaboration committees of Latvia, Finland and Estonia — professors L. Adamovičs, A. Långfors, and A. Piip (until 1937 vice-chairman) respectively, and members of the committees — professors E. Blese and L. Puusepp participated in all four congresses.

Building a railway for an express train of friendship: from friendship societies' congresses to Baltic Weeks. The first congress of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian Friendship Societies (also called the Baltic Co-operation Congress) was held in Riga in June 1935. The talks discussed political, economic, cultural and scientific collaboration between the three states. The report on relations between the Baltic peoples before the crusaders conquered the Estonians and Latvians in the 13th century was presented by Professor Augusts Tentelis. The Rector of the University of Latvia J. Auškāps discussed contacts in the fields of higher education and science, and Professor A. Piip stressed the necessity for a common foreign policy. Papers presented at the congresses were published in the *Monthly of the Latvian-Estonian Society*.¹

The next congress of collaboration was held in Kaunas in September 1936. The tense international situation made closer communication among the Baltic countries more important in assuring peace. Participants described the work of the friendship societies as laying down tracks for a train of collaboration that they thought should be an express train.² Several talks emphasised the points of contact in the past. A member of the Estonian National Committee of Intellectual Co-operation, Professor Peeter Tarvel, reviewed the current discussions about finding a common language of communication.

Dz. Cēbere. Establishment of an intellectual Entente in the Baltic States, pp. 310–311.

¹J. Vileišis. Unity of the Baltic nations. *Revue Baltique*. Vol. 1 (1940), No. 1, p. 82.

²Деятели Балтийского единения на приеме у латвийского посланника в Каунасе. *Сегодня Вечером*. 1936, 22.09 (№ 218), с. 4.

O. Nonācs, a Latvian politician and the editor at the *Monthly of the Latvian-Estonian Society*, discussed the topic of youth exchange.¹

The Baltic Collaboration Congress held in Tallinn in June 1937 differed from the previous congresses. Firstly, it was held during the Congress of Baltic Nations, or Baltic Week. In addition to the congress of friendship societies, eight other conferences were held in different fields. At that point, friendships had formed among twenty organisations with similar goals in different Baltic countries. The participants stressed that developing personal contacts supported the increasing political closeness of the three states.² The various meetings during Baltic Week changed the congress of friendship societies towards more universal issues, and narrower problems remained for discussion at the professional conferences. The congress of collaboration recommended the following steps in order to achieve the closeness of the three states: to organise regular mutual visits of the heads of states, to simplify the procedures of crossing the Lithuanian border (i.e. make it possible to cross the border with a domestic passport only), to unify customs tariffs, to start teaching English as the first foreign language in schools, and to unify the contents of textbooks in history and geography. It was recommended to translate more of each other's literature, and to increase collaboration between theatres.³ The deepening of the relations of the Baltic states had started in full motion.

The Baltic countries' foreign policy that supported the principle of non-intervention in coalitions of large powers was also recognised at the international level. For example, in 1937 the president of the Non-Intervention Committee formed by the League of Nations, Lord Plymouth, and the Secretary General of the League of Nations, Joseph Avenol, visited the Baltic states.

¹Teine Balti rahvaste lähendamiskongress = Otrais Baltijas tautu tuvināšanas kongress. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1936, 3./4. nr., lpp. 66.

²Koostöö Balti rahvaste vahel on rajatud loomulikele alustele. *Uus Eesti*. 1937, 13.06 (nr. 158), lk. 1; Peame looma Balti patriotismi. *Uus Eesti*. 1937, 15.06 (nr. 160), lk. 5.

³Balti rahvaste kongress lõppes. *Uus Eesti*. 1937, 14.06 (nr. 159), lk. 3.

It seems like a black cat ran through Latvia and Estonia in the autumn of 1937, after Ilmar Tõnisson criticised the course of Estonian foreign policy in the journal of the Estonian Students Societies *Akadeemia*. In his opinion, participation in the Baltic Union was dangerous for Estonia, because the country could easily get involved as a member of the union if a conflict between the Soviet Union and Germany occurred. Events developing in the territories of Lithuania and Latvia were cited in his article. Tõnisson pointed out that Estonia should follow a more neutral line in its foreign policy, and deepen contacts with Finland and the Scandinavian countries.¹ Prominent figures in Estonian foreign policy — Professor of international law at the University of Tartu A. Piip, and the editor in chief of the largest newspaper *Päevaleht*, Harald Tammer — answered Tõnisson.² They said that there was no basis to claim that that Estonia would suffer from aggression because of collaboration with other Baltic states, and that their opinion was of the opposite; political co-operation between the Baltic countries helped to ensure the independence of the three states and to secure their positions. Also, the three countries together could develop better collaboration with the Scandinavian countries. In autumn, A. Piip visited Riga with the purpose of improving the deteriorating relations.³

Baltic Week in Riga in June 1938 was more festive than usual as Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania celebrated their 20th anniversaries. Over 1000 delegates participated in the events of Baltic Week, and in addition to the congress of friendship societies, nine conferences in different fields were held. The speakers emphasised often that the Baltic countries were moving in the same direction, and they talked about the importance of independence and common activities. Professor A. Švābe proposed that a Baltic Institute should be different from ones working in Germany and Poland, because its research would be done from the viewpoint of the Baltic countries and would be directed to the national sciences. Moreover, there was a plan to co-ordinate the

¹ I. Tõnisson. Eesti välispoliitika. I. *Akadeemia*. 1937, nr. 4, lk. 179.

² A. Piip. Eesti ja Läti, lk. 212–214; H. T[ammer]. Välispoliitilisi probleeme. *Päevaleht*. 1937, 14.10 (nr. 279), lk. 4.

³ Igaunija un Latvija saderas kopā. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1937, 3. nr., lpp. 176.

awarding of scholarships for Baltic students at neighbouring universities.¹

Tension in the international situation and Baltic co-operation. The collapse of the collaborative security system was due to two factors: Germany's aggressive foreign policy as shown by the occupation of Austria in March 1938, together with England's and France's reluctance to intervene to stop the German military power, which led to the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Threatened by war, 26 countries, including the Baltic states, declared that they would retain the right to decide upon enacting sanctions against the aggressor at a session of the League of Nations in September 1938. According to the covenant, the League of Nations had the right to decide about the sanctions and the scope that should be taken by the council of the league. Estonian Minister K. Selter, returning from the assembly, summarised the event: "We can lay down as fact that Estonia and other small states are not guilty in it [the crisis in the League of Nations]. They just were not able to carry out the collective security system that several large states were never interested in."²

The Baltic Week scheduled in Kaunas for June 1939 took place when the ministers of foreign affairs for Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania arrived from Berlin, where they had signed non-aggression treaties with Germany (similar agreements with the Soviet Union had been signed by Lithuania in 1926, and Estonia and Latvia in 1932). Again, the presentations emphasised the importance of Baltic collaboration with the note that friendship does not grow by itself; it needs continuous care. Political developments required collaboration. The fifth congress of Estonian-Latvian-Lithuanian friendship societies in Kaunas decided to start publishing a bulletin of the collaboration bureau,³ since the

¹Вечная свобода, дружба и сотрудничество балтийских стран. *Сегодня*. 1938, 17.06 (№ 166), с. 1; Президент государства Карлис Улманис на четвертом конгрессе эстонско-латышско-литовского сотрудничества. *Сегодня*. 1938, 17.06 (№ 166), с. 2; J. Stradiņš, Dz. Cēbere. Establishment of an intellectual Entente in the Baltic States, p. 302.

²Ei ole võimalik muuta rahvaste piire Balti mere kallastel. Välisminister K. Selteri kõne Riigivolikogus. *Postimees*. 1938, 19.10 (nr. 284), lk. 5.

³*Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1939, 3./4. nr., 31.–32. lpp.

previous attempt to publish it as a supplement to the *Monthly of the Latvian-Estonian Society* had ended without success.¹

At the end of the summer of 1939, the threat of war became a reality. According to the treaty signed by V. Molotov and J. v. Ribbentrop, the Baltic countries were divided between Russia and Germany. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania could not avoid the Soviet Union's plans to establish a military presence of Red Army bases in the Baltic states. Despite the complicated situation, the three Baltic states attempted to continue a policy of neutrality. "We [Estonians], as a small nation, cannot and do not want to mix in the quarrels of great powers", proclaimed Minister of Foreign Affairs A. Piip, summarising Estonian foreign policy in April 1940.²

In 1939, the last issue of the *Monthly of the Latvian-Estonian Society* was published. This journal was unique in its goals and was also extremely useful for developing contacts between nations. The first issue of a new journal called *Revue Baltique* was published in Tallinn in February 1940. This journal was said to be "a special means of Baltic military union" by the Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Soviet Union V. Molotov. In his opinion, the Baltic military union was formed on the basis of the Estonian-Latvian defense union treaty of 1923.³ *Revue Baltique* contained material in English, German and French, with the purpose of appealing to a wider audience. Although the issue was financed by the information office of the Estonian Ministry of Internal Affairs,⁴ the decision to publish it was made in 1939 in Kaunas, at the congress of collaboration.⁵

¹O. Nonats. Kümme aastat rahvaste lähendamise tööd. Tagasivaade Läti-Eesti Ühingu esimesele tööperioodile. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1938, 3./4. nr., lpp. 9; O. Nonācs. Desmit gadu tautu tuvināšanas darbā. Uz Latviešu-Igauņu biedrības pirmo darba cēlienu atskatoties. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1938, 3./4. nr., lpp. 6.

²*Revue Baltique*. Vol. 1 (1940), No. 2, pp. 289–290.

³Полпреды сообщают...: сборник документов об отношениях СССР с Латвией, Литвой и Эстонией. Август 1939 г. – август 1940 г. Москва, 1990, с. 387–390; Nõukogude Liidu esildus Lätile ja Eestile. *Päevaleht*. 1940, 18.06 (nr. 161), lk. 2.

⁴A. Roolah. *Nii see oli...* Tallinn, 1990, lk. 335.

⁵*Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1939, 3./4. nr., 31.–32. lpp.

The Baltic Week held in Tallinn on June 15–16, 1940 was the last one. The congress of friendship societies was not held, and the ten conferences of specialists had shortened agendas. At the opening meeting, Prime Minister of Estonia Jüri Uluots described the current political situation in Europe, and posed the question of how practical it was to meet during wartime to discuss problems of collaboration. He tried to answer his question, saying that he hoped it would be possible to carry out common activities as arranged earlier.¹ The events of Baltic Week lasted shorter than planned. On the first day, the delegates received the news about events in Lithuania — on that same day, that country was occupied by the Red Army. A new government came to power, and several Lithuanians decided to return home immediately. On the second day of Baltic Week, on the evening of June 16, the final meeting took place and a very optimistic resolution about future collaboration was proposed.²

Only a few people knew that at 2:30 p.m. on June 16, the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs V. Molotov gave the Estonian minister in Moscow, August Rei, a note with a demand to form a new government, and to grant permission for an additional contingent of Red Army troops to enter Estonia.³ Corresponding notes had been received two days earlier by Latvia and Lithuania. On June 17, the new Red Army units crossed the border and, on June 21, a new government was appointed by Moscow's emissary.

As history has shown, the extensive repressions during the years under Soviet power did not allow for the discussion of co-operation for a long time. In addition, possibilities for collaboration were negated by the attacks of Moscow's policy of Russification and the Communist Party's ideological control. Accusations of so-called "bourgeois na-

¹Eestlased, lätlased ja leedulased juba 4000. a. naabrid. Ühine looduslik eluruum toonud balti rahvaid lähemale. Peaminister prof. J. Uluotsa kõne Balti nädala avaaktusel. *Uus Eesti*. 1940, 16.06 (nr. 159), lk. 1.

²Balti nädal lõppes. *Uus Eesti*. 1940, 17.06 (nr. 160), lk. 3; Neljas balti nädal lõppes. *Päevaleht*. 1940, 17.06 (nr. 160), lk. 4.

³Полпреды сообщают...: сборник документов об отношениях СССР с Латвией, Литвой и Эстонией. Август 1939 г. – август 1940 г., с. 389–390.

tionalism” and accusations of being “kulaks” were made against both those who supported and those who avoided the new government. At the beginning of the 1950s, the process of clearing out Soviet-friendly intellectuals began. However, after the normalisation of life, especially during Khrushchev’s “thawing period”, the people who lived in the Baltic socialistic “republics” began to organise joint events, and felt better about themselves when in a group of “Balts”; such as while away from home in military service, or when studying in other regions of the Soviet Union. Meetings took place even in Soviet prison camps. Collaboration continued in the free world too. Living in exile kept Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians together, and they formed joint organisations. Later, having secure ground under their feet, they jointly strove for the liberation of the Baltic countries from Soviet occupation.

Scientific co-operation

The co-ordinated activities of physicians, veterinarians, pharmacists, agronomists and others were usually chaired by university professors, and co-operation was at the level of professional societies or other organisations. Sometimes the themes pinpointed by universities were deeply entwined with the organisation of state affairs, medical treatment and health care, problems of pharmacy, agriculture, animal husbandry, and forestry, touching upon a wider area of activities than only on the teaching of these subjects. Co-ordinating bodies were often formed to solve common problems. The Association of Baltic Pharmacists was founded in 1925, and a co-ordinating bureau was formed in 1928.¹ The Baltic Geodetic Commission (or the Geodetic Commission of the Baltic Sea) was established in 1925, and university professors also participated in its work.² The Baltic Committee for Mother’s and Child’s Welfare was formed in 1928.³ The committee

¹ *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1928, nr. 10, lk. 199–200.

² H. Potter, I. Treikelder. *Eesti omariikluse algusaastate geodeesia ja kartograafia. Geodeet*. 2001, nr. 24 (48), lk. 20; V. Maasik. *Gravimeetriliste uurimiste ajalooost Eestis. Teaduse ajaloo lehekülgi Eestist*. 2. Tallinn, 1976, lk. 125–129.

³ *Revue Baltique*. Vol. 1 (1940), No. 1, pp. 154–155.

published bulletins in several languages, including the languages of the Baltic states, and a periodical called *Pro Juventute Baltica* (1937–1940). A number of professors at the University of Tartu participated in the work of the committee, such as Professor of paediatrics Aadu Lütis, Professor of neurology Ludvig Puusepp, Professor of bacteriology and contagious diseases Karl Schlossmann, lecturer of forensic medicine Hans Madisson, and others. The Bureau of Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian Lawyers was founded in 1931.¹ The Baltic Bacteriological Board was active in 1936 (K. Schlossmann participated on it).² An idea to establish a union of Baltic forestry specialists was born in Riga in 1936; the union was finally formed in Kaunas in 1938, during the First Congress of Baltic Scholars of Forestry.³ In addition to these, university professors were active in a number of professional unions (e.g. the Union of Baltic Pharmacists, established in 1937).⁴ The active co-operation of ophthalmologists was not officially co-ordinated, but being aware of the fact that three professors of ophthalmology at the Latvian University (Ernests Jansons, Jānis Ruberts and Gustavs Reinhards) and the leading ophthalmologist at the University of Kaunas, Professor Petras Avižonis, were alumni of the University of Tartu, as well as Ernst Blessig, the initiator of the co-operation and a professor at the University of Tartu, it is not surprising that five international days of ophthalmologists were held from 1928–1938.

An important role in the development of relations was fulfilled by professional congresses and conferences. That will be touched upon later in special subchapters.

Joint conferences organised in Latvia were without exception held only in Riga. In Estonia, such conferences were held in Tartu, Tallinn and once in Kuressaare. Outings and excursions were organised to show other regions of the countries to participants of the conferences.

¹ *Revue Baltique*. Vol. 1 (1940), No. 1, pp. 151–152.

² *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1936, 1. nr., 114.–115. lpp.

³ V. Mutt. Mõnda Balti metsateadlaste I kongressilt ja ekskursioonilt Leedus 7.–10. juulini 1938. a. *Eesti Mets*. 1938, nr. 8, lk. 296.

⁴ Balti apteekrite konverents Tallinnas. 12.–14. juunil 1937. a. *Pharmacia*. 1938, nr. 3, lk. 77–82.

Larger exhibitions held by neighbours were also of mutual interest. Three exhibitions on healthcare and medicine were organised in Tartu in 1921, 1926 and 1932. A number of exhibits at the first exhibition came from foreign countries, but there is no data about Latvian participants. No foreign participants were present at the following exhibitions.¹ An exhibition of public health and welfare was held in Tallinn in 1926, with the participation of the Baltic countries.² An exhibition of Estonian folk art, which toured European countries, received much attention in Latvia.³ Professors at the University of Tartu visited several larger agricultural and technical exhibitions in Riga.⁴ In some cases, exhibitions were held together with different congresses, e.g. the Second International Baltic Congress of Archaeology in Riga in 1930 was accompanied by an extensive exhibition of archaeological finds in Latvia, and a comprehensive catalogue was published.⁵

Meetings in the framework of wider international co-operation.

Relations between the two nations also developed through participation in the work of *Association Professionnelle Internationale des Médecins*, the International Society of Hospitals, the International Red Cross, the Health Organisation of the League of Nations, child protection organisations, and organisations for fighting different diseases. Agricultural scientists participated in experiments involving several countries, organised by the International Institute of Agriculture in Rome.⁶ Estonian and Latvian physicians met at international

¹H. Normann. I–III arstiteaduslik ja tervishoiuline näitus Tartus 1921, 1926 ja 1932. *Eesti Arst*. 1938, nr. 1, lk. 5jj.

²*Eesti Arst*. 1926, nr. 3, lk. 117.

³O. Nonācs. Igaugu tautas mākslas izstāde Rīgā = Eesti rahvakunstināitus Riias. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1933, 1. nr., 35.–37. lpp.

⁴*Postimees*. 1921, 27.07 (nr. 166), lk. 3; EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1000, p. 141; stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1371, p. 114.

⁵H. Moora. Balti muinasteadlaste kongress Riias 19.–23. aug. 1930. *Ajalooline Ajakiri*. 1930, nr. 3, lk. 138–145; *Congressus secundus archaeologorum Baltico-rum, Rigae, 19.–23.VIII.1930* = *Otrais Baltijas aizvēstures kongress, Rīga, 19.–23.VIII.1930*. Rīga, 1931. Acta Universitatis Latviensis. Philologorum et philosophorum ordinis series, T. 1., suppl. 1; *Katalog der Ausstellung zur Konferenz Baltischer Archäologen, Riga 1930*. Riga, 1930.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 684, pp. 179–179v.

congresses and conferences that were, almost without exception, held in other countries. We have information of only four events held in the Baltic countries during the period under discussion that drew together participants, including scientists, from all over the world. In 1926, the 18th International Abstinence Congress was held in Tartu,¹ military and marine experts gathered in Riga in 1924,² and in 1933 an International Congress on Secondary Education was held in Riga. In 1932, the 14th Congress of the International Students' Union was held in Riga, and its delegates were interested in visiting Estonia as well.³

At the end of the 1930s, the Estonian Physicians' Union had official contacts with the physicians of Latvia, as well as with those of Finland, Hungary, Lithuania and Poland. The Union of Estonian Physicians' Societies even had its own foreign correspondent; in 1939, Professor Herbert Normann fulfilled the position.⁴ We should mention the proposal made by Professor L. Puusepp, who suggested at the First Congress of Estonian physicians in 1921 that regular congresses be organised with the participation of the Baltic countries and Finland. The proposal was seconded by representatives of several participating countries,⁵ but it was carried out only in 1938, when the first Finnish-Baltic day of physicians was held in Helsinki. There were 20 participants from Estonia, 40 from Latvia and five from Lithuania; the representatives of each Baltic country gave three presentations, and it should be mentioned that the German language was chosen as the work language of the day.⁶

¹*The XVIII-th International Congress against alcoholism. Lecture-guide.* Tartu, 1926; *Bericht über den XVIII. Internationalen Kongress gegen den Alkoholismus, Tartu (Dorpat) vom 21. bis zum 29. Juli 1926.* Tartu, 1927.

²State Archives of Estonia (Eesti Riigiarhiiv, Tallinn, henceforth ERA), stock 957, ser. 11, item 802, p. 168.

³*Postimees.* 1932, 6.08 (nr. 182), lk. 1; 16.08 (nr. 190), lk. 2; 18.08 (nr. 192), lk. 2.

⁴Eesti Arstideseltside Liidu peakoosolek Tartus 22. mail 1938. *Eesti Arst.* 1938, nr. 7, lk. 551.

⁵I Eesti Arstide Kongress Tartus 2–4 dets. 1921 a. Kongressi pääsekretäri dr. med. S. Talvik'u kokkuvõte. III sektsioon: võitlus suguhaiguste vastu. *Eesti Arst.* 1922, nr. 4, lk. 196–197.

⁶S. Lind. I Soome-Balti arstidepäev. *Eesti Arst.* 1938, nr. 9, lk. 717–721.

Representatives of a number of national and international organisations visited Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania often during a single trip. For instance, in 1921, Senator of the United States of America Walter M. Chandler visited Riga, Tartu and Tallinn, and, being a supporter of the Baltic countries, presented opportunities for applying for stipends from the Rockefeller Foundation.¹ In 1937, Teunis Potjewijd, the Secretary in Chief of the International Pharmacists' Union, visited the Baltic countries, stopping in Estonia for five days and in both Latvia and Lithuania for two days.² The distance between Tartu and Riga was comparatively short, and people went to Riga to meet colleagues from other foreign countries. For instance, Professor S. Talvik intended to meet Professor Fritz Strassmann, a forensic medicine specialist from Berlin, in Riga in 1925.³

Exchanges of information, publishing of research works and defending of dissertations. It is natural that scientific information was exchanged more widely than only at professional meetings and visits. In both countries, the scholars subscribed for or exchanged professional journals, including those that were published in Estonian or Latvian, but which contained articles in other languages as well. Often the specialists of both countries reviewed new literature and new journal issues published by their neighbours, or wrote overviews based on material published in Latvia. For instance, in 1933 Olga Madissoon (Madisson) published several articles in the journal *Eesti Arst* (*Estonian Physician*) about Latvian clinics, based on articles published in Latvia.⁴ A senior lecturer of horse breeding, Karl Tagepera (Taagepera), wrote for the journal *Loomakasvatus* (*Animal Hus-*

¹ *Postimees*. 1921, 23.10 (nr. 43), lk. 1.

² R. Wallner. Rahvusvahelise Rohuteadlaste Liidu peasekretäri matkast Põhja- ja Baltimaadesse 1937. a. *Pharmacia*. 1939, nr. 8, lk. 232–234.

³ EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1180, p. 76.

⁴ O. Madisson. Prof. Gartjé: Lāti ülikooli lastekliiniku 10. a. tegevuse ülevaade (Latv. Universitātes Bērnu klīnikas 10. g. darbības pārskats. Latvijas Ārstu Žurnāls). *Eesti Arst*. 1933, nr. 1/2, lk. 148–149; Dr. J. Skuja — Riia: Lühike ülevaade Lāti Arstideseltsi asutamisest ning tegevusest 1902.–1932. aastani (Īss vēsturisks pārskats par Latviešu ārstu b-bas tapšanu un darbību no 1902. līdz 1932. g.) *Latv. Ārstu Žurnāls*, 4, 195 (1932). *Eesti Arst*. 1933, nr. 5, lk. 238–239; Lāti Ülikooli terapeutilise teaduskonnakliiniku assistendid: ülevaade kliiniku 10-a. tege-

bandry), about horse breeding in Latvia, using information obtained from his Latvian colleague Mārtiņš Laže.¹ Many Estonian scholars were interested in Latvian subjects, mostly in natural sciences and the humanities, but we can also point out that a physician from Tallinn, Juhan Luiga, who was closely connected with the University of Tartu, wrote two articles about a Latvian psychiatrist who had been killed by his patient.² All the Baltic countries were discussed together in a number of research fields, mainly in natural sciences (geologist Hans Scupin, botanists Edmund Spohr and Karl Reinhold Kupffer, and others). Scholar of medicine Jēkabs Alksnis delivered in the fields in Tartu in 1936 a presentation that touched upon some shared problems of medicine and folk religion in the history of Baltic nations ("Leben, Seele und Mutter im Volksglauben, besonders der baltischen Völker, vom biologischen Standpunkt"). Alksnis had also studied in Tartu, and he highly appreciated the work atmosphere of the town, comparing it with the city of Riga.³ In some cases, articles of mutual interest were published in the neighbouring country. For instance, a professor at the University of Latvia Ernst Fehrman published an article about Latvian health care and welfare in the journal *Eesti Arst*.⁴ Jānis Maizīte published an article about the control of pharmaceuticals in an Estonian journal *Pharmacia*⁵ and gave a presentation on the same subject at a conference of Baltic pharmacists in Tallinn. Senior lecturer of forestry K. Kiršteins published an overview of education in forestry in the journal *Eesti Mets (Estonian Forest)*.⁶

vusest (Pārskats par L.U. Terapeitiskās fakultātes klīnikas 10 gadu darbību. Latvijas Ārstu Žurnāls 1933, 1. nr.). *Eesti Arst*. 1933, nr. 10, lk. 509.

¹K. Tagepera. Lāti hobusekasvatusest. *Loomakasvatus*. 1928, nr. 2, lk. 86–87.

²Unpublished, the manuscripts in the possession of dr. Vaino Vahing (Tartu).

³Eesti-Lāti-Leedu arstide koostööst. Naaberriikide õppejõud tutvumas Tartu kliinikutega. *Postimees*. 1936, 25.11 (nr. 319), lk. 4.

⁴E. Fehrman. Die gesundheitlichen Verhältniss Lettlands und die Organisation seines öffentlichen Gesundheitsdienstes, sowie der sozialen Fürsorge. *Eesti Arst*. 1925, nr. 8, lk. 244–250; nr. 10, lk. 296–302.

⁵J. Maizite. Über die Kontrolle der pharmazeutischen Spezialitäten in den Baltischen Länder. *Pharmacia*. 1938, nr. 3, lk. 82–88; nr. 4, lk. 122–123.

⁶K. Kirschteins. Metsandusline haridus Lātis. *Eesti Mets*. 1930, nr. 10, lk. 243–245.

In 1936, J. Alksnis made a proposal for publishing the joint medical journal *Acta medica Baltica*,¹ and the proposal was repeated at a conference of intellectual co-operation in Riga by J. Alksnis and P. Stradiņš,² but the idea was not realised. Several attempts were made at publishing a joint journal called *Acta medica Baltica*, and even a joint interdisciplinary journal called *Acta academica Baltica*, but the ideas were not realized. The Baltic and the Nordic countries published a joint journal of folklore called *Acta ethnologica*.³

At about the same time, two Estonian natural scientists defended their doctoral dissertations in Riga: chemist Karl Loskit (1926) and geologist Paul Thomson. Loskit appeared to be the first with a doctor of chemistry degree in the Latvian Republic.⁴ Kārlis Ābele defended his doctoral dissertation in the field of biology in Tartu in 1934.⁵ In 1935, the well-known Latvian folklorist Anna Bērzkalne, a disciple of Tartu University Professor Walter Anderson obtained a doctoral degree from the University of Tartu for her dissertation "The Song of the Youth who Died for Sorrows" (in 1942).⁶ A. Bērzkalne was one of the most important promoters of the culture of Finno-Ugric peoples, and particularly of Estonian culture in Latvia.

Attempts to find a common language of communication. The problem of common language became a serious issue at such meetings; usually several languages were used at an event. In the beginning, the Russian and German languages were more widespread in both Estonia and Latvia, and most of the presentations were given in these lan-

¹ *Postimees*. 1936, 26.11 (nr. 320), lk. 5; *Eesti Arst*. 1936, lk. 477–478.

² J. Stradiņš, Dz. Cēbere. Establishment of an intellectual Entente in the Baltic States, p. 302.

³ *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1936, 1. nr., 111.–112. lpp.

⁴ Eestlane loodusteadlane Lāti ülikooli doktor [Paul Thomson]. *Postimees*. 1927, 1.06 (nr. 147), lk. 1; Eestlane esimene Latvija ülikooli keemiadoktor [Karl Loskit]. *Postimees*. 1926, 4.12 (nr. 330), lk. 3.

⁵ K. Ābele. *Untersuchungen über die Kern- und Zellteilung in dem primären Meristem der höheren Pflanzen*. [S. 1.], 1934; EAA, stock 2100, ser. 1, item 15, pp. 11 ff.

⁶ M. P[ukits]. Uudisteos rahvaluule uurimise alalt. *Postimees*. 1942, 9.05 (nr. 110), lk. 7; M. P[ukits]. Lāti naisteadlane promoveerus Tartus. *Postimees*. 1942, 30.06 (nr. 152), lk. 6.

guages. Participants from some other countries did not speak Russian, and already in the early 1920s complaints and warnings were issued that if Russian was used as the common language of communication, the Baltic countries would isolate themselves from Western Europe.¹ The situation of studying and teaching foreign languages was still a very difficult one in the Baltic countries, and lively discussions were held to find sensible solutions to the problem.² The Estonian ambassador in Riga, Karl Menning, who participated in these discussions, expressed the complexity of the situation: "The most natural act would have been to use such language as a means of communication that was already familiar and widely used. We [Estonians and Latvians] have two such languages — German and Russian — which, having been related to our past and history, have deeply penetrated into our nations. But unfortunately, just these two languages are out of question. This common language of communication does not only have the task of being a connecting link between our Baltic peoples, it has to be a means of communication between the Baltic nations and world culture [...] The Russian language is associated with the Communist world view, the German language has been considered a tool of National Socialist theory and regime — both of these are unacceptable for us."³ Over the course of time, the number of people speaking English and even French increased in Estonia and Latvia,

¹The position of S. Loewe in: *Eesti Arst*. 1922, nr. 7, lk. 351.

²E. Blese. Kāda valoda lietojama Baltijas tautu savstarpējā satiksmē? = Mīstugust keelt tarvitada Balti rahvaste omavahelises lābikāimises? *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1934, 3. nr., 2.–5. lpp.; N. Malta. Angļu valoda kā satiksmes valoda Baltijas valstu starpā = Ingliskeel lābikāimiskeelena Balti riikides. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1934, 3. nr., 5.–8. lpp.; O. Nonācs. Svešvaldas Baltijas valstu skolās = Vōōrkeeled Balti riikide koolides. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1934, 3. nr., lpp. 8; Meklē ceļus, kas vienotu Baltijas valstis = Otsitakse teid, mis ūhendaksid Balti riike. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1935, 1. nr., lpp. 66; V. Kiparsky. Baltijas kopējās valodas problēma = Balti ūhise keele probleem. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1936, 1. nr., lpp. 37; P. Tarvel. Baltijas valstu kultūrālās āorientācijas problēmas = Balti riikide kultuurilise välisorientatsiooni probleem. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1936, 3./4. nr., 16.–18. lpp., etc.

³K. Menning. Kopēja valoda = Ūhine keel. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1934, 4. nr., lpp. 7.

and these languages were more widely used, especially by younger scholars.¹ The knowledge of English spread rapidly in Estonia during this period, due to rising interest and efforts made to promote it.² The spreading of French language and culture was much assisted by the creation of the French Institute in Tartu in 1922.³ A similar institution began working in Latvia as well, together with the English Institute. In 1933, the Estonian National Commission of Intellectual Co-operation recommended that French and English should primarily be used in international communication.⁴

Estonians who had to use Latvian in their research also mastered the language. The issues of learning and teaching the languages of neighbouring countries, and the establishing of departments of these languages at the universities, were often discussed, although chairs for the languages were not established until as late as 1940.⁵

Foreign travel. Visits made by single persons were aimed mainly at getting acquainted with sister institutions and the work of their colleagues. In reports written after such trips, the visitors drew attention

¹Inglise ja prantsuse keel Balti ühiskeeleks. Teaduste akadeemia küsimus jälle päevakorda. *Postimees*. 1935, 2.11 (nr. 299), lk. 3.

²S. Lembinen. *The teaching of English at Tartu University in 1900–1940. Diploma paper*. Tartu, 1990, pp. 27–34; Kuidas tõsta ingliskeele osatähtsust Balti riikides. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1936, 1. nr., 112.–113. lpp. Latvia and Estonia fixed English as the first obligatory foreign language at their schools and wished that Lithuania would follow them (Igauku, latvju un lietuvju tuvināšanās biedrību pārstāvju apspriede = Eesti, Läti ja Leedu lähendamisühingute esindajate nõupidamine. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1935, 1. nr., lpp. 58).

³E. Saareste. Les relations médecins Estoniens avec monde médical français. *Annuaire. Institut Scientifique Français de Tartu (Estonie)*. Tartu, 1936, pp. 34–48. Autorireferaat. *Eesti Arst*. 1937, nr. 1, lk. 78–80; L. Puusepp. Mälestusi Prantsuse Teadusliku Instituudi asutamisest Tartus. *Olion*. 1932, nr. 5/6, lk. 125.

⁴ERA, stock 1108, ser. 5, item 580, pp. 304–306.

⁵H. Moora. Latvijas un Igaunijas kopdarbība zinātnē = Eesti ja Läti koostöö teaduslikul alal. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1933, 1. nr., 17.–18. lpp.; V. Kiparsky. Latviešu valoda un somu valodniecība = Läti keel ja Soome keeleteadus. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1935, 3./4. nr., lpp. 24; O. Nonācs. Vērojumi un slēdzieni = Vaatlusi ja järeldusi. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1937, 3. nr., lpp. 2; O. Nonācs. Gribēt — varēt = Tah-ta — suuta. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1939, 1. nr., 1.–4. lpp.; EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2b, item 1371, p. 114.

to outstanding features and differences in work organisation. Sometimes the achievements of neighbours were compared and analysed. For instance, Estonia was well known among the Baltic countries for its high mortality rate, low birth rate and high emigration rate.¹ When H. Madissoo visited Riga in 1937, Kārlis Kundziņš and director Roberts Šiliņš explained to him the reasons for the lower birth rate in Latvia and the measures taken to remedy the situation.²

Visits were also organised as preparation for reforms or for planning large construction works. University professors were often asked to give lectures and presentations at the neighbours' institutions. It is known that public lectures given by Professor L. Puusepp were extremely popular in Riga.³ Many talks were held about the exchange of university professors⁴ and about the need to give presentations on the cultures of the neighbouring countries.⁵ Very often, physicians went to exchange knowledge and experiences and to further their training at clinics, and they participated in festive openings of new institutions, etc. Trips to gather research material were organised less often; mostly by natural scientists and representatives of some fields of the humanities (historians, archaeologists, ethnographers, linguists, folklorists and economic geographers). Researchers used Latvian li-

¹N. Sarv. Eesti arstikond iseseisvuse ajal ning Eesti Arstideseltside Liit. *Eesti Arst*. 1937, nr. 11, lk. 871.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 596, pp. 145–147, 307.

³L. Puuseps. Dvēsle un miesa (Lekcija). *Jaunākās Ziņas*. 1923, 30.04 (92. nr.), 5. lpp; Veselas un slimas madzenes. Pēc Tērbatas universitātes prof. Dr. med. L. M. Puusepa lekcijas, Rīga, 17. janvāris, 1925. g. *Tautas kalendārs. Latvijas Pretalkohola biedrība*. 1926 (Jaunās Balss ilustrētā bibliotēka), 126.–141. lpp.; E. T. Kas sabojā mūsu nervus? (Alkohols, kokaīns un morfijs kā nervu giftis. Pēc prof. Dr. med. L. Puusepa lekcijām). *Tautas kalendārs. Latvijas Pretalkohola biedrība*. 1927 (Jaunās Balss ilustrētā bibliotēka), 97.–111. lpp.; J. Nīmanis. No kā atkarīga bērnu veselība un garīgā attīstība. *Draudžu Dzīve*. 1933, 6./7. nr., 150.–152. lpp.

⁴P. Bērziņš. Kulturālo vērtību apmaiņa Baltijas tautu starpā = Balti rahvaste omavaheline kultuuriväärtuste vahetus. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1939, 2. nr., 21.–22., 25.–26. lpp.

⁵F. Balodis. Labāku sadarbību zinātnes laukā! = Paremat koostööd teaduse alal! *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1934, 1. nr., lpp. 49; H. Moora. Latvijas un Igaunijas kopdarbība zinātnē = Eesti ja Läti koostöö teaduslikul alal, lpp. 17.

braries (often being fortunate enough to find in Riga some materials missing in Tartu), museums (especially archaeologists and ethnographers) and archives. Besides historians, lawyers, scholars of literature, linguists and theologians also used archival materials. Professor of forestry Andres Mathiesen studied the materials of the Baltic Department of State Lands at the Riga archives.¹ Even Professor of veterinary Elmar Roots, who studied the history of Estonian dairying, and Johann Ainson — who had to look through materials concerning the trade of farm animals and meat products —, twice wrote applications to use the archives.² However, working at the Latvian archives was not an easy task; a fellow and historian, Evald Blumfeldt found that finding the necessary materials took much time and effort.³ Latvian researchers used to work at the Central State Archives in Tartu.⁴ Both countries worked towards arranging an exchange of archival materials.⁵ Armin Tuulse was much concerned with Latvian monuments of architecture and art. After having received his MA in art history in 1937,⁶ he repeatedly visited Latvia, and defended his doctoral thesis *Die Burgen in Estland und Lettland* in 1942.

Close co-operation developed among archaeologists. Much emphasis was laid on the study of culture regarding the period of ancient independence (the 10th–13th centuries), and for that it was necessary to have knowledge of the neighbouring areas. The Latvian Board of Cultural Heritage Protection gave Estonian archaeologists the per-

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 624, p. 173.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 995, p. 190.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 69, p. 29.

⁴*Postimees*. 1927, 25.08 (nr. 229), lk. 1; Läti ajaloolased keskarhiivis. *Päevaleht*. 1939, 7.04 (nr. 97), lk. 1; 1940, 19.04 (nr. 104), lk. 5; Riigi Keskarihiiv 1930./31. eelarve aastal. *Ajalooline Ajakiri*. 1931, nr. 2, lk. 120; Riigi Keskarihiiv 1931./32. tegevusaastal. *Ajalooline Ajakiri*. 1932, nr. 3, lk. 172; O. Liiv. Riigi Keskarihiiv 1932./1933. tegevusaastal. *Ajalooline Ajakiri*. 1933, nr. 3, lk. 171; O. Liiv. Riigi Keskarihiiv 1933./34. tegevusaastal. *Ajalooline Ajakiri*. 1934, nr. 2, lk. 91.

⁵G. Ney. Baltijas tautu kultūras attiecības. Līdzšinējie sasniegumi un turpmākās izrezes = Balti rahvaste kultuurilised suhted. Seniseid saavutusī ja edaspidiseid väljavaateid. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1935, 3. nr., 35.–36. lpp.; L. Leppik. Balti kindralkuberneri arhiivi lugu. *Eesti Ajalooarhiivi Toimetised*. 4 (11). Tartu, 1999, lk. 102–106.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1266, p. 26.

mission to carry out excavations on Latvian territory; similar permission was granted to Latvians in Estonia. It is difficult to envisage a more exhaustive treatment of the subject matter concerning neighbours than Professor H. Moora's two-volume work *Die Eisenzeit in Lettland bis etwa 500 J.v.Chr.* The *Yearbook of the Learned Estonian Society* (1932) published studies in comparative archaeology by young Latvian scholars Eduards Šturms and Rauls Šnore.¹ The most representative example of such brilliant co-operation was the Baltic congress of archaeologists organised in Riga in 1930.² In addition to delegates from the Baltic countries, the congresses also included participants from other countries, such as Sweden, Germany, Finland, Poland, and others. Among them were many scholars of international renown.³

Two of the few experts in the Livonian language and culture, O. Loorits and Lauri Kettunen, a former professor at the University of Tartu and a Finn by nationality, naturally found their research subject and source materials in Latvia. Professors at the University of Tartu supported in every way our kindred people who faced extinction, and spoke up for their rights at very high levels in Latvia.⁴ Loorits stayed in Latvia very often, and studied the Latvian language;⁵ even

¹E. Šturms. Die Kulturbeziehungen Estlands in der Bronze- und frühen Eisenzeit. *Õpetatud Eesti Seltsi Aastaraamat = Sitzungsberichte der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft* 1932. Tartu, 1935, S. 245–277; R. Šnore. Die Hügelgräber bei Salenieki (Lettland). *Ibidem*, S. 278–299; see also E. Šturms. Eine ostbaltische Streitaxtform der frühen Eisenzeit. *Liber saecularis: Litterarum Societas Esthonica, 1838–1938*. Tartu, 1938. *Õpetatud Eesti Seltsi Toimetused*, XXX (1), lk. 717–729.

²G. Ney. Baltijas tautu kultūras attiecības. Līdzšinējie sasniegumi un turpmākās izrezes = Balti rahvaste kultuurilised suhted. Seniseid saavutusi ja edaspidiseid väljavaateid, lpp. 36.

³H. Moora. Balti muinasteadlaste kongress Riias 19.–23. aug. 1930. *Ajalooline Ajakiri*. 1930, nr. 3, lk. 139.

⁴Professor L. Kettunen liivlaste juures. *Postimees*. 1921, 19.09 (nr. 215), lk. 3; Professor L. Kettunen tagasi jõudnud. *Päevaleht*. 1921, 13.09 (nr. 243), lk. 7.

⁵K. Straubergs. Latviešu folkloras pētījumu sasniegumi pēdējos desmit gados = Lāti folkloori uurimuste saavutused viimase kümne aasta jooksul. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1935, 3. nr., 25.–29. lpp.; EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2b, item 44, p. 12.

though his difficult character¹ got him into conflicts with the Latvian authorities.² Kettunen, too, spoke up for the Livonians. He is well known for his exhaustive dictionary of the Livonian language, which he had worked on since 1920.³ The ethnographer Ferdinand Linnus (Leinbock) was also eager to use Livonian materials.⁴ Each year, the Tartu Academic Club of Kindred Peoples organised collections for Livonians and Estonian colonists in Ludza. In 1932, two four-day excursions were planned to the areas of the kindred peoples.⁵

Different study trips, with the participation of both professors and students, were also important additions to academic studies. Practical training in each other's countries was sometimes organised in agriculture and forestry.⁶ On at least one occasion, Estonian students of econ-

¹The correspondence between Oskar Loorits and Anna Bērzkalne reveals that the latter had tried to improve Loorits' "mature" character for many years but to no avail. (The Library of the Academy of Sciences of Latvia, the archive of Anna Bērzkalne, VII, No 125, 28.10.1939.).

²S. Cimermanis. Svētciema pagasta lībieši 1782.–1858. gada ļaužu revīziju atainojumā. *Latvijas Zinātņu Akadēmijas Vēstis. A daļa*. 2003, 5./6. nr., 139.–157. lpp.; V. Ščerbinskis. Lībiešu jautājums Latvijas attiecībās ar Somiju un Igauniju 1920–1940. *Latvijas Zinātņu Akadēmijas Vēstis. A daļa*. 2000, 54. sēj., 3./4. nr., 66.–67. lpp. On October 3, 1937, A. Piip delivered a report on the political situation in Europe at the club meeting of the Tartu unit of the Estonian Defence League, discussing, among other issues, tensions in relations between Estonia and Latvia. He sums up his report: "In brief, I want to say that we have to avoid misunderstandings and co-exist peacefully with our neighbour, because we never can know, when there might arise a need to fight together against an enemy" (*Postimees*. 1937, 4.10 (nr. 268), lk. 2).

³Professor L. Kettunen liivlaste juures. *Postimees*. 1921, 19.09 (nr. 215), lk. 3; Professor L. Kettunen tagasi jõudnud. *Päevaleht*. 1921, 13.09 (nr. 243), lk. 7; Liivlaste olukord Lātis paraneb. Prof. Kettunen jutustab. *Postimees*. 1938, 29.01 (nr. 28), lk. 5; L. Kettunen. *Livisches Wörterbuch*. Helsinki, 1938. Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae, 5. 2. pain. Helsinki, 1999; see also: V. Ernštreits. *Liivi keele sõnavara kogude analüüs ning liivi-lāti ja lāti-liivi sõnaraamat*. Magistritöö. Tartu, 2002.

⁴F. Leinbock. Liivlaste kalastusest ja vähipüügist. *Eesti Rahva Muuseumi Aastaraamat*. 4. Tartu, 1928, lk. 109–151; F. Linnus. Baltimaade orduaegsest mesindusest. *Ajalooline Ajakiri*. 1936, nr. 1, lk. 1–14.

⁵Üliõpilased lutsilaste ja liivlase juurde. *Postimees*. 1932, 24.11 (nr. 276), lk. 7.

⁶Metsanduse üliõpilased Lätti praktikale. *Päevaleht*. 1937, 22.04 (nr. 109), lk. 4; *Päevaleht*. 1937, 10.05 (nr. 126), lk. 5.

omy had the opportunity for practical training in Riga.¹ It is possible that Estonian students worked at Latvian clinics, factories, railways and other institutions during summers.² During study trips, the students and their teachers familiarised themselves with the organisation of education and sciences, local nature, husbandry and agriculture, medical achievements, production and economic activities, and animal and plant breeding. They visited modern successful enterprises, exhibitions and fairs. Art historians visited Latvian churches and castles, and ethnographers studied farm architecture and similar elements in clothing.

Estonians heading for Western European countries often travelled via Latvia, and stopped there to meet their colleagues and to exchange professional information. For instance, a delegation of veterinarians travelling to Kaunas in 1937 made a one-day stop in Riga, meeting with their colleagues and seeing the sights of Riga. They continued their trip together with the Latvian veterinarians to participate in the congress in Lithuania.³ Foreign professors of the University of Tartu often passed through Latvia on their way home. In Latvia, Estonians were often met by people who had studied in Tartu, an aspect that made it easier to form acquaintances and to maintain contacts. Overviews of the study trips were often published as articles, both by Latvians and Estonians.

They belonged to each other's societies, were elected honorary members of universities and societies, and participated in celebrations and openings of clinics, etc. — this also helped to maintain relations. The University of Tartu celebrated its 300th anniversary in 1932. The delegation of leading scholars from the University of Latvia also included a group of students from the university. The events of the celebration

¹Majandusteaduse üliõpilastele suvepraktikat Lätis. *Postimees*. 1938, 19.05 (nr. 135), lk. 7–8.

²*Revue Baltique*. Vol. 1 (1940), No. 2, p. 301.

³J. K[aarde]. III Balti riikide veterinaarkongress Kaunas 12–14. augustini 1937. *Eesti Loomaarstlik Ringvaade*. 1937, nr. 5, lk. 176.

found much attention in the Latvian press.¹ Lesser events were also marked, greetings and congratulations were sent, and when necessary, funerals were also attended.

We cannot forget close contacts between the students, and athletic and cultural contacts. The co-ordinating centre of SELL (abbreviation derived from the names of the four countries — Suomi, Eesti, Latvija, Lietuva) was located in Tartu, and the athletic relations between the students during the period under discussion have been studied more closely.² We can also talk of relations between students' organisations and corporations.³

Group visits. Group visits that began in the second half of the 1920s were another important feature in the relations between the University of Tartu and Latvia, and included large numbers of intellectuals. It was probably in May 1927, when Baltic scholars of different fields first met. Eight professors and 31 students (including 23 female students) of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Latvia arrived in Tartu. The head of the delegation was the Rector of the university and Professor of art history Ernests Felsbergs, who had studied and taught in Tartu. A few days later, a delegation from Lithuania, led by the Rector of the University of Kaunas M. Biržiska, was expected.⁴

Usually trips were made to meet colleagues who had prepared a program for their guests. Students travelled quite often as well; they were mostly led by their professors and the trips had both educational and entertainment aims. The groups usually amounted to 30 persons, but in some cases they were much larger. For instance, in 1937, more than

¹Läti üliõpilaste soe osavõtt Tartu ülikooli juubelist. *Postimees*. 1932, 2.07 (nr. 152), lk. 3; Naabermaade rektorid sõidavad ülikooli pidustusile. *Postimees*. 1932, 17.03 (nr. 65), lk. 7.

²V. Lenk. *Üliõpilassport Eestis. Kujunemise lugu*. Tartu, 1998.

³*Postimees*. 1930, 21.02 (nr. 50), lk. 6; *Päevaleht*. 1934, 19.12 (nr. 349), lk. 8; *Päevaleht*. 1936, 6.04 (nr. 95), lk. 6; *Päevaleht*. 1937, 9.04 (nr. 96), lk. 1, 5; *Päevaleht*. 1937, 12.04 (nr. 99), lk. 5.

⁴Läti ja Leedu professorid külastavad Tartu ülikooli. Külaliste seas silmapaistavad teadusmehed ja hariduse juhid. *Postimees*. 1927, 20.05 (nr. 135), lk. 5.

100 students of pharmacy spent three days in Riga.¹ The meetings were initiated by both sides, and return visits followed soon after. The stay was usually 3–4 days long, and other places were visited besides Tartu or Riga. People who spoke both languages were involved; presentations and explanations given by specialists were translated into both languages, which created a friendly and informal atmosphere and guaranteed the success of the visits. Professional meetings were often followed by cultural entertainment, visits to theatres, exhibitions, museums, sightseeing and outings. Common social events were important in developing good relations. Foreign ambassadors and high officials of the state participated in the more important events.

We believe that we should also say a few words about travelling in those days. Two trains were scheduled from Tartu to Riga daily. A rail connection between Riga and Kaunas was built in 1921.² An air corridor along the coast of the Baltic Sea joined Tallinn, Riga, Klaipeda (and later Kaunas), and regular flights were scheduled beginning in 1923. The train journey from Tartu to Riga usually took 7–8 hours; the “Baltic Express”, launched in 1939, covered the distance in a shorter time. Delegates to the congress of convergence and conferences of the Baltic Week in 1939 had to start their journey from Tallinn at 21:00. They reached Tartu at 00:38 and arrived in Riga at 06:00. They continued by train to Kaunas, with Berlin as the destination at 06:25 and reached Kaunas at about 09:39. In cases of group travel, the railway fare was only half of the normal amount, and the group visa also cost less. Of the 120 Estonian delegates to the Kaunas congress in 1939, 105 persons had a group visa.³ From December 1925, the visa and international passport requirements between Estonia and Latvia were abolished, and the border could be crossed without an invitation, with the presentation of a document proving the

¹ *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1935, nr. 5, lk. 175; Rohuteaduse üliõpilased sõidavad Riiga. *Postimees*. 1937, 3.04 (nr. 89), lk. 7.

² *Päevaleht*. 1921, 20.02 (nr. 47), lk. 1.

³ Th. Rosenwald. Balti apteekrite konverentsist. V Eesti-Läti-Leedu koostöö kongressil 9.–11. juunini 1939 Kaunas. *Pharmacia*. 1939, nr. 6, lk. 170.

person's identity.¹ The travel passport cost 30 kroons, but for a study trip the price was 5 kroons. Participants of conferences and excursions were able to acquire a group passport for a very small fee (3 kroons), or even free of charge.²

Studying in each other's countries. A number of Estonians received their education at the University of Latvia in the 1920s and 1930s. Young Estonians mainly studied engineering or architecture; the 1930s also saw a growth in the number of Estonians studying at the faculties of economics and law.³ The average number of Estonians studying in Riga at the same time could have reached up to 20. For instance, in 1922, 14 Estonians studied and one Estonian professor taught at the University of Latvia.⁴ Sixteen Estonian students attended the University of Latvia in 1932.⁵ Estonians joined their own society, called "Estia", which had about 20 members in 1928. The number of Estonians at the University of Latvia could have been even larger, but they were hindered by the fact that they did not speak Latvian.⁶ In 1927, Latvian Minister of Education Jānis Rainis signed a document acknowledging the academic rights of the alumni of the University of Tartu in Latvia. However, in doing so they acquired the right to open practices on an equal basis with citizens of Latvia who had graduated from a university abroad, and who had to repeat the last year of their studies in Latvia and pass the state exams.⁷ A few days later the newspaper *Postimees* published a critical remark about such a faulty acknowledgement of the diplomas. By chance, 42 Latvians were studying at the University of Tartu at that time, and the author of

¹Piir Eesti ja Läti vahel vabaks. Missugused on üle piiri käimise tingimused ja kust pääseb üle. *Päevaleht*. 1925. 26.11 (nr. 321), lk. 2.

²Riigi Teataja. 1930, 55, 72; Ch. Volmer. Leedust ja sealsetest farmaatsiaoludest. *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1936, nr. 11, lk. 294.

³K. K. Latvijas Universitātes darbība = Läti ülikooli tegevus. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1934, 4. nr., lpp. 47.

⁴*Postimees*. 1922, 29.12 (nr. 308), lk. 2.

⁵*Päevaleht*. 1932, 2.10 (nr. 269), lk. 7.

⁶9 aastat Läti ülikooli. Juubelipidustused 28. sept. Eestlastest Läti ülikoolis. *Postimees*. 1928, 1.10 (nr. 267), lk. 1.

⁷Eesti-Läti koostöö kultuurilisel alal. Diplomide vastastikkune tunnustamine. *Postimees*. 1927, 28.02 (nr. 58), lk. 1.

the remark asked why these specialists were obliged to wait in Latvia for a year to once again pass state exams, while other persons who had studied in Riga and found positions in Estonia did not have to pass new exams.¹ The students' society "Estia" made a public appeal that the Estonians who wanted to study at the University of Latvia be exempted from the test of Latvian at the entrance exams.² Young Latvians preferred to study at the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Tartu.³ Eight Latvians were studying at the University of Tartu in 1936.⁴

Chronological peculiarity of the relations. The personal files of the professors of the University of Tartu held at the Estonian Historical Archives contain material on more than 170 trips to Latvia from 1919–1940, including longer journeys to other European countries via Latvia. The number of trips was most probably larger. For instance, L. Puusepp's file gives material on only two trips: to the Congress of Intellectual Co-operation in 1938, and to a Rotary Club event in 1939, entirely lacking in information about his lectures delivered in 1923, 1925, 1927, 1929 and 1933.⁵ Aleksander Paldrock's file does not contain any materials about his stay in Latvia, but other sources confirm his public lectures in Riga in 1932.⁶ Although we are quite sure that data concerning trips made by professors from the University of Tartu to Latvia are far from having been exhausted, it is not easy to find other materials in addition to those found at the archives and in newspapers from the 1920s and 1930s. We also considered stays in Riga as research fellows of some persons who later became university professors. Stipends were sometimes extended to finance the travel of private docents as well.⁷

¹Tartu ja Riia ülikoolide diplomid. *Postimees*. 1927, 4.03 (nr. 62), lk. 3.

²Eestlased Riia ülikoolis. Sisseastumisel nõutakse Läti keele eksami. *Postimees*. 1928, 21.03 (nr. 80), lk. 1; Kus omandada tehnilist haridust? Õppimisvõimalused Riias. Riias õppivate eestlaste ettepanek. *Postimees*. 1928, 9.03 (nr. 68), lk. 5.

³9 aastat Läti ülikooli. Juubelipidutused 28. sept. Eestlastest Läti ülikoolis. *Postimees*. 1928, 1.10 (nr. 267), lk. 1.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 4, item 100, p. 41.

⁵Professor Puusepp Lätis. *Postimees*. 1925, 22.01 (nr. 21), lk. 3.

⁶EAA, ser. 2100, stock 4, item 95, p. 93.

⁷EAA, ser. 2100, stock 4, item 596, p. 145.

The intensity of the travelling is uneven, growing rapidly during the first years of the university, with up to 19 trips taken in 1925. Then the number decreased, reaching a low of two trips a year in 1933 and 1934; but after 1935 it started to grow again, and in 1940 there were 13 planned trips to Latvia. The number of visitors could have been even larger. We have information about at least one professor, geologist Armin Öpik, who was not able to use his summer travel allowance for a trip to Latvia. The largest number of trips in 1925 could perhaps be explained by the newly-effective agreement between Estonia and Latvia enabling one to cross the border with fewer formalities, using a certificate of identity instead of a travel passport, which was inconvenient to acquire.¹

Biographical ties

After the founding of national universities, Estonian and Latvian intellectuals mostly followed the call to find employment at their own university. Several professors of veterinary medicine of Latvian nationality — E. Paukulis, Ludvigs Kundziņš and Kārlis Kalniņš² — left the University of Tartu in the early 1920s. It is also understandable that four Latvian nationals who had taught at the University of Tartu — theologian Kārlis Kundziņš, art historian E. Felsbergs, philologist J. Endzelīns and medical scientist Pēteris Sniķers — preferred to continue their careers at the University of Latvia. The same could have been said about a fifth Latvian professor, philosopher Jēkabs Osis, who died soon after the University of Latvia had been founded (1920). Lawyer Vasili Sinaiski also moved from Tartu to Riga. Some Latvians remained in their positions at the University of Tartu, such as Professor of surgery Rudolf Wanach (Vannahs), lecturer of psychology Eduards Baķis (Bakkis), a long-time prosecutor (1919–1932) at the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine Arturs Mālmanis, a well-known ophthalmologist and senior assistant of the university clinic

¹Välispass Eesti ja Läti vahel kaotatud. *Vaba Maa*. 1925, 13.11 (nr. 264), lk. 3.

²H. Tankler, A. Rämmer. Öppejoudude koosseisu kujunemine Eesti Vabariigi Tartu Ülikoolis 1920-ndatel aastatel = Die Herausbildung des Lehrkörpers der Universität Tartu in den 20er Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts. *Elmar Roots ja Tartu Ülikool*. Hrsg. H. Tankler. Tartu, 2000, lk. 42, 144.

Jānis Ozoliņš, and maybe some other assistant teachers. A veterinarian of Estonian nationality, Karl Kangro (professor since 1928) taught at the University of Latvia during the period under discussion.¹ Private lecturer of paediatrics Oscar Rothberg, probably also of Estonian nationality, was invited to the University of Latvia in 1921, but rejected the invitation.²

It is also known that several professors in Tartu had previously worked in Latvia, mainly in Riga. We can name mineralogist Karl Duhmberg, theologian Werner Gruehn (Grühn), botanist Theodor Lippmaa and lecturer of Russian Boris Pravdin. The latter inadvertently came to Tartu after the evacuation of the Riga Modern Secondary School in 1915, and continued teaching there. J. Ainson, A. Lүүs, H. Madisson and Alexander Ucke worked as physicians and veterinarians in Riga. Leo Rinne worked as an assistant at the Pētermuiža experimental station near Riga. A. Piip studied at the Kuldīga Teacher's Seminar, and worked as a sexton and schoolmaster in Alūksne from 1903–1905. Of the professors at the University of Tartu during the period under discussion, psychiatrist Maximilian Bresovsky, mathematician Vasili Kupffer, physiologist Aleksander Lipschütz, botanist T. Lippmaa, specialist of hydrology and hydraulic engineering Vladimir Paavel, and lawyers Leo Leesment and Karl Wilhelm Seeler were born in Riga. Meteorologist Johannes Letzmann and specialist of forensic medicine Gerhard Rooks were born in Cēsis and meteorologist Konrad Koch was born in the county of Cēsis. Lecturer of the German language Friedrich Bettac, scholar of pedagogy Eugen Riemer and theologian Otto Seesemann were born in Jelgava. The professors of theology Adalbert Stromberg (Tašu-Padure, nowadays Kalvene), Konrad Grass (Kursīsi) and W. Gruehn (Bālgale) were born in Kurland. L. Leesment, T. Lippmaa, G. Rooks and V. Paavel were Estonian nationals, the others were Germans.

¹D. Loeber has grouped K. Kangro to the Baltic Germans (*Deutsch-baltische Lehrkräfte an der Universität Lettlands 1919–1941*. Zusammengestellt Dietrich A. Loeber. Hamburg, 1999. Baltische Ahnen- und Stammtafeln. Sonderheft, 20, S. 19).

²H. Normann. [Dr. Med. Oskar Rothberg]. *Eesti Arst*. 1935, nr. 11, lk. 927.

Of the professors of the 1920s–1930s, the professor of applied mechanics Konstantin Grimm, mathematician Jakob Roosson (after 1935, Roonemaa), chemists Michael Vitsut (Wittlich) and Jaan Kopvillem, botanist Hugo Kaho, specialists of animal husbandry Elmar Liik and Jaan Mägi, specialists of agriculture Aleksander Luksepp and L. Rinne, and lecturer of accountancy Karl Müller studied in Riga during the Tsarist regime. Two young Estonians — Professor of microbiology and bacteriology K. Schlossmann and literary scholar and well-known writer Johannes Semper — went to study in Riga, but later drifted far off from their specialties. The latter studied architecture at the Riga Polytechnic in 1915–1916, when the school was evacuated to Moscow.

Some professors of both universities could have had close relatives in Latvia and Estonia. Syryan Komi by nationality, Kallistrat Zhakov, who for a short time taught his mother tongue at the University of Tartu, later lived in Riga and married a Latvian. We could not find out if Johannes Letzmann, a long-time private lecturer of geophysics at the University of Tartu (1919–1939), was a citizen of Latvia.

Although the universities of Tartu and Latvia were primarily national universities at that time, professors of other nationalities who had some kind of relation with both Estonia and Latvia could be found at both of these universities. Anatomist Alfred Sommer left his position at the University of Kharkiv in 1917, and taught at the *Landesuniversität* in Tartu in 1918; during those hard times he found himself in Riga and participated in the founding of the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Latvia in 1919, and later was a professor at the University of Tartu from 1919–1929.¹ E. Spohr was a private lecturer of plant taxonomy and plant geography at the University of Tartu from 1920–1923, a lecturer from 1923–1929, and continued his work as a professor at the Herder Institute in Riga from 1930–1935.

¹К. Васильев, С. Павлычева, Х. Танклер. Харковский анатом профессор А. Г. Зоммер (1858–1939). *Вісник Сумського державного університету. Серія медицина*. № 12 (33), 2001, с. 51–52; S. Pavličeva, K. Vasiljevs, A. Vīksna. Alfreds Zommers — Latvijas Augstskolas Medicīnas fakultātes pirmais profesors. *Latvijas Universitātes Raksti*. 653. sēj. Rīga, 2003, 80.–89. lpp.

Senior assistant of the Institute of Hygiene at the University of Tartu E. Fehrmann preferred to continue his career as a lecturer at the University of Latvia in 1922.¹ Professor of zoology Guido Schneider worked as an docent at the Riga Polytechnic from 1911–1918, as a professor at the University of Latvia in 1920–1921, and then as a professor of applied zoology at the University of Tartu from 1921–1923. Botanist Feodor (Theodor) Bucholtz was a professor at the Riga Polytechnic from 1912–1919, and continued his career as a professor of botany at the University of Tartu from 1919–1924. A. Lipschütz, who was born in Riga, was invited from Bern to occupy the position of professorship of physiology at the University of Tartu. M. Wittlich (Vit-sut) was a professor of chemical technology at the University of Tartu from 1919–1931. Earlier, he had worked at the Riga Polytechnic since 1905, as a professor of chemical technology since 1909.² According to our data, Konstantin Grimm left Tartu to work at the University of Latvia in 1939.³

It is also important to know that a number of professors and lecturers at the University of Latvia had studied at the University of Tartu. All in all, during the first decade of its activities, the University of Tartu gave 54 professors to the University of Latvia, 40 of who were Latvians.⁴

The University of Latvia elected professors of the University of Tartu Johan Kõpp (1926), Henrik Koppel (1927), Olaf Sild (1933), Hans Kruus (1938), Woldemar Gutman (1939) and Karl Schlossmann (1939) as honorary doctors. The University of Tartu elected, in turn, professors of the University of Latvia A. Tentelis (1929), Mārtiņš Bīmanis (1932) and Ludvigs Kundziņš (1932) as honorary doctors.⁵ Several persons who had either studied or worked at the University of

¹ *Eesti Arst*. 1922, nr. 1, lk. 64.

² V. Past. Tartu Ülikooli keemiaosakonna õppe- ja teadustöö arenguhooni kaes-oleval sajandil. *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*. 20. Tartu, 1987, lk. 38.

³ *Eesti teaduse biograafiline leksikon*. Kd. 1. Tallinn, 2000, lk. 307.

⁴ J. Stradiņš. Tartu ülikool Läti teadusloos, p. 227.

⁵ J. Stradiņš, Dz. Cēbere. Establishmant of an Intellectual Entente in the Baltic States, p. 296; *Album doctorum honoris causa sociorumque honorariorum universitatis Dorpatensis/Tartuensis ab A. MDCCCIII usque ad A. MCMXCVII*. Tartu, 1997.

Tartu were elected as members of the Latvian Academy of Sciences: Jānis Endzelīns was made an honorary member in 1932; K. Kundziņš was made an honorary member in 1933; F. Balodis was made a member in 1932; and Jēkabs Alksnis and others. Professor H. Koppel was elected as foreign corresponding member of the Latvian Academy of Sciences in 1933.¹

¹ J. Stradiņš. *Latvijas Zinātņu akadēmija*, 83.–85. lpp.

RELATIONS IN DIFFERENT FIELDS

Natural sciences, agriculture and forestry

Natural sciences

Relations between the natural scientists of Tartu and their colleagues in Latvia have been rather sporadic, when compared with those of scientists in many other fields of science, especially the applied sciences. These relations were primarily based on personal contacts and, excluding the areas of applied sciences, no co-operative organizations or commissions developed among the scholars of the two countries. No evidence could be found for even joint meetings and consultations. Personal contacts are very rarely reflected in official records. Also, very few personal archives and correspondences from this period have been preserved. Examining the lives of the scholars who were working at the University of Tartu during the period under discussion, we can see that under the difficult conditions of those times, they were quite often repressed by the Soviet powers or forced to flee to the Western countries.¹ But in principle, the scholars of 'pure' natural sciences did not need as much collaboration as the researchers in the applied sciences. The different scholars were usually engaged in different projects; more common issues were found in the development of teaching, until both universities developed their own systems in the 1920s. Co-operation was quite active between Estonian plant

¹H. Tankler. Eesti Vabariigi Tartu Ülikooli õppejõudude koosseisu lagunemine. *Elmar Roots ja Tartu Ülikool*. Hrsg. H. Tankler. Tartu, 2000, lk. 51–66. Parallel text in German: Die Zersplitterung des Lehrkörpers der Universität Tartu, S. 154–171.

geographers and geodesists and their colleagues in the neighboring countries. Close relations could also be found in the fields of pharmacy and medicine, which are closely related to natural sciences.

In many cases, the relations remained only at the level of short trips made by individual scholars. The records confirm only one event on a larger scale, when a group of twenty chemistry students visited Riga in June 1926. It can be assumed that the majority of Estonian and Latvian scholars of these fields were not personally acquainted. They might have been aware of each other's research (beginning from 1921, the universities regularly exchanged scientific publications),¹ or they might have accidentally met at international conferences or study trips in other countries. Obviously, the natural phenomena within these countries were similar, but only a small number of research papers were written by authors studying the natural features of the neighboring countries. Some articles were written in botany and geology, perhaps there exist papers in other fields as well. Such infrequent works were mostly written by scholars of German nationality. For example, Feodor Bucholtz continued his research begun in the Tsarist period. Elmar Lepik, a Professor of Tartu University influenced by Bucholtz, published a number of articles on the East-Baltic mushrooms.² Among Latvian natural scientists, botanist Karl Rein-

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 4, item 423, pp. 2–3.

²About H. Scupins work see the part of the paper about geology. F. Bucholtz wrote several papers on the mushrooms of the Baltic area. See Bucholtz bibliography in: E. Lepik. Prof. dr. Bucholtzi mälestuseks. *Agronomia*. 1925, nr. 7, lk. 292–295. Also we can stress the following works by E. Lepik: Bibliographische Beiträge zur Nomenklatur der Ostbaltischen Pilzflora. I (1791–1921). *Tartu Ülikooli juures oleva Loodusuurijate Seltsi aruanded* = *Sitzungsberichte der Naturforscher-Gesellschaft bei der Universität Tartu*. Tartu, 1929, 36, 1–2, lk. 27–88; Beiträge zur Nomenklatur der Ostbaltischen Pilzflora. II. *Tartu Ülikooli juures oleva Loodusuurijate Seltsi aruanded*. 37. Tartu, 1931, lk. 239–259; Beiträge zur Nomenklatur der Ostbaltischen Pilzflora. III. *Tartu Ülikooli Taimhaiguste-katsejaama teated* = *Mitteilungen d. Pythopathol. Versuchsstation d. Universität Tartu*. Tartu, 1938, Nr. 47; Beiträge zur Nomenklatur der Ostbaltischen Pilzflora. IV–VI. *Tartu Ülikooli Taimhaiguste-katsejaama teated*. Nr. 56. Tartu, 1939; Beiträge zur Nomenklatur der Ostbaltischen Pilzflora. VII. *Tartu Ülikooli juures oleva Loodusuurijate Seltsi aruanded*. 46. Tartu, 1940, lk. 100–110; Beiträge zur Nomenklatur der Ostbaltischen Pilzflora. VIII–X. *Tartu Ülikooli Taimhaiguste-katsejaama teated*. Nr. 63. Tartu, 1943; Einige Pilz-

hold Kupffer¹ often discussed the Estonian and Latvian regions. Also one finds some Latvian researchers in the field of natural and agricultural sciences treating the Baltics region as a whole.

The sciences (mathematics, astronomy, geodesy, physics and chemistry). On many occasions the lecturers of the University of Tartu visited Riga to find scientific literature unavailable in Estonia. Jaan Sarv, a professor of mathematics, was gathering material for his work *Über die Grundlagen der Geometrie* in 1923.² On his arrival in Riga, after introducing himself as a lecturer of the University of Tartu, he was immediately granted access to the library of the University of Latvia. Unfortunately, the materials of the library of the Riga Polytechnic, which had been evacuated to Russia, had not yet been retrieved. The materials Sarv needed were located in the library of the Faculty of Mathematics. He found even more interesting materials there than he had expected, and Dean of the Faculty Edgars Lejnieks lent him books from his personal library as well.³ The rich Latvian libraries also inspired 1927 the visit of professor Sarv in, when he continued working on the above-mentioned manuscript and an article *Über den Beweis des Vierfarbensatzes*.⁴ Gerhard Rāgo, professor of mechanics and applied mathematics for Tartu University, visited Riga twice, in 1926 and 1927. His aim was to study the training of teachers of mathematics at the University of Latvia, and to learn about the study aids used to teach mechanics and hydraulics. To develop relations between Estonian and Latvian

funde aus Lettland. *Tartu Ülikooli juures oleva Loodusuurijate Seltsi aruanded*. 39. Tartu, 1932, lk. 169–182.

¹More important papers by Karl Kupffer are: *Grundzüge der Pflanzengeographie des ostbaltischen Gebietes*. Riga, 1925. Abhandlungen der Herder-Instituts. Bd. 1, 6; *Baltische Landeskunde*. Hrsg. K. R. Kupffer. Riga, 1911; *Bemerkenswerte Vegetationsgrenzen im Ostbaltikum*. Berlin, 1904. Abhandlungen des Botanischen Vereins Brandenburg. 46. In 1937, P. Thomson gave a presentation at the Institute of Geology of the University of Königsberg on the subject *Über die Devonflora in ostbaltischen Gebiet* (EAA, stock 2100, ser. 4, item 101, p. 272).

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1055, p. 62.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1055, p. 69.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1055, p. 78; Prof. J. Sarv [...] Riiga komandeeritud. *Postimees*. 1927, 9.02 (nr. 39), lk. 5.

mathematicians, he met docent Kārlis Straubergs.¹ In 1927 G. Rāgo delivered two presentations on the subject of teaching mathematics in Riga.² As evidence of the co-operation of the mathematicians in the two countries, note that E. Lejnicks and G. Rāgo co-authored an elementary school text in 1931. However, this text was never published.³ Unfortunately, nothing is known about the intentions of private docent Vasili Kupffer's stay in Riga during the summer holidays in 1923.⁴

Professor of astronomy Taavet Rootsmäe (then Rootsmann) visited a number of astronomical observatories at Central European universities, including that of the Latvian University.⁵ His extensive trip began in Riga, where docent Alfrēds Žagers explained the work of the observatory. Rootsmäe noticed that both the Latvian University and its Institute of Astronomy were suffering from a sad lack of space. The Riga Observatory was newer than the Tartu Observatory, but in a short time it had undergone rapid development in spite of the drastically cramped space. The practices of the southern neighbors were instructive in several aspects; Rootsmäe especially praised the organization of students' practical experience. He formed the opinion that the Latvian University paid considerable attention to the practical side of his specialty, and the subjects of student research were both representative and diverse. The measurement of time was especially well organized.⁶ Time was calculated even with greater precision than it was necessary for real life and research, but since Riga was one of the basic co-ordinates for the triangulation of the Baltic Sea countries, it came very useful in determining celestial co-ordinates. Besides astronomical research, which was expected to develop further, studies of the Sun's surface were also conducted in Riga.⁷ The Institute of The-

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1019, pp. 101–103, 108.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1019, p. 114.

³TÜR KHO, stock 86, item 31, 32.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 436, pp. 51–56.

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1002, p. 80v.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1002, p. 81.

⁷EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1002, p. 82.

oretical Astronomy, mainly working on the statistics regarding asteroids,¹ had been created at the university.

International co-operation in geodesy developed quite extensively, uniting all of countries on the Baltic Sea. Joint events began with a conference held in Helsinki in 1924.² By the decree of the Government of the Republic of Estonia, Professor T. Rootsmäe was appointed one of the representatives of Estonia at the conference.³ The main task of the congress was to develop principles for determining the form of the globe using the triangulation method and applying it to mapping of the Baltic area.⁴ The standing geodetic commission of the Baltic area was formed at the conference in 1924. In 1935, the conference of the geodesists of the Baltic countries was held in Estonia, mainly in Tallinn. About 40 foreign participants arrived from eight countries; representatives of the University of Tartu also participated in the conference. The excursion organized after the conference took the participants to Tartu as well.⁵ We have no evidence of direct associations between Estonian and Latvian geodesists, but both groups attended these meetings.

Connections had been established between Latvian and Tartu meteorologists. Johannes Letzmann, who has been considered to be one of the most important researchers of tornadoes in the previous century,⁶ took an interest in floating islands on Latvian lakes in July 1921. He published an article discussing this rare natural phenomenon in the area of modern Latvia.⁷ For his research in climatology, J. Letz-

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1002, p. 83; D. Rootsmann. *Astronoomiliselt teekonnalt Kesk-Euroopas. Tähetorni Kalender*. 1930. Tartu, 1929, lk. 29–31.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1002, pp. 44–45; V. Maasik. *Gravimeetriliste uurimuste ajaloost Eestis. Teaduse ajaloo lehekülgi Eestist*. 2. Tallinn, 1976, lk. 125.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1002, pp. 44–45.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1002, pp. 44–45.

⁵Läänemeremaade geodeetid Tallinnas. *Päevaleht*. 1935, 20.08 (nr. 228), lk. 5; Algab Läänemeremaade geodeetide konverents. *Päevaleht*. 1935, 20.08 (nr. 228), lk. 1.

⁶R. E. Peterson. Johannes Peter Letzmann: pioneer tornado researcher. *Meteorology in Estonia in Johannes Letzmanns Times and Today*. Tallinn, 1995, p. 9–44.

⁷J. Letzmann. Die schwimmenden Inseln des Pastoratsees von Trikatén und anderer Seen. *Tartu Ülikooli juures oleva Loodusuurijate Seltsi aruanded*. 28, 3. Tartu,

mann was elected a corresponding member of the Riga Naturalists' Society in 1923.¹ In 1928, docent Kaarel Kirde (then Frisch) went to Riga to compare the barometer of the Tartu Meteorological Observatory with that in Riga,² and private docent J. Letzmann visited Strenči.³ At the beginning of the 1930s, the Meteorological Observatory of the University of Tartu exchanged weather forecasts three times a day over the radio with all major meteorological centers in Europe. Most likely, these exchanges included Latvian colleagues.⁴ Data on the relations between the physicists of Tartu and Latvia is scarce. In February 1937, Villem Koern, a Fellow of the University of Tartu, was sent to Riga on the initiative of Professor Harald Perlitz. There, Koern carried out *x*-ray measurements of the crystallographic structure of amalgams under the supervision of docent Mārtiņš Straumanis. The work led Koern to his doctoral dissertation on Ag-Te System of Binary Amalgams (1940).⁵

Tartu chemists had relatively close relations with their colleagues in Riga. Already at the end of the 19th century, the University of Tartu had a substantial role in training chemistry lecturers for the Riga Polytechnic.⁶ One of the most prominent scholars of the Baltic countries, Wilhelm Ostwald, could be one of the best examples of this fact. He was born in Riga, studied at the University of Tartu, and taught in both Tartu and Riga, until he decided to continue his career in Leipzig.

1922, lk. 1–11; V. Masing. Johannes Letzmann as an Explorer of Floating Islands on Lakes. *Meteorology in Estonia in Johannes Letzmanns Times and Today*. Tallinn, 1995, p. 140.

¹Ülikooli eradotsent J. Letzmann on Riia Loodusuurijate Seltsi kirjavahetajaliikmeks valitud. *Postimees*. 1923, 26.10 (nr. 286), lk. 5.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 341, p. 118.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 541, pp. 119–120.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 4, item 92, p. 181.

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 4, item 101, p. 226; K.-S. Rebane. Tartu Ülikooli füüsikaosakonna professorid 1920–1940. *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*. 11. Tartu, 1981, lk. 159; P. Kuusk, I. Martinson. Villem Koern. *Eesti Füüsika Seltsi Aastaraamat 1993*. Tartu, 1994, lk. 18.

⁶И. Я. Гросвалд. Вклад воспитанников Тартуского (Дерптского, Юрьевского) университета в развитие Рижского политехникума, Рижского политехнического института и Латвийского университета, с. 159–166.

During the period under discussion, the chemistry lecturers from the University of Tartu visited their Latvian colleagues several times. Yrjö Kauko, a Finn who was professor of chemistry at the University of Tartu for a short period, went on a research trip to Latvia in the spring of 1924.¹ In the August of the same year, Professor Georg Landesen went to Riga to use scientific journals.² In 1926, a group of Tartu chemistry students wished to become familiar with several Latvian industrial enterprises and asked docent H. Perlitz to lead their group.³ The trip was organized by the Academic Chemical Society with the aim of examining the chemical industry of Latvia and to develop connections among the future chemists. The trip was held on June 1–7; four days of which were spent in Riga. During these days, the group visited the Latvian University and its Institute of Chemistry, the *Jaunakās Ziņas* ink factory and printing house, the business *Latvijas Stikls*, and the Kuznetsov Riga porcelain factory. In addition, the group visited a Riga City Water Supply Station, the local electricity plant, O. Wildenberg's tannery, the textile plant *Lenta*, an oil station *Oelrich & Co*, and the *Rauga Eksports* brewery and winery. The Estonian visitors then spent one day in Liepāja and had a tour of the linoleum factory as well as the iron foundry of the local mechanics and ship building plant. On their way back they made a one-day stop in Sigulda.⁴ Michael Wittlich (later Vitsut), a professor of chemical technology, wished to visit a larger exhibition in Riga in August 1927 because of his interest in issues of teaching chemical technology.⁵

During the same period, two Estonian natural scientists defended their doctoral theses in Riga — chemist Karl Loskit in 1926, and geologist Paul Thomson in 1927. Loskit was the first scholar to receive the doctoral degree in chemistry in the independent Republic of Latvia.⁶ The rather extraordinary circumstances of Loskit's degree have been doc-

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 310, pp. 117–118.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 498, p. 18.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 825, p. 60.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 825, p. 64.

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1371, pp. 99, 114.

⁶Eestlane esimene Latvija ülikooli keemiadoktor [Karl Loskit]. *Postimees*. 1926, 4.12 (nr. 330), lk. 3.

umented elsewhere. Loskit submitted his doctoral thesis on triglycerides¹ to be defended at the University of Tartu in February 1928, and translated it into German in March. The discussion of the thesis dragged on and professional reviews, which were not very friendly in content, came late. Professor Paul Kogerman recommended that the author rewrite the work; G. Landesen considered the work inadequate for a doctoral degree.² Having withdrawn the work for modification, in a few months, Loskit began talks with Latvians about defending of his thesis in Riga. On November 27, 1926 he passed the doctoral examination and successfully defended his thesis the next day.³ After receiving his degree, he submitted his habilitation work *venia legendi*, based on his thesis, to the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences, but it was not accepted.⁴ When he proposed to give a lecture course on Wilhelm Ostwalds color theory at the University of Tartu in 1931, the offer was again not accepted.⁵ At the end of 1931, Loskit was dismissed from the university, since his work contract had expired. Loskits failure and the interruption of his career were probably caused by his poor relations with Professor G. Landesen.⁶

In 1929, Gustav Tammann, who had studied at the University of Tartu and worked there as a professor of chemistry up to 1902, was invited, to his great surprise, to teach chemistry at Latvian University after the former professor Mieczyslaw Centnerszwer had transferred to Warsaw. According to the conditions offered, Tammann, who was a professor at the University of Göttingen at that time, would need to start lecturing in Latvian after three years. Tammann, a chemist of European renown, stated that he would not accept the position as long as the Ministry of Prussia continued financial support for his

¹K. Loskit. Zur Kenntnis der Triglyceride. *Zeitschrift für Physikalische Chemie*. Bd. 134 (1928), H. 1/2, S. 135–155.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 575, pp. 8, 18, 30–43.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 575, pp. 30, 65, 44, 68.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 575, pp. 45, 49, 53.

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 575, p. 115.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 575, pp. 116–118.

co-workers.¹ This was the case, and the issue of laboratory assistants was the decisive factor. At the same time, Tammann was known for his anti-Nazi views, which could have damaged his situation in Germany. It is also important to note that during these years, Mārtiņš Straumanis, a lecturer at the Latvian University, often worked with G. Tammann in Göttingen (1927–1928, 1932, and 1936). Straumanis highly appreciated the opportunity to work with Tammann and his large international research group. Straumanis published three papers together with Tammann.²

Earth and life sciences. In 1931, private docent Roberts Rūtiņš became acquainted with the Estonian oil shale industry, paying attention to the production of gas and oils.³ Professor of geology Hans Scupin was invited to work in Tartu from Germany. He was one of the few scholars of the time, who discussed several research subjects in the context of the whole Baltic area.⁴ In his doctoral thesis *Beitrag zur Kenntnis der subfossilen Pollenflora und Stratigraphie der Torflager und lakustrinen Sedimente in Estland mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Nordwestens* Paul Thomson examined the history of Estonian fossil flora. He defended his thesis and received his doc-

¹ Archive of the University of Göttingen, Kur PA (Gustav Tammann); J. Stradiņš. Augusts Ķešāns un Rīgas ķīmiķu tradīcijas. *Augusts Ķešāns dzīvē un darbā*. Rīga, 1981, 106.–107. lpp.

² I. Grosvalds. Mārtiņš Straumanis un Ķīmijas fakultāte. *Latvijas Ķīmijas Žurnāls*. 1998, 3. nr., 7.–18. lpp.

³ *Latvijas Universitāte divdesmit gados. 1919–1939. II daļa*. Rīga, 1939, lpp. 375.

⁴ H. Scupin. *Zur Petroleumfrage in den Baltischen Ländern*. Tartu, 1924. Acta Universitatis Tartuensis, A, VI, 2; H. Scupin. *Alter und Herkunft der ostbaltischen Solquellen und ihre Bedeutung für die Frage nach dem Vorkommen von Steinsalz im baltischen Obersilur*. Tartu, 1926. Acta Universitatis Tartuensis, A, X, 2; *Epirogenese und Orogenese im Ostbaltikum*. Dorpat, 1926. Acta Universitatis Tartuensis, A, XI, 2; H. Scupin. *Ostbaltikum*. Teil 1, Algonkium, Paläozoikum und Mesozoikum von Ostbaltikum. Berlin, 1928. Die Kriegsschauplätze 1914–1918 geologisch darstellt, H. 9; C. Gäbert, H. Scupin. *Ostbaltikum*. Teil 3, Bodenschätze im Ostbaltikum. Berlin, 1928. Die Kriegsschauplätze 1914–1918 geologisch darstellt, H. 10, T. 2.

toral degree in Riga in 1927.¹ After habilitation, Thomson worked as a private docent (1928–1937) and docent (1938–1939) of geology and paleontology at the University of Tartu, until the *Umsiedlung*, when he moved to Germany. Thomson's research subject attracted attention in several neighboring countries. In 1928, he gave presentations at the Botanical Society of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in Leningrad, in Königsberg, in Germany, and at the University of Latvia. He was also invited to give talks in Riga by the local geographical society.² In 1933, Thomson was elected a corresponding member of the Riga Naturalists' Society for his research on pollen in the bogs of the Eastern Baltic areas, especially in Estonia.³ In May 1935 Thomson gave public presentations at the Riga Naturalists' Society, introducing his research on the late glacial period and its flora.⁴ In August 1936 Thomson visited the vicinity of Kemerli and Tukums to study the local bogs.⁵ Despite Thomson's activities, the relations between the geologists of the two countries were not very close. We found that in February 1936 Oto Mellis and Verners Zāns, lecturers of geology of the University of Latvia, visited Tartu.⁶ In the summer of 1940, Tartu professor of geology Armin Öpik planned to visit Latvia, where he had not yet been. He hoped to gather materials for his Estonian-language textbook of geology, but his visit was probably cancelled.⁷

The biggest contribution of August Tammekann was founding geomorphology as a branch of science in Estonia. Furthermore, he developed the cartographic and landscape referred research in the country.⁸ To describe the scheme of Estonian landscape regions, as established

¹Eestlane loodusteadlane Läti ülikooli doktor. *Postimees*. 1927, 1.06 (nr. 147), lk. 1.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1217, p. 4; ser. 4, item 89, p. 245.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 575, p. 107.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 4, item 99, p. 248.

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 4, item 101, p. 272.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 4, item 99, p. 214.

⁷EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1398, pp. 192–193, 196.

⁸Ott Kurs. August Tammekann teaduses ja kultuuris. *Akadeemia*. 1994, lk. 1720–1737. Summary: August Tammekann as a scientist and cultural figure, pp. 1755–1756. Ott Kurs. August Tammekann ja eesti-soome geograafiakoolkond.

by Finnish-born geographer Johannes Gabriel Granö in 1922, Tammekann made field studies in different parts of Estonia. With the same aim in 1927 he visited several interesting areas of Latvia and noted there both similar and different forms of nature. In 1937 Tammekann wanted to carry on his studies on the landscape regions of Latvia and gain experience with topographic maps, but this trip did not come to pass.¹

In 1937, Edgar Kant, a professor of economic geography, drove by car through Latvia with Rudolf Nõmmeots (an assistant), Gustav Ränk (the head of the department of ethnography of the Estonian National Museum), and Oskar Loorits (the head of the Archive of Estonian Folklore). During the trip, Kant made numerous observations in the field of economic geography.²

Edmund Spohr, private docent (1920–1923) and docent (1923–1929) of plant taxonomy and plant geography at the University of Tartu, had close contacts with Latvia, since his main research area was the study of Latvian flora. Spohr left Tartu in 1930 and became professor of the Riga Herder Institute (1930–1935). At the beginning of 1925, Spohr went to Riga for research purposes, but we have no data about the specific aims of his trip.³ In 1928 he published an article on rare plants of Estonia and Latvia.⁴ Professor Theodor Lippmaa participated in the day of Baltic plant geographers in Riga in September 1931 and in the related excursions. He was especially glad about the opportunity to work with Karl Kupffer's herbarium. This is understandable, since this collection, then located at the Botanical Institute of the University of Latvia, was of great importance for the study of Estonian flora.⁵ In

Eesti Geograafia Seltsi Aastaraamat. 30. Tartu, 1997, lk. 23–41. Summary: August Tammekann and the Estonian-Finnish school of geography, pp. 39–40.

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1190, p. 196.

²3000-km teaduslik ekspeditsioon. Prof. E. Kant ja mag. G. Ränk jõudsid uuri-
misreisilt [Lätist] Tartu tagasi. *Päevaleht*. 1937, 10.08 (nr. 217), lk. 2.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1123, pp. 61–62, 81; Eradotsent Spohr [sõidab
teaduslikul otstarbel Lätimaale]. *Postimees*. 1925, 7.01 (nr. 6), lk. 3.

⁴E. Spohr. *Über die Verbreitung einiger bemerkenswerter und schutzbedürftiger
Pflanzen im ostbaltischen Gebiet*. Tartu, 1928. Acta Universitatis Tartuensis, A, XIII.

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 566, p. 125.

Riga, Lippmaa was also interested in the equipment and fixtures of the local Museum of Botany.¹ Several excursions were organized together with the day of plant geographers: visits were made to a variety of locations including Lake Usma, the Hydrobiology Station and the Moricsala Experimental Station of the University of Latvia. Additional trips visited areas of rare flora in the Daugava valley, the Sigulda and Gauja valleys, the Riga Gulf coast, dunes, coastal forests and several other locations.²

Extensive co-operation was developing in the Baltic countries in the field of hydrology and joint conferences were organized dating from 1926.³

The conservator of the Zoological Museum for the University of Tartu, Mihkel Härms, carried out a three week ornithological outing together with docent of the University of Latvia Nikolai Transehe (Tranzē) on the island of Saaremaa in 1925.⁴ Latvian scholars also came to Tartu to defend their dissertations. Kārlis Abele, Latvian by nationality, who had for a short period studied at the University of Tartu, received his doctoral degree for his thesis in biology *Untersuchungen über die Kern- und Zellteilung in dem primären Meristem der höheren Pflanzen*.⁵

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 566, pp. 130–132.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 566, p. 129.

³*Die erste hydrometrische Konferenz der baltischen Staaten in Riga am 26–28 Mai 1926. Protokolle und Referate.* Riga, 1927; *II Baltische hydrologische und hydrometrische Konferenz.* Tallinn, 17–22. Juni 1928. Tallinn, 1928; *Compte rendu des travaux de la IIIème Conférence Hydrologique des états Baltiques tenue a Warszawa en Mai 1930.* Warszawa, 1931; *IV Hydrologische Konferenz der Baltischen Staaten, September 1933. Berichte.* Leningrad, 1933; *V Hydrologische Konferenz der Baltischen Staaten, Juni 1936. Berichte.* Helsinki, 1936; *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der VI Baltischen Hydrologischen Konferenz zu Lübeck-Berlin im August 1938.* Berlin, 1939.

⁴*Latvijas Universitāte divdesmit gados. 1919–1939. II daļa.* Rīga, 1939, lpp. 329.

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 1, item 15.

Agriculture, agronomy and animal husbandry

In the early winter of 1926, the Estonian Agronomist's Society sent letters to similar organisations in Latvia and Finland, proposing to establish the Union of Baltic Agronomists.¹ A meeting of the representatives of these countries was held in May 1926. Professor Jaan Mägi, docent Nikolai Rootsi and docent Leo Rinne represented Estonia; Latvian participants were docent Jānis Vārsbergs and agronomist I. Pelsis, the agronomist E. Sihvola and colonel K. J. Collan represented Finland. Based on a proposal by Finnish delegates, Lithuania was also invited to join the new organization. The First Congress of the Union of Baltic Agronomists was held in 1927 at Lahti, Finland, together with an agricultural exhibition organized at the same time.² About 20 Estonian, 23 Latvian and two Lithuanian delegates took part in the Congress. Estonian representative N. Rootsi outlined in his presentation the similar features of the history of the Baltic countries, stressed the fact that these countries were, primarily, agricultural countries, and emphasized the importance of joint activities in developing agriculture. The participants were highly impressed by particular excursions in Finland. The Congress decided to hold meetings every two years.³ The Congresses continued regularly: in Tartu in 1929 (including as Latvian participants, lecturers of the University of Latvia Maksis Eglītis, J. Vārsbergs, Paulis Dermanis, Pāvils Kreišmanis),⁴ Riga — 1931, Kaunas — 1933, Helsinki — 1935, and Tallinn — 1937.⁵ The delegates included lecturers from universities

¹K. Rannik. *Eesti esimese loomkasvatusteaduskorraldaja Jaan Mägi elust ja tööst*. Tartu, 1993, lk. 41–43.

²Eesti, Läti ja Soome agronoomide koostöö. Esitajad Lätist ja Soomest Tartus. *Postimees*. 1926, 28.05 (nr. 139), lk. 1.

³E. R. Balti Agronoomide Ühingu I kongress Soomes 20–23. Juunil 1927. *Agronoomia*. 1927, nr. 6, lk. 205–212; *Bericht über den I Kongress in Lahti Juni 1927*. Helsinki, 1928, S. 91–93.

⁴*Latvijas Universitāte divdesmit gados. 1919–1939. II daļa*. Rīga, 1939, lpp. 228., 246., 250., 255.

⁵The II Congress of the Union of Baltic Agronomers was held in Tartu, Estonia in July 1929 (*Bericht über den 2. Kongress im Juli 1929 in Tartu*. T. 1–2. Tartu, 1930–1931; *Baltimaade Agronoomide Liidu II kongress Eestis 14–16. juulil 1929. a. Agronoomia*. 1929, nr. 8, lk. 301, 311); The III Congress of the Union of Baltic

and schools of agriculture, government officials, and farmers. The 7th Congress was held in Riga in the summer of 1939, one of the participants was N. Rootsi, a professor of agronomy.¹ He was especially interested in Latvian experimental institutions and in the general state of Latvian agriculture.² During his travel in Latvia he visited official sites like the Latvian Chamber of Agriculture, the Jelgava Agricultural Academy and agricultural exhibition, the Kegums power station, and a Pūre experimental orchard. He also visited site such as one of the oldest Latvian dairies, the Lēdmane youth club, a Sigulda tourist home, the Kalniņš Rumpi farm, Kr. Ulmanis's farm Vēcsprosti, and the Kemerī spa. In Riga, he visited a construction exhibition at the university.³ The meetings of the central board of the Union of Baltic Agronomers were held in Kaunas in 1931 and in Riga in 1932.⁴ Estonian specialists in agriculture participated in these meetings.

Lecturers in agriculture and animal husbandry repeatedly visited Latvia during the period under consideration. Professor Anton Nõmmik went on an agricultural excursion to Latvia in 1924.⁵ Professor of animal husbandry J. Mägi visited Riga several times; in December 1925 he visited an experimental livestock breeding station and studied the system of teaching and the laboratory equipment at the

Agronomers was held in Riga in 1931, among the participants was Elmar Liik (EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 546, pp. 73–74) and Jaan Mets (J. Mets. Balti Agronoomide Liidu III. Kongress 5–8. juulini s.a. Lätis. *Agronomia*. 1931, nr. 7/8, lk. 297; nr. 9, lk. 325–332; *Bericht über den 3. Kongress im Juli 1931 in Riga*. Riga, 1933). The next Congress was organised in Kaunas in 1933 (*Bericht über den 4. Kongress im Juli 1933 in Kaunas*. Klaipėda, 1934; Balti Agronoomide Liidu IV kongress toimus 3–5. juulini Kaunases. *Agronomia*. 1933, nr. 8, lk. 247; J. Mets. Balti Agronoomide Liidu IV kongressist ja Leedu põllumajandusest. *Agronomia*. 1933, nr. 8, lk. 272) and in Helsinki in 1935 (*Bericht über den 5. Kongress im Juni 1935 in Helsinki*. Helsinki, 1936; Balti Agronoomide Liidu 5. kongress Helsingis. *Päevaleht*. 1935, 30.05 (nr. 148), lk. 4). The VIth Congress took place in Tallinn in 1937 (*Bericht über den 6. Kongress in Eesti 1937*. Tallinn, 1937).

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1000, p. 141.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1000, p. 141v.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1000.

⁴Balti Agronoomide Liidu Keskjuhatuse koosolek Kaunases 15. sept. s.a. *Agronomia*. 1930, nr. 9, lk. 392; *Agronomia*. 1932, nr. 7/8, lk. 256–257.

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 4, item 78, p. 330.

University of Latvia.¹ In September 1930 he visited Latvia again, with interests in the teaching of animal husbandry and in co-operation in the field regarding an international project that was co-ordinated from Rome. He met docent Pauls Lejiņš, the director of the Rāmava experimental livestock breeding station of the University of Latvia to discuss the project.² In 1928, Karl Tagepera published an article on Latvian horse breeding in the Estonian journal *Loomakasvatus*, using information from Mārtiņš Laže.³ The Academic Agricultural Society of the University of Tartu organized at least one excursion to Latvia in 1929.⁴ P. Kreišmanis visited Tartu for research purposes in 1932,⁵ and J. Vārsbergs, professor of agronomy of the University of Latvia, visited Raadi experimental station in 1935.⁶ Professor J. Mägi visited Latvia in August and September of 1937 in route to other countries.⁷ Professor of plant diseases E. Lepik visited Riga, Jelgava, and Tukums in August 1938, with interests in experimental field work and plant protection.⁸ In the same year, E. Lepik wrote an article on the soaking of telephone poles in chemicals applying a method used in Latvia.⁹ Professor Leo Rinne gave a presentation on Estonian phosphorus as fertilizer at the 7th Congress of the Union of Baltic Agronomers in Riga in July 1939.¹⁰

Several conferences of plant geographers, called Finnish-Baltic plant geographer's days, drew together specialists from several fields, such as agronomists, botanists, pharmacists, farmers, physicians and teach-

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 684, p. 85.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 684, p. 179.

³K. Tagepera. Lāti hobusekasvatusest. *Loomakasvatus*. 1928, nr. 2, lk. 86–87.

⁴Akadeemilise Põllumajandusliku Seltsi ekskursioonist Lätti. *Agronomia*. 1929, nr. 8, lk. 321–322.

⁵*Latvijas Universitāte divdesmit gados. 1939–1939. II daļa*. Rīga, 1939, lpp. 255.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 4, item 98, pp. 77–82; stock 2100, ser. 4, item 99, pp. 273–275.

⁷EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 684, pp. 247.

⁸EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 528, p. 119.

⁹E. Lepik. Telefonipostide immutamisest mahlasuru (Boucherie) viisil. *Eesti Mets*. 1939, nr. 1, lk. 79.

¹⁰EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 978, p. 198.

ers. The days were held every two years. The first Finnish-Baltic plant geographer's day was held in Tartu in the summer of 1929, with 20 participants. These activities were initiated by E. Spohr, the docent of the University of Tartu, and his Latvian colleague, K. R. Kupffer. One of the central topics of the events was forestry.¹ In September 1931, the plant geographer's day was held in Riga; in 1933 the day was held in Kaunas. The fifth conference of the plant geographers of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland was held in Kuressaare, Estonia. The number of participants from the Baltic countries, Finland, Sweden and Poland exceeded 50. Three days were devoted to presentations; the next five days were filled with excursions.² The last of these days was held in Finland on August 11–22, 1938.³ These events deserve a separate discussion.

Forestry

It is understandable that the specialists of forestry of the neighboring countries have close contacts with each other. In the case of Estonia and Latvia, these contacts were based on their similar history and similar work done in the independent states. W. Wallner wrote to his colleagues about Latvian forestry as early as 1923.⁴ J. Sikka-Paiken touched upon the same subject at the 5th day of the specialists of forestry in 1923.⁵ Tartu students of forestry, who went on an educational trip to foreign countries under the supervision of Oskar Daniel in summer 1923, included a stop in Riga.⁶

Closer relations between Estonian and Latvian colleagues began in 1927, when Latvian forestry drew significant attention in the Esto-

¹ Soome-Balti taimegeograafide päev. *Eesti Mets.* 1929, nr. 9, lk. 218.

² Ch. Volmer. V Eesti, Leedu, Läti ja Soome taimegeograafide kongress. *Eesti Rohuteadlane.* 1935, nr. 8, lk. 199–201; Eesti-Soome-Läti-Leedu taimegeograafide kongress Kuressaares. Hulk teaduslikke ettekandeid ja uurimusi. *Postimees.* 1935, 13.06 (nr. 158), lk. 3.

³ V. Sirgo. VI Eesti-Soome-Läti-Leedu taimegeograafide kongress. *Pharmacia.* 1938, nr. 9, lk. 257–261; nr. 10, lk. 276–280.

⁴ W. Wallner. Metsaasjandusest Lätis. *Eesti Mets.* 1923, nr. 9, lk. 163–166.

⁵ J. Sikka-Paiken. Läti riigi metsamajandusest. *Eesti Metsanduse Aastaraamat.* 2. Tartu, 1927, lk. 276–290.

⁶ EAA, stock 2100, ser. 4, item 77, p. 492.

nian professional literature.¹ The interest in Latvia rose to a new level with an excursion to Latvian forests, organized by the Academic Forest Society in the summer of 1927. The excursion generated a great amount of interest and initially, the number of participants had to be limited. However, only eight people turned up at departure.² Despite the low attendance, the trip was interesting and the specialists of the two countries felt immediately at ease. "Speeches, Latvian and Estonian songs, familiar tunes, and lively conversation gave the impression of being among old acquaintances, whom one has met again after a long time. We must hope that the foresters of both countries will find contacts for joint work — we have much to learn from each other and our work has many similar features," concluded O. Daniel after the excursion.³ Estonian guests visited the Forestry Department of the University of Latvia, the Latvian countryside, the forests and aspects of the forest industry. They watched a film about Latvian forestry, and met their Latvian colleagues, among whom they found an Estonian. Meeting Mr. Kukk, the chief head forester of Uuemõisa (Latvian name in Estonian), came as a surprise. At the same time, an Estonian, J. Müür, was a member of the board of the Latvian Forester's Society,⁴ and a fellow of the University of Latvia Mr. Apinis was fluent in Estonian.⁵ All through the trip, the Estonian group was accompanied by Latvian journalists.⁶ After the excursion, Kaarel Veermets (then Werberg) published two comprehensive articles. The first was about Latvian forestry, its organization, and forest management,⁷ while the second article discussed the Latvian forest industry and forest trade.⁸

¹K. Werberg. Lāti metsad ja metsade valitsemine. *Eesti Mets.* 1927, nr. 9, lk. 210–214; K. Werberg. Lāti metsatööstus ja metsakaubandus. *Eesti Mets.* 1927, nr. 10, lk. 215–217.

²O. D[aniel]. Ekskursioon Lāti metsadesse 13–14 juulini 1927. *Eesti Mets.* 1927, nr. 9, lk. 196–197.

³O. D[aniel]. Ekskursioon Lāti metsadesse 13–14 juulini 1927, lk. 198–201.

⁴Eesti üleriiklik metsateenijate X juubel-kongress. *Eesti Mets.* 1929, nr. 10, lk. 228.

⁵E. Kohh. Austria metsandusest. *Eesti Mets.* 1936, nr. 12, lk. 412.

⁶O. D[aniel]. Ekskursioon Lāti metsadesse 13–14 juulini 1927. *Eesti Mets.* 1927, nr. 9, lk. 198.

⁷K. Werberg. Lāti metsad ja metsade valitsemine, lk. 210–214.

⁸K. Werberg. Lāti metsatööstus ja metsakaubandus, lk. 215–217.

K. Veermets continued to write about Latvian forestry and its problems during the following years,¹ especially after having studied Latvian forest management and the sawmill industry, which played an important part in Latvian foreign trade.² Latvian foresters came to visit Estonia in 1928.³ Latvian colleagues again came to Estonia in 1930. A delegation of 20 Latvian forestry specialists — five lecturers, a head forester of the training forest, three assistants and 11 students — visited Tartu and the university training and experimental forest. They participated in outings and heard presentations on Estonian forests, the university training forest and the forest industry of the country.⁴

As with other specialties, the contacts between Estonian and Latvian foresters lessened in the first half of the 1930s. Data is only available for a few visits of the lecturers of the University of Tartu to Latvia, e.g. Andres Mathiesen briefly visited Latvia in 1929, probably on his way to some other countries,⁵ and he also spent a week there in August 1932.⁶ He wrote: "First of all, I observed the work of the forest department and work organization in forest districts, improving my knowledge in forest management. I followed especially keenly the work of forest taxation and management, and I must point out that in Latvian state forests these works are carried out with much more precise methods than in ours, several aspects of which could be a model for our state forest management." The Latvian forest department had extensive experience in the work of forest protection. Mathiesen had a good opportunity to observe the work of an experimental forest station, and he visited its forest reserves near the Inčukalns (Hinzenberg) railway station as well as the Riga forest district. He considered the

¹K. Werberg. Lāti metsanduse hädadest. *Eesti Mets*. 1929, nr. 9, lk. 212–213; 1929, nr. 10, lk. 231.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1320, pp. 80, 86; K. Werberg. Lāti metsad ja nende valitsemine, lk. 210.

³B. T[uisikvere]. Lāti ekskursioon. *Eesti Mets*. 1928, nr. 9, lk. 200.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 4, item 90, p. 312; Lāti metsameeste ekskursioon Eestisse. *Eesti Mets*. 1930, nr. 12, lk. 312; V. Eiche. Tērbatas Universitātes mācību mežniecības audžu raksturs un apsaimniekošana. *Meža Dzīve*, 64 (1930), 2329–2332. lpp.

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 653, pp. 48–50, 53.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 624, p. 130; stock 2100, ser. 4, item 95, p. 340.

work done in the forestation of heather fields and securing areas of shifting sand especially noteworthy. He also visited Skrīveri (Römershof) park and forest to see the experimental areas for the acclimatization of foreign tree species introduced by Max v. Sivers before the World War. He found that much of the park area, which was heavily damaged during the war, was still preserved. With the permission of the director of the forest department, he acquired the seeds of different tree species to enrich the herbarium of the Forest Department at the University of Tartu. Numerous parks and avenues of the city of Riga were also of academic interest to A. Mathiesen, possibly inspiring the creation of new parks in Estonia. He also gained experience with the work of the forestry department of the University of Latvia, with the teaching of forestry and with the diploma theses written at the department. He spent two days at the training forest district of the University of Latvia near the Auce railway station. He was especially interested in the management of oak and spruce forests and other experiments in this field. Mathiesen also visited the Riga Botanical Garden and learned about the problems of creating a new garden.¹ A number of articles and new items on Latvian forestry and hunting appeared in Estonian professional literature before 1940, written by both Estonians and Latvians. The journal *Eesti Mets* sometimes referred to materials published in *Meža Dzīve*.² Mathiesen also published an article about attempts to grow foreign tree species in Estonian forests in Latvia.³ As a scholar of forestry, Mathiesen applied several new methods, the best known of which is the method of the centre of gravity,

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 624, p. 130.

²Kohalike elanike kütte ja ehitusmaterjaliga varustamine Lätis. P. Graudums ittekanne Balti metsateadlaste II kongressil Riias 10. aug. 1939. a. *Eesti Mets*. 1939, nr. 10, lk. 367–370; E. Paimre. Reformist Läti metsanduslikus kutseorganisatsioonis. *Eesti Mets*. 1940, nr. 5, lk. 193–195; A. Kūng. Läti ulukid ja lühike võrdlev ülevaade sealset jahiseadusest. *Eesti Mets*. 1938, nr. 7, lk. 268–269; Latvija Metsade Departemangu 1938/38. a. eelarve. Ajakirjast *Meža Dzīve* (Metsa Elu) nr. 4, 1938. a. *Eesti Mets*. 1938, nr. 7, lk. 258–260, and other articles. See bibliography: Ajakiri *Eesti Mets. Metsanduslikud ajakirjad Eestis*. Koost. T. Meikar. Tartu, 2001. Akadeemilise Metsaseltsi Toimetised. XV, lk. 5–97.

³Svešzemju koku sugu audzēšanas mēģinājumi Igaunijā. *Mežsaimniecības rakstu krājums* XV. Rīga, 1937; EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 624, p. 250.

which permitted the elimination of auxiliary tables in forest taxation. His method based on growth into height (the so-called Mathiesen's valuation method) was referred to in Professor Rūdolfs Markus's dissertation in Riga.¹

Contacts became livelier again in the second half of the 1930s, in connection with the excursion of Latvian foresters into Estonia in 1935.² When the Latvian Forester's Society celebrated its 15th anniversary in September 1936, the delegations of Estonia and Lithuania participated in the festivities, but there were no representatives of the University of Tartu among them. An article was published about the event. As a part of the festivities, the congress of Baltic foresters and forest researchers was held in Riga at the same time. The author of a review article about the event marked, with respect to the excursion organized for the participants that numerous similar features can be found in Estonian and Latvian forestry such as the types of forests, methods of cultivating forests and the use of forests. He said that Estonians found the excursion to be like a trip to their own forests.³ An idea of creating the union of Baltic Forest Researchers was voiced at the Riga congress.⁴ In November 1936 Mathiesen went to Riga for three days, planning to give two presentations, participate in the meeting of the forest society and study the documents concerning the management of state lands of the Baltic governments.⁵ In 1936 Mathiesen was elected honorary member of Latvian Forest Society.⁶

The joint activities of the foresters of the three countries were even more intensified by an excursion of Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian

¹A. Mathiesen. Die Schwerpunktmethod bei der Holzmassermittelung. Tartu, 1928 (manuscript); *Latvijas Mežu pētīšanas stacijas raksti*. V, 23., lpp. 192; EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 624, p. 261.

²E. Eslas. Lāti metsamehed külastasid Eestit. *Eesti Mets*. 1935, lk. 227; K. Kiršteins. Latvijas mežsaimniecība — Latvija metsandus. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1935, 1. nr., 48.–50. lpp.

³E. V[ester]. Muljeid Lāti metsateadlaste ja metsateenistujate juubelipidustustelt. *Eesti Mets*. 1936, nr. 10, lk. 345–348.

⁴V. Mutt. Mõnda Balti metsateadlaste I kongressilt ja ekskursioonilt Leedus 7–10. juulini 1938. a. *Eesti Mets*. 1938, nr. 8, lk. 296.

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 624, p. 173; stock 2100, ser. 4, item 101, p. 310.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 624, p. 244.

foresters in Estonia in July 1937, with 25 participants from Latvia and 15 from Lithuania. At a meeting held in Tallinn the representatives of each country gave presentations about forestry and forest management in their countries. Estonian Minister of Agriculture Nikolai Talts, who was also present at the event, was still of the opinion that the co-operation between the foresters was progressing too slowly, since an active program was launched only in 1936, and the Lithuanian colleagues were probably for the first time visiting Estonia. The 75 participants of the excursion visited forests in the area between Lake Peipsi and Tartu, near Kambja, Kastre-Peravalla and Järvselja.¹ Everybody was fascinated by a pine tree that had started probably growing in 1515, somewhat a witness of Estonian history.² O. Daniel visited Latvian forests in the summer of 1937; he was mostly interested in the forestation of sand dunes in the vicinity of the city of Riga.³ In 1937, a study trip to Latvia was organized for the students of forestry,⁴ where they visited local schools of forestry and learned about the forestation of sand dunes and shifting sand areas in Latvia.⁵ Andris Jānis Teikmanis gave a presentation *Die Zukunft der Forstwirtschaft der Baltischen Staaten* at the University of Tartu in December 1937.⁶

The first congress of Baltic forest researchers was held in Kaunas in July 1938. There were 21 Estonian delegates present at the congress, among them professors O. Daniel and A. Mathiesen. The participants noted again that the quite similar geographical location of the Baltic countries, the similar influence of the Baltic Sea and similar historical conditions have created similar types of forests in these countries, where similar management methods can be used. A. Mathiesen emphasized the fact that the relatively late beginning of co-operation was

¹V. Ritslaid. Eesti-Läti-Leedu metsateadlaste ekskursioon Eestis. *Eesti Mets.* 1937, nr. 7, lk. 234–237; nr. 8/9, lk. 273–275.

²V. Ritslaid. Eesti-Läti-Leedu metsateadlaste ekskursioon Eestis, lk. 236.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 88, p. 222.

⁴Metsateaduse üliõpilaste õppereis Lätti. *Üliõpilasteht.* 1937, nr. 7, lk. 178–180.

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 4, item 101, p. 310.

⁶*Latvijas Universitāte divdesmit gados. 1919–1939. II daļa.* Rīga, 1939, lpp. 266.

caused by the lack of information about each other's work and the lack of a commonly understood language. Therefore, meetings and corresponding with each other are of essential importance. The importance of economic co-operation was also stressed and the participants of the congress expressed the hope that the timber of the world-famous Baltic (Riga) pine tree will be taken to the world market with a common effort. Longer articles were published about the excursion that followed the congress.¹ On his way back from the congress, Mathiesen made a stop in Latvia, where he studied the work of managing city forests in Riga. He also observed the park management in Riga, especially the work done at forest cemeteries, which was important for him in growing decorative plants and managing the nursery of the training and experimental forest district. He visited nurseries in Bukulti. He was also interested in the forestation of sand dunes and the growth of trees on sand dunes, in the work of an open-air museum in a forest near Bukulti and in the results of lopping off tree branches in the forests of the city of Riga. On his way back, Mathiesen once again visited parks of the city of Riga.²

The managers of Latvian forestry came to Tallinn in 1939 and also visited the Kastre-Peravalla training forest centre of the University of Tartu.³ The war put a halt to the possibilities of further co-operation.

Medicine and pharmacy, veterinary medicine

Medicine

Contacts in the early 1920s. In the 19th century the physicians of Tartu maintained contacts mostly with Germany, then in the 1920s, but especially in the 1930s, the relations gathered scope, widening all over Europe. All three Baltic countries were greatly interested in mu-

¹V. Mutt. Mõnda Balti metsateadlaste I kongressilt ja ekskursioonilt Leedus 7–10. juulini 1938. a. *Eesti Mets.* 1938, nr. 8, lk. 297–300; nr. 9, lk. 330–335; *Bericht über die 1. Konferenz des Verbandes der Forstwirte der Baltischen Staaten im Juli 1938 in Kaunas.* Kaunas, 1939.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 624, p. 196.

³Läti metsanduse juhid Tartus. *Postimees.* 1939, 8.08 (nr. 210), lk. 9.

tual co-operation in many fields of science and culture, as well as in closer contacts with other countries. The development of medicine and medical care in the Baltic countries was largely based on the activities of the scholars of the University of Tartu, the University of Latvia (founded in 1919) and the University of Kaunas (founded in 1922). Since it is very difficult to separate academic relations and co-operation between physicians in medical care, these issues are examined here in a wider perspective.

The First World War had come to an end and the countries that had been engaged in it were exhausted of hostilities; the revolution had won in Russia and the Civil War had begun. In such conditions, the Estonian state had been born (1918), the Head Office of Health Care had been established at the Ministry of Internal Affairs (1918), and the University of Tartu had been opened as a national university (1919). The Faculty of Medicine was its largest and most complex institution, needing financing, which was hard to find at that time. The work of the university was also hindered by the fact that a large part of the university properties had been evacuated to Russia. The First Congress of Estonian Physicians was organised quite early, in 1921. The congress was unique in the Baltic countries and did much to promote international contacts. Professor Siegfried Loewe wrote a longer overview of the congress in a German medical newspaper *Klinische Wochenschrift*.¹ Over the lectern of the congress had been hung the flags of Estonia and its neighbouring countries, as well as those of France, Great Britain, the USA and Germany. The Latvian delegation was the largest guest delegation.² Many presentations given at the congress touched upon the co-operation of the Baltic states. Dr. Juozas Bagdonas (Bagdonavičius) from Kaunas, the Director of Lithuanian Head Office of Health Care, said in his speech: "The need for contacts and consolidation between the physicians from the neighbouring young states of Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, with the aim of achieving more successful scientific work, has already arose and is

¹S. Loewe. Brief aus Dorpat. Bericht über den I Estnischen Ärztekongress (I Eesti Arstide Kongress) zu Dorpat. *Klinische Wochenschrift*. 1922, 25.03 (Nr. 13), S. 660–663.

²I Eesti Arstide Kongress. *Eesti Arst*. 1922, nr. 2, lk. 65, 68.

waiting to be realised. The initiative of the first congress of Estonian physicians, our long-time colleagues, is even more important to Lithuanian physicians, as the scientific advantage lies on the side of Estonian physicians. There are old universities in Finland and Estonia (for example, Dorpat University in Tartu educated many Lithuanian physicians), whereas Lithuanians have just begun the organisation of their own universities. Lithuania needs physicians and scientists. Help from neighbouring Baltic states is most welcome. That is why the initiative of Estonian physicians is so important and valuable to us.”¹ The editor of a Lithuanian journal *Medicina* Juozas Žemgulyš, who had studied in Tartu, visited Tartu University in the summer of 1921 to familiarise himself with the organisational work at the university and shared his impressions with the readers of the journal.² The laying of foundations for national education was, no doubt, a task of great importance, but the countries were facing more important challenges in the realm of public health. Docent Kārlis Barons from the University of Latvia said at the same congress: “The war has brought a number of diseases dangerous to the population. Physicians have to deal with practical issues on the basis of scientific results, the main one being the prevention of an epidemic in the country.”³ The primary goal was, naturally, to protect one’s own country from epidemics, but Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland were also expected to check epidemics threatening Western Europe from their point of origin in Russia; they had, in effect, to act as a kind of sanitary buffer zone.⁴ A number of meetings and conferences were called during a short time to solve these urgent problems. At a Baltic conference of health care held in Riga on February 24–26, 1922, a representative of the League of Nations announced the plan to convene a conference on this subject in Warsaw. Already 24 countries were involved in the international conference on health care held in Warsaw in March 1922. The main subject of the conference was the prevention of epidemics

¹I Eesti Arstide Kongress. *Eesti Arst*. 1922, nr. 4, lk. 197.

²Kirjandusest. *Eesti Arst*. 1922, nr. 4, lk. 220.

³I Eesti Arstide Kongress Tartus 2.–4. det. 1921. a. *Eesti Arst*. 1922, nr. 4, lk. 197.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 4, item 338, pp. 29–30.

originating in Russia, which had already begun to reach Eastern Europe. Professor Aleksander Rammul was the Estonian representative at the conference.¹ Initiated by these dangers, a week-long health care conference of the Baltic countries, Poland and the Soviet Russia was held in Tartu in June 1922, where additions were made to the Paris health care convention, mostly concerning different strains of typhoid fever and smallpox.²

The First Congress of Estonian Physicians discussed also the furthering of the co-operation between the physicians of the Baltic countries and Finland; the issue was mentioned in the resolution of the congress.³ Among the most important Estonian initiatives was the proposal made by Professor Ludvig Puusepp, suggesting that the conferences of the Baltic and Finnish physicians were regularly held in the future. The proposal was supported by representatives of several participating countries,⁴ but the first Finnish-Baltic Day of Physicians was held in Helsinki only in 1938 (see below).⁵

Problems of co-operation were an issue also at the First Congress of Latvian Physicians and Dentists in Riga in 1925. Tartu University was represented at the congress by Professors Ernst Blessig, L. Puusepp and Siegfried Talvik, prosecutor Albert Valdes and an assistant of the Department of Forensic Medicine Hans Madissoon.⁶ These meetings laid the foundation for the Baltic co-operation in medicine, which evolved over the years, often crossing national borders, and which de-

¹Rahvusvaheline tervishoiu-konverents Varssavis. *Eesti Arst*. 1922, nr. 4, lk. 222; A. Möttus. Varssavi rahvusvahelise sanitaar-konverentsi tööst. *Eesti Arst*. 1922, nr. 5/6, lk. 285–289; Kirjanduse tutvustus. *Eesti Arst*. 1926, nr. 4, lk. 150–151.

²S. T[alvik]. Sanitaar-konverents Tartus. *Eesti Arst*. 1922, nr. 8/9, lk. 434.

³S. Lind. 1920–1934. a. peetud Eesti Arstidepäeva ja -kongresside resolutsioonide ja sooviavalduste teostamisest. *Sugemeid Eesti arstiteaduse ajaloole* ("Eesti organiseeritud arstkond 1912–1917" täiendustega). Tartu, 1940, lk. 355.

⁴I Eesti Arstide Kongress Tartus 2.–4. dets. 1921. a., lk. 196–197.

⁵S. Lind. Soome-Balti arstide päev. *Eesti Arst*. 1938, nr. 9, lk. 717–721.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1298, p. 76; EAA, stock 2100, ser. 4, item 81, pp. 81, 108; A. Valdes. Muljeid I Latviija arstide ja hambaarstide kongressist ja Kemeris (Kemmeri) ravilast. Välismaa kiri. *Eesti Arst*. 1925, nr. 10, lk. 306–310; Kroonika. *Eesti Arst*. 1925, nr. 8, lk. 259.

veloped further in the framework of international co-operation, under the Health Organisation of the League of Nations.¹

Fighting diseases and methods of treatment. During the first post-war years, the joint work was mainly concerned with the prevention of epidemics. The spread of leprosy had been considerably checked in many countries, including Estonia and Latvia, but Professor Talvik was still not satisfied with the situation in Estonia.² Dermatovenerologist Jānis Brants, a private docent at the University of Latvia, visited his Estonian colleagues under the supervision of Prof. Paldrock in 1932.³ During the later years in the second half of the 1930s, co-operation focussed on the study of different diseases and the improving of their treatment (tuberculosis, leprosy, rheumatism, venereal diseases, and cancer), and on the problems of eugenics. Usually, several problems were simultaneously under discussion. For example, during the Baltic Week held in Latvia on June 16–19, 1938, a meeting of the health section was organised by Society of Health Promotion, to discuss the problems of the treatment of tuberculosis and cancer and the issues of eugenics.⁴ In the autumn of 1938, the general co-ordinator of the campaign against tuberculosis in Latvia, N. Vētra, visited Estonia to learn about the work of his Estonian colleagues and to visit sanatoria.⁵ His aim was to learn about different methods of treatment. Visits to hospitals were also included into the programmes of conferences and congresses. When a clinic or hospital had been reorgan-

¹Rahvusvaheline koostöö tervishoiu alal. *Eesti Arst*. 1924, nr. 7/8, lk. 184–186; E. Lasberg. Rahvasteliidu tervishoiu organisatsioonist. *Eesti Arst*. 1926, nr. 6, lk. 219–220.

²S. Talvik. III rahvusvaheline teadusline lepra-konverents Strassbourg'is 28–31 juulil 1923 a. *Eesti Arst*. 1923, nr. 11/12, lk. 353–354.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 4, item 95, p. 159v.

⁴The meeting was preliminarily discussed at the meeting of the representatives of Tartu, Latvian and Kaunas Universities in Tartu on November 25, 1936 (*Posimees*. 1936, 26.11 (nr. 320), lk. 5); H. Schlau. Ausbau der Tuberkulosebekämpfung, speziell der Tuberkulos-Fürsorge in Lettland. *Verh. XVI Tag d. E.D.Ä.G. Reval*. [o. J.], S. 4; Tuberkuloosi vastu võitlemise sihtasutuse koosolek 11. detsembril 1938. *Eesti Arst*. 1939, nr. 9, lk. 623.

⁵Tuberkuloosi vastu võitlemise sihtasutuse juhatuse tegevuse aruanne 1938. a. *Eesti Arst*. 1939, nr. 9, lk. 623.

ised in some country, colleagues from other countries hastened to visit them. Work was organised very differently in Tartu and Riga. In Tartu, clinics belonged to the university, and offered also regional and less qualified medical aid. In Riga, the II City Hospital fulfilled the role of the university clinic. When major reorganisations and a considerable enlargement of the clinic were planned in Riga in 1936, the model and inspiration were sought from Tartu.¹ The visitors found it necessary to stress that the clinics of the University of Tartu had been established much earlier and they had had more experience in uniting teaching and therapy.²

To improve professional knowledge and skills it was considered important to offer colleagues from other countries assistantships at the clinics; the issue was under discussion at a meeting of the representatives of the Universities of Tartu, Latvia and Kaunas in Tartu in November 1936.³ There are no data about Latvians working at the clinics of the University of Tartu, but information exists about some voluntary assistants from Lithuania.⁴ An assistant of the II Surgery Clinic of Tartu University Ilmar Vooremaa worked for a short period with Professor Pauls Stradiņš and assistant Raimunds Pavasars at the II Riga City Hospital, becoming familiar with the latest methods in orthopaedics.⁵

Patients from Latvia have had surgery at the Tartu University Neurology Clinic.⁶ Ophthalmologists most probably also had patients from other Baltic countries.⁷ In 1933, Docent Ernst Saareste operated on a patient from Latvia who had been diagnosed with throat cancer by a Riga physician. Soon he gave a talk about this case and the course

¹Tuberkuloosi vastu võitlemise sihtasutuse juhatusetegevusaruanne 1938. a., lk. 623.

²Pandi alused Balti arstide koostööle. *Postimees*. 1936, 26.11 (nr. 320), lk. 5.

³Pandi alused Balti arstide koostööle, lk. 5.

⁴Pandi alused Balti arstide koostööle, lk. 5.

⁵Kroonika. *Eesti Arst*. 1933, nr. 4, lk. 214.

⁶J. Rives. Tartu Ülikooli närvikliinik 1.I.1921.–1.I.1931. *Eesti Arst*. 1931, nr. 2, lk. 101; V. Üprus. Prof. Dr. med. Ludvig Puusepp (3.XII.1875–19.X.1942). *Eesti Arst*. 1943, nr. 1, lk. 16.

⁷J. Uudelt. Üldbalti oftalmoloogide päevadest (Ü.B.O.P.). *Eesti Arst*. 1939, nr. 2, lk. 154.

of surgery at a meeting of the Tartu Estonian Physicians' Society.¹ A private docent of the University of Tartu Reinhold Kleitsmann visited the Gynaecology Clinic of the University of Latvia in summer 1932; he was given a promise that those patients from Estonia, who needed radiation treatment, would be taken to the Riga clinic under "favourable conditions".²

Physicians' congresses. It has already been mentioned that physicians participated in the local physicians' congresses of the Baltic states. For example, at the First Congress of Estonian Physicians, eight papers (from the total of 94) had been submitted by the representatives of Latvia, although three of them were not delivered.³ Papers were given by several lecturers of the University of Latvia: Roman Adelheim — "Über die nichteitzige Encephalitis"⁴, Jānis Jankovskis — "Über totale Oesophagusplastik"⁵ and Jēkabs Alksnis — "Über Kriegverletzungen des peripheren Nervensystems".⁶ Vladimirs Mintz, who did not yet work at the University of Latvia at that time, gave two papers at the congress ("Erfahrungen über Chirurgie der Hinterhauptsgruben" and "Zur Verhütung des Brustkrebs").⁷ The "great old man" of the history of medicine Isidor Brennsohn from Riga had also come to Tartu; his paper was titled "Skizzen aus dem Medizinal-Leben Estlands"⁸. The First Congress of Estonian Physicians was of crucial importance in uniting the physicians of the Baltic countries, the mutual attendance at each other's

¹Tartu Eesti Arstide Seltsi teaduslikud koosolekud 1933, 140. koosolek 22. II. 33. *Eesti Arst.* 1935, nr. 5, lk. 417.

²R. Kleitsman[n]. Berliini, Pariisi ja Riia naistekliinikutest, lk. 614.

³Kirjandusest. *Eesti Arst.* 1922, nr. 2, lk. 122.

⁴R. Adelheim. Über die nichteitzige Encephalitis. *Eesti Arst.* 1922, nr. 8/9, lk. 392–397.

⁵J. Jankowski. Über totale Oesophagusplastik. *Eesti Arst.* 1922, nr. 5/6, lk. 246–247.

⁶J. Alksnis. Über Kriegverletzungen des peripheren Nervensystems. *Eesti Arst.* 1922, nr. 8/9, lk. 359–370.

⁷V. Mintz. Erfahrungen über Chirurgie der Hinterhauptsgruben. *Eesti Arst.* 1922, nr. 5/6, lk. 245–246; V. Mintz. Zur Verhütung des Brustkrebs. *Eesti Arst.* 1922, nr. 5/6, lk. 255–258.

⁸I. Brennsohn. Skizzen aus dem Medizinal-Leben Estlands. *Eesti Arst.* 1922, nr. 4, lk. 204–208.

events was never so large later on. The Second Day of Estonian Physicians, held in 1923, carried a resolution that an international physicians' congress would be organised in 1925. A relevant committee was formed only in 1928, but for several reasons, the congress was not held.¹ It was decided to hold both the 10th Day of Estonian Physicians and the Second Congress of Estonian Physicians together with the celebration of the 300th Anniversary of the University of Tartu in 1932.² The number of foreign guests at this event was very small: among 155 participants there were only three foreign guests — the representatives of medical faculties of the Universities of Helsinki, Kaunas and Riga.³ We should bear in mind that in 1932 these countries had still not overcome the world economic crisis and travel was expensive. Intense work was done at the section of dermatology and leprosy of the Second Congress of Estonian Physicians, led by Professor Aleksander Paldrock. One vice chair of the section, a private docent of the University of Latvia Jānis Brants, gave a paper titled "Vergleichende serologische Untersuchungen bei Lepra".⁴ It was not always possible to attend professional events of the neighbouring countries, but overviews of these events were published in professional journals; for example, no Estonian representatives participated in the Third Congress of Latvian Physicians in Riga on September 9–11, 1932.⁵

The meetings of Estonian physicians were held yearly, in different towns, under the title of the Days of Physicians. Occasionally, colleagues from Latvia attended these meetings. The VIIIth Day of Esto-

¹H. Normann. Kronoloogiat ja statistikat I–XV Eesti Arstidepäeva ning I ja II Eesti Arstide Kongressi kohta 1920–1937. *Sugemeid Eesti arstiteaduse ajaloole (Eesti organiseeritud arstkond 1912–1917 täiendustega)*. Tartu, 1940, lk. 325–326; S. Lind. 1920.–1934. a. peetud Eesti Arstidepäevade ja -kongresside resolutsioonide ja sooviavalduste teostumisest, lk. 355.

²H. Normann. Kronoloogiat ja statistikat I–XV Eesti Arstidepäeva ning I ja II Eesti Arstide Kongressi kohta 1920–1937, lk. 324–325.

³H. Normann. Kronoloogiat ja statistikat I–XV Eesti Arstidepäeva ning I ja II Eesti Arstide Kongressi kohta 1920–1937, lk. 348–349.

⁴H. Normann. Kronoloogiat ja statistikat I–XV Eesti Arstidepäeva ning I ja II Eesti Arstide Kongressi kohta 1920–1937, lk. 330.

⁵Välismailt. *Eesti Arst*. 1932, nr. 9, lk. 510.

nian Physicians was held in Pärnu in 1928, focussing on tuberculosis, but a number of presentations were devoted to the 85th anniversary of the Department of Forensic Medicine at Tartu University. At the meeting, Siegfried Talvik expressed his regret that the guests from the Riga Institute of Forensic Medicine had had to cancel their visit to Estonia. Some Latvians still participated in the congress — Mīkēlis Veidemanis (Weidemann) from Riga gave a paper “Die Verteilung der Blutgruppen in Lettland” and an assistant of the Institute of Forensic Medicine Jānis Kocers from Riga gave a paper titled “Über die Erfolge bei der ambulatorischen Behandlung der Trinker in Lettland”.¹ A new impulse to the co-operation of Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian and Finnish physicians was given by the celebration of the jubilee of the organisation of Estonian and Latvian physicians in 1937. The festivities for the 25th anniversary of the first Estonian society of physicians — the Northern-Baltic Physicians’ Society — were attended by the representatives of the Latvian Physicians’ Society Professor P. Stradiņš and docent Aleksandrs Bieziņš.² P. Stradiņš, who gave an address at the festive meeting, emphasised also the necessity of co-operation between the physicians of the Baltic countries.³ A few months later, the 35th anniversary of the Latvian Physicians’ Society was celebrated in Riga. The event was attended by the representatives of the Union of the Estonian Physicians’ Societies Professor of paediatrics Aadu Lüüs and Professor of forensic medicine Gerhard Rooks. The latter gave an address in Latvian at the festive meeting and A. Lüüs gave a speech at the festive dinner. Recollecting the event in the later years, A. Lüüs has said: “The essence of my words was the idea that we have to create “Entente Cordiale Fenno-Baltique”, which

¹M. Weidemann. Die Verteilung der Blutgruppen in Lettland. J. Kocers. Über die Erfolge bei der ambulatorischen Behandlung der Trinker in Lettland. *Eesti Arst*. 1938, Lisa 2, lk. 115–119.

²E. A. Liidu juhatuse üldaruanne I.IV–I.IV 1938. *Eesti Arst*. 1938, nr. 7, lk. 543; H. Normann. Eesti organiseeritud arstkonna tegevuse 25. aastapäeva tähistuspidustus. *Eesti Arst*. 1938, nr. 2, lk. 136.

³H. Normann. Eesti organiseeritud arstkonna tegevuse 25. aastapäeva tähistuspidustus. *Eesti Arst*. 1938, nr. 2, lk. 148.

was received with loud applause".¹ The Finns have also stressed the fact that it was just at these jubilees when the close co-operation between Finnish and Baltic physicians was finally decided upon.²

The First Finnish-Baltic Day of Physicians was organised in Helsinki on August 26–27, 1938.³ This event had a prologue of its own. In the autumn of 1937 it was decided to hold the First Congress of Baltic Physicians in Riga. A committee was set up, consisting of Estonians Professor V. Vadi and Dr. R. Sinka and Latvians Professors J. Alksnis and P. Stradiņš.⁴ At the 35th anniversary of the Latvian Physicians' Society (1937), Latvians asked to transfer the organisation of the event to Finns.⁵ Interest in the Helsinki Day was great,⁶ therefore, it was necessary to limit the circle of participants. Those organisations of physicians of the Baltic countries, where the members were not of the main nationality of the country, had to be left out. What had begun as a simple symposium for physicians, grew into a veritable Finnish-Baltic congress.⁷ Making a speech at the congress, Professor Arvo Ylppö attempted to explain figuratively the relations of Finland with the Baltic countries. He said that due to its location, Finland was like a spine of an open book. So far, everybody had glanced only at the right-hand pages — toward the Scandinavian countries, but now the eyes were turned also to the left — toward the Baltic countries.⁸ Among the 148 participants there were 20 guests from Estonia,

¹A. Lüüs. *Tartus ja Rootsisis. Eluradadel nähtut, kuuldut, meelespeetut*. Stockholm, 1959, lk. 71–72.

²E. Leikola. I Fenno-Baltische Ärztetagung. *Duodecim*. 1938, n:o 10, s. 911.

³Some sources give the year of 1931, but this is probably a misunderstanding or a printing error (A. Lüüs. Soome-Balti Arstidepäeva küsimus. *Eesti Arst*. 1938, nr. 8, lk. 614); S. Lind. I Soome-Balti arstidepäev. *Eesti Arst*. 1938, nr. 9, lk. 717–721.

⁴The issue was under discussion at the meeting of the representatives of Tartu, Latvian and Kaunas Universities in Tartu on November 25, 1936 (*Postimees*. 1936, 26.11 (nr. 320), lk. 5).

⁵A. Lüüs. Soome-Balti Arstidepäeva küsimus. *Eesti Arst*. 1938, nr. 8, lk. 614; about the representatives of the Baltic countries, see E. Leikola. I Fenno-Baltische Ärztetagung, s. 911.

⁶The event has also been called a congress in official documents (E. Leikola. I Fenno-Baltische Ärztetagung, s. 914).

⁷E. Leikola. I Fenno-Baltische Ärztetagung, s. 911–912, 914.

⁸E. Leikola. I Fenno-Baltische Ärztetagung, s. 914.

41 from Latvia and 5 from Lithuania; each Baltic country was represented with three papers, and according to the mutual agreement, the working language of the event was German. Work sessions were followed by visits to hospitals in Helsinki, Hämeenlinna and Tampere. A decision was made to hold the next joint physicians' day in Estonia in 1941 and the third one a year later in Riga, but both of these were cancelled because of the war.¹

Relations between the Baltic ophthalmologists are of importance for their close nature, too. The leading figure in establishing these relations was a Professor of the University of Tartu, E. Blessig.² Three lecturers of ophthalmology of the University of Latvia had studied in Tartu (Ernst Jansons, Jānis Ruberts and Gustav Reinhard), as well as the teacher of ophthalmologists at the University of Kaunas Professor Petras Avižonis. This fact formed a good basis for joint activities. During the period under discussion, the ophthalmologists of the Baltic countries met at five two-day events. The First Day of Ophthalmology of the Baltic countries was held in Riga in 1928, as a section of ophthalmology during the Second Congress of Latvian Physicians.³ The organisational principles of the days of ophthalmologists were worked out at these sessions.⁴ The second meeting of ophthalmol-

¹S. Lind. I Soome-Balti arstidepäev. *Eesti Arst.* 1938, nr. 9, lk. 717–721; see also A. Lüüs. Soome-Balti Arstidepäeva küsimus. *Eesti Arst.* 1938, nr. 8, lk. 614; E. Leikola. I Fenno-Baltische Ärztetagung, s. 914–917.

²The activities of E. Blessig in developing the co-operation between the ophthalmologists of the Baltic countries are well worth merit. In 1922 he compiled *Ophthalmologische Bibliographie Russlands 1870–1920*. Tartu, 1922. Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis (Dorpatensis). Series A, III, IV; *Nachtrag*. Tartu, 1922. Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis (Dorpatensis). A VII. A number of years later he also edited *Index ophthalmologiae balticus*. Tartu, 1934. Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis (Dorpatensis). Series A, vol. XXVI.

³Üld-Balti oftalmoloogidepäev (Ü.B.O.P.) Tartus 24. ja 25. mail 1930. *Eesti Arst.* 1930, nr. 3, lk. 124–125; E. Blessig. Antrag betreffend Gründung einer all-baltischen ophthalmologen Vereinigung. *Latvijas Ārstu Žurnāls*. 1929, 5./6. nr., 387.–388. lpp.

⁴Üld-Balti oftalmoloogidepäeva esialgsed juhtnöörid. *Eesti Arst.* 1930, nr. 3, lk. 125.

ogists was held in Tartu in 1930.¹ The Third Day of Baltic Ophthalmologists was organised in Kaunas on May 27–28, 1932.² The representative of the University of Tartu at the Fourth Day of Baltic Ophthalmologists in Riga in June 1934 was Jaan Uudelt.³ The fifth day was held in Tartu; among the 36 participants there were 14 ophthalmologists from Estonia, six from Lithuania, 15 from Latvia, and one from Finland.⁴ J. Uudelt wrote a short overview of all the days of ophthalmologists; he noted that the presenters mostly used German or Russian, although at the beginning it had been planned to use also local national languages. The minutes of the days were published in the medical journals of each participating country, and in addition to that, in a professional journal of wider international circulation *Klinische Monatsblatt für Augenheilkunde*. Uudelt summarised in his overview: “Our meetings of eye specialists have always been dear to us, not only for their scientific interest, but maybe even more for the personal contacts, acquaintanceships and friendships with foreign colleagues, with whom we may have already had indirect contacts through our common patients”.⁵

Other scientific conferences. The First Baltic Conference on Child Welfare was held in Riga on February 26–29, 1928, participated also by representatives from Estonia.⁶ Less is known about a medical conference held in Riga in September 1930, which was generally devoted

¹Üldine Balti riikide (Eesti, Läti ja Leedu) oftalmoloogidepäev Tartus 24. ja 25. mail 1930 ülikooli silmakliiniku auditooriumis. *Eesti Arst*. 1930, nr. 11, lk. 438–450.

²III balti riikide (Eesti, Läti ja Leedu) oftalmoloogidepäev 27. ja 28. mail Kaunas (ülikooli silmakliiniku kuuldesaalis). *Eesti Arst*. 1933, nr. 5, lk. 248–262; Dots. Dr. J. Uudelt sõidab Balti riikide oftalmoloogide päevale Kaunasesse. *Postimees*. 1932, 20.05 (nr. 115), lk. 6.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1282, pp. 115–116.

⁴Balti silmaarstide päev algas Tartus. *Postimees*. 1938, 1.09 (nr. 236), lk. 7; V üldbalti oftalmoloogide päev. *Eesti Arst*. 1939, nr. 2, lk. 161–174, 228–235.

⁵J. Uudelt. Üldbalti oftalmoloogide päevadest (Ü.B.O.P.). *Eesti Arst*. 1939, nr. 2, lk. 154; E. Blessig. Antrag betreffend Gründung einer allbaltischen ophtalmologen Vereinigung. *Latvijas Ārstu Žurnāls*. 1929, 5./6. nr., 387.–388. lpp.

⁶Kroonika. *Eesti Arst*. 1928, nr. 2, lk. 78.

on medical training at the universities.¹ This event, organised on the initiative of a Professor of the University of Latvia Mārtiņš Zīle, was classified by the organiser as a medical synthesis. It brought together pedagogical aims — to create a good system of teaching — as well as philosophical discussions over such subjects as the meaning of life, the unity of the soul and the body, etc. The conference was attended mostly by Latvians and Germans. A former private docent of the University of Tartu Eber Landau,² who was the professor of histology and embryology at the University of Kaunas at that time, was among the presenters at the conference. Estonia was represented by Professors of the University of Tartu Harry Kull and Ernst Masing. In the context of the time it was a quite a comprehensive event.³ Much criticism was expressed concerning morphological disciplines, because they were not sufficiently connected with the training of physicians, and the conflict between the static state of anatomy and the dynamic state of physiology was stressed. M. Zīle had published a number of philosophical works in the 1930s,⁴ his approach to the problems of medicine was philosophical and he stressed the unity of the body and the soul. He used a rather complicated terminology of his own, his views were ill fitted in the context of academic philosophy and he was much criticised by professional philosophers.⁵

¹*Verhandlungen der ersten Konferenz zur Förderung medizinischer Synthese.* Unter Mitw. von hrsg. von M. Sihle. Riga, 1931.

²E. Landau. К критике современного анатомического преподавания (the title of the paper as reported by a newspaper *Сегодня* (1930, 16.09 (№ 256), с. 8)).

³*Сегодня*. 1930, 16.09 (№ 256), с. 8; 1930, 17.09 (№ 257), с. 8; 1930, 18.09 (№ 258), с. 5.

⁴M. Sihle. *Über das Weltbild des Arztes und den Sinn der Krankheit: ein Appell zur Lebenssynthese.* Wien [u. a.], 1934; M. Sihle. *Das Urphaenomen des Lebens. Seine naturwissenschaftliche, aerztliche und weltanschauliche Geltung.* Wien, Leipzig, Bern, 1935. M. Sihle. *Was ist Seele?: eine ärztlich-synthetische Studie zum Urphaenomen des Lebens.* Wien, Leipzig, Bern, 1937; see also *Kongress für synthetische Lebensforschung. Verhandlungsbericht d. Aussprache zwischen Ärzten, Biologen, Psychologen u. Philosophen in Marienbad vom 16. bis 18. Sept. 1936.* Hrsg. von M. Sihle, E. Utitz. Prag, 1937.

⁵From a private talk with Māris Baltiņš on January 27, 2004 in Riga.

Exhibitions, separate papers and lectures. When the co-operation of the physicians of the Baltic countries was under discussion in Tartu on November 25, 1936, the delivering of papers and lectures was considered an important area of work.¹ The actual number of such papers was not large, it is possible that the data found in archives, bibliographies and the press reflects only a part of all activities. Professor Ludvig Puusepp delivered lectures in Riga several times, in April 1923 on "spirit and body" and in January 1925 on the "human brain" to a full audience.² Also the next years would find Puusepp in Riga, his popular lectures being dedicated to the reactivity of nervous system, depending on favourable and unfavourable influence.³ Puusepp's works have been reviewed and referred to in Latvian professional publications.⁴ Karl Schlossmann visited Riga in September 1935 on the

¹Pandi alused Balti arstide koostööle. *Postimees*. 1936, 26.11 (nr. 320), lk. 5.

²Prof. Puusepp Lātis. *Postimees*. 1925, 22.01 (nr. 21), lk. 3; Dvēsele un miesa. Prof. Dr. med. L. M. Puusepa lekcija. *Jaunākās Ziņas*. 1923, 30. apr (92. nr.).

³L. M. Puuseps. Smadzenes un viņu pareizās darbības nosacījumi. *Jaunā Balss*. 1925, 3./4. nr., 11.–14. lpp.; L. M. Puuseps. Galvas smadzeņu psihiskā darbība. *Jaunā Balss*. 1925, 5./6. nr., 11.–13. lpp.; 7./8. nr., 11.–13. lpp.; Iedvesme un hipnoze personīgā un sabiedriskā dzīvē. Pēc prof. Dr. med. L. Puusepa lekcijām. *Balss*. 1925, 20., 22., 26. marts (64., 66., 69. nr.); Profesora L. Puusepa priekšlasījumi. Neirastēnija un histērija personiskā un sabiedriskā dzīvē. *Latvijas Vēstnesis*. 1925, 11. marts (56. nr.); L. M. Puuseps. Veselas un slimas smadzenes. "*Jaunās Balss*" *Tautas kalendārs* 1926. gadam. Rīga, 1925, 126.–141. lpp.; L. M. Puuseps. Iedvesme un hipnoze. "*Jaunās Balss*" *Tautas kalendārs* 1926. gadam. Rīga, 1925, 142.–157. lpp.; L. M. Puuseps. Neirastēnija. "*Jaunās Balss*" *Tautas kalendārs* 1926. gadam. Rīga, 1925, 158.–167. lpp.; L. M. Puuseps. Veselas un slimas smadzenes. "*Jaunās Balss*" *ilustrētā bibliotēka. Rakstu krājums*. 2. Rīga, 1927, 126.–141. lpp.; L. M. Puuseps. Iedvesme un hipnoze. *Ibidem*, 142.–157. lpp.; L. M. Puuseps. Neirastēnija. *Ibidem*, 158.–167. lpp.; L. Puuseps. Kas un kā bojā mūsu nervus. *Kurzemes Vārds*. 1926, 4., 9., 11. apr. (75., 77., 79. nr.); Kas sabojā mūsu nervus? Alkohols, kokaīns un morfijs kā nervu giftis. Pēc prof. Dr. med. L. Puusepa lekcijas. "*Jaunās Balss*" *Tautas kalendārs* 1927. gadam. Rīga, 1926, 97.–111. lpp.; Dzimumu jautājums (pēc prof. Dr. Puusepa lekcijām). "*Jaunās Balss*" *Tautas kalendārs* 1927. gadam. Rīga, 1926, 134.–146. lpp.; J. Nīmanis. No kā atkarīga bērnu veselība un garīgā attīstība. *Draudžu Dzīve*. 1933, 6./7. nr., 150.–152. lpp.

⁴L. Puuseps. Kamdēļ bērni izdara pašnāvību. *Pēdējā Brīdī*. 1927, 18. aug. (136. nr.); E. Zušmane. Par kādu siringomielijas gadījumu. *Latvijas Ārstu Žurnāls*. 1932, 4. nr., 207.–212. lpp.

invitation of the Latvian Physicians' Society and delivered a paper.¹ Professor M. Zīle (Sihle) from Riga gave a paper "Über einige Grundprobleme der medizinisch-Synthese" in Tartu in November 1933. The paper was followed by a lively discussion, participated by the professors of different fields of the University of Tartu.² Professor of the University of Latvia J. Alksnis visited Tartu in November 1936 and gave a paper "Leben, Seele und Mutter im Volksglauben, besonders der baltischen Völker, vom biologischen Standpunkt".³ Doctor of chemistry Fr. Kunau from Riga participated in the Tartu Physicians' Society meetings in 1933 and 1934, demonstrating the films on hormonal regulation and other subjects.⁴

Publishing. One of the issues under repeated discussion was the foundation of a common medical journal *Acta medica Baltica*. This idea has been attributed to Professor P. Avižonis from Kaunas. J. Alksnis, A. Bieziņš, J. Blažys, Ulrich Karell, V. Kuzma, K. Schlossmann and P. Stradiņš, who participated in the Estonian-Latvian-Lithuanian meeting in Riga in the autumn of 1935 found the publishing of *Acta medica Baltica* necessary.⁵ However, it was still difficult to find consensus; for example, at the 10th general meeting of the Union of Estonian Physicians' Societies in May 1936, when the joint publication was under discussion, the participants voiced quite different views on this matter. Some of them suggested the inclusion of Finns, in this case, the journal would have been titled *Acta Fenno-Baltica*; still others wished to include also Hungary and Sweden, but were met with loud protests, arguing that when some large countries were included, the smaller ones would be overshadowed and the publication

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2b, item 75, p. 197.

²Tartu Eesti Arstide Seltsi teaduslikud koosolekud 1933. *Eesti Arst.* 1935, nr. 6, lk. 498.

³Eesti-Läti-Leedu arstide koostööst. Naaberriikide õppejõud tutvumas Tartu kliinikutega. *Postimees.* 1936, 25.11 (nr. 319), lk. 4; Tartu Eesti Arstide Seltsi teaduslikud koosolekud 1936. *Eesti Arst.* 1939, nr. 12, lk. 831.

⁴Tartu Eesti Arstide Seltsi teaduslikud koosolekud 1933. *Eesti Arst.* 1935, nr. 6, lk. 498; Tartu Eesti Arstide Seltsi teaduslikud koosolekud 1934. *Eesti Arst.* 1935, nr. 10, lk. 822.

⁵S. Lind. 1920–1934. a. peetud Eesti Arstidepäeva ja -kongresside resolutsioonide ja soovivalduste teostamisest, lk. 355–356.

would not meet its aim.¹ The problem of the new journal was debated again a few months later, when the representatives of the Universities of Tartu, Latvia and Kaunas met in Tartu in November 1936.² The idea was once again proposed by J. Alksnis and P. Stradiņš³ in Riga in 1938, at the conference of intellectual co-operation, but it still remained unrealised. An idea to found a journal *Acta fenno-baltica Duodecim* was at the same time voiced in Helsinki, too, as was reported in a manuscript by J. Alksnis, who had relied on information received from Professor Yrjö Reenpää.⁴ Talks were held about the publication of an interdisciplinary journal *Acta academica Baltica*,⁵ but again, the idea was not carried out.

Writing about each other.⁶ The events held in the two countries were mutually introduced in the professional journals of the participating countries, important problems were discussed and overviews were given about the situation of different specialities. More often,

¹Eesti Arstideseltside Liidu peakoosoleku protokoll. *Eesti Arst*. 1936, nr. 6, lk. 477–478.

²S. Lind. 1920–1934. a. peetud Eesti Arstidepäeva ja -kongresside resolutsioonide ja sooviavalduste teostamisest, lk. 355; Pandi alused Balti arstide koostööle. *Postimees*. 1936, 26.11 (nr. 320), lk. 5; Eesti Arstideseltside Liidu peakoosoleku protokoll, lk. 477–478.

³J. Stradiņš, Dz. Cēbere. Establishment of an Intellectual Entente in the Baltic States, p. 302.

⁴S. Lind. 1920–1934. a. peetud Eesti Arstidepäeva ja -kongresside resolutsioonide ja sooviavalduste teostamisest, lk. 356, 382. A copy of J. Alksnis' manuscript "Über de Realisierung der Acta medica Baltica" (Riga, 1936), held at the archive of the Tartu Estonian Physicians' Society, and referred to by S. Lind has probably not been preserved.

⁵*Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1935, 1. nr., lpp. 67.

⁶In this passage we attempt to give an overview of all writings about Latvia published in Estonia in 1918–1940, not restricting ourselves only to persons with immediate relations with Tartu University. We have used the bibliographies compiled by H. Normann: *Eesti meditsiiniline bibliograafia ühes piiraladega = Bibliographie médicale estonienne* [1918–1934]. Tartu, 1932–1935; and its unpublished parts, which continue the bibliography up to 1940 and are held at the Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts, Tartu University Library (stock 77, ser. 1, items 134–135). We also researched a Latvian bibliography covering the years of 1920–1936, titled *Latvijas Zinātne un literatūra* [...] *Bibliografija* (Rīga, 1920–1942) and a card file at the Letonica department of the Latvian National Library (1937–1939).

medical journals gave overviews of articles and papers published in the journals of the neighbours. Original papers were published less frequently. In 1923, docent of the University of Latvia R. Adelheim wrote an article in *Eesti Arst* on rabies,¹ Ferdinand Neureiter wrote about Latvian folk healers in 1928,² the latter article was dedicated to the 85th anniversary of the Department of Public Medicine of the University of Tartu. Dr. P. Käk, who worked as a dentist in Riga, wrote a short overview of the training of dentists at the University of Latvia and about the activities of Latvian dentists in 1929.³ In 1933, Olga Madissoon published an overview, based on the article by Professor Eduards Gartjē, of the activities of the children's clinic of the University of Latvia during the recent decade.⁴ O. Madissoon also gave an overview of the activities of the Latvian Physicians' Society in 1902–1932, based on dr. Jānis Skuja's article in *Latvijas Ārstu Žurnāls*.⁵ *Eesti Arst* published some biographical articles to celebrate jubilees of Latvian colleagues and also obituaries. S. Talvik wrote about the special issue of *Latvijas Ārstu Žurnāls*, devoted to J. Alksnis in 1926.⁶ J. Uudelt published an obituary to the Professor of ophthalmology of the University of Latvia Jānis Ruberts in *Eesti Arst* in 1935,⁷ etc.

Visits by the lecturers of the University of Tartu to Latvia from 1920–1930. When Professor Alexander Ucke began to establish the Institute of Forensic Medicine at the University of Tartu in 1920, he

¹R. Adelheim. Über die Tollwut in Lettland. *Eesti Arst*. 1923, nr. 9, lk. 287–293 (reported by J. Alksnis in *Latvijas Ārstu Žurnāls*. 1924, 1./2. nr., 94.–95. lpp.).

²Über das Kurfuschertum in Lettland. *Eesti Arst*. 1928, nr. 10, lk. 351–357.

³P. Käk. Märkmeid Läti hambaarstide ringist. *Eesti Arst*. 1929, nr. 5, lk. 195–196.

⁴E. Gartje. Latvijas Universitātes Bērnu klīnikas 10. g. darbības pārskats. *Latvijas Ārstu Žurnāls*. 1932, 1./2. nr., 1.–13. lpp. (*Eesti Arst*. 1933, nr. 3, lk. 149–150).

⁵J. Skuja. Īss vēsturisks pārskats par Latviešu ārstu b-bas tapšanu un darbību no 1902. līdz 1932. gadam. *Latvijas Ārstu Žurnāls*. 1932, 4. nr., 195.–206. lpp. (*Eesti Arst*. 1933, nr. 5, lk. 238–239).

⁶Burtnīca veltīta prof. dr. med. Alkšņa 30 gadu ārstnieciskās darbības jubilejai. *Latvijas Ārstu Žurnāls*. 1926, nr. 5./6. (*Eesti Arst*. 1926, nr. 9, lk. 353–354).

⁷J. Uudelt. Prof. dr. med. Jaan Ruberti (Riia) mālestuseks. *Eesti Arst*. 1935, nr. 2, lk. 175.

intended to visit Riga as well, to search for the opportunities to acquire the necessary equipment.¹

S. Talvik, the Head of the Institute of Forensic Medicine at the University of Tartu, visited his Latvian colleagues in November 1921 and September 1922. Talvik met with the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine Roberts Krimbergs and docent J. Alksnis, who introduced to him the activities of the Medical Faculty of the University of Latvia and local clinics. Talvik wrote a lengthy overview of his trip for *Eesti Arst*, discussing some problems of the University of Latvia and introducing the lecturers of medicine, sometimes comparing the situation with that of the University of Tartu. Teaching medicine at the University of Latvia was based on the clinics that belonged to the city. Since these institutions had never before been used for teaching purposes, radical reorganisations were in order — the clinics lacked lecture halls and other rooms suitable for teaching. The II Riga City Hospital was better suited for teaching, but the building had been much damaged during WWI and the Latvian state had no means to finance its renovation.²

An assistant of the Institute of Forensic Medicine Hans Madissoon visited the Riga Juvenile Delinquents Colony for eight days in July 1924, where many Estonians had been detained in the earlier years.³ Some years later, in 1928, H. Madissoon familiarised himself with the problems of educating the prisoners under the supervision of docent F. Neureiter in Riga.⁴

Prosecutor Albert Valdes, who represented the Tartu Estonian Physicians' Society at the First Latvian Congress of Physicians and Dentists in Riga in September 1925, wrote an exhaustive overview of the event for *Eesti Arst*.⁵ The congress discussed a number of problems related to the organisation of the physicians' activities and treatment

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1275, p. 10v.

²S. Talvik. Läti Vabariigi Riia ülikooli arstiteaduskonnast. *Eesti Arst*. 1922, nr. 11, lk. 519–523.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 596, p. 28.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 596, p. 65v.

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1298, p. 76; A. Valdes. Muljeid I Latvija arstide ja hambaarstide kongressist ja Kemeris (Kemmeri) ravilast. Välismaa kiri. *Eesti Arst*. 1925, nr. 10, lk. 306–310.

problems, which were of great interest for Estonians (several social medical problems, the need for the Chamber of Physicians, and the problems of the health insurance fund were under very serious examination).¹ The total of 123 papers was given at the congress, and an exhibition of medical supplies was organised. Professors of the University of Tartu, ophthalmologist E. Blessig and neurologist L. Puusepp participated in the congress. Puusepp again repeated his proposal for convening a congress of the physicians of the neighbouring countries.² A. Valdes considered it necessary to note that alcoholic drinks were not served at the following festive dinner, but the mood was great despite the fact and many speeches were held. After the congress, the participants were taken to the Kemeru health resort, which had during its golden age, e.g. in 1913, received 8000 patients, but which had been seriously damaged during WWI. At that time, mud treatment was offered in the resort, about which Valdes wrote more thoroughly. The restoration of the resort was rather important for the economy of the country.³ A large number of physicians — 900 — participated in the congress.⁴

In 1925, S. Talvik was able to tell during his next trip to Latvia that the medical faculty of the University of Latvia, mostly its clinics, but especially its clinic of psychiatry, had developed much during the past few years. Praise was due also to the collections of anatomical preparations and anthropological collections under the care of Professor Gaston Backmann with his assistants.⁵ S. Talvik participated in the Second Congress of Latvian Physicians in Riga in Septem-

¹The health insurance in Latvia was more developed than in Estonia; in 1929, 171 195 people were part of the health insurance system there, compared to 41 362 persons in Estonia (S. Lind. Tuberkuloosi vastu võitlemise korraldusest Lätis. *Eesti Arst*. 1937, nr. 5, lk. 391).

²A. Valdes. Muljeid I Latvija arstide ja hambaarstide kongressist ja Kemeru (Kemmeri) ravilast, lk. 308; the congress supported the proposal.

³A. Valdes. Muljeid I Latvija arstide ja hambaarstide kongressist ja Kemeru (Kemmeri) ravilast, lk. 306–311; about Kemeru, see lk. 308–311.

⁴S. Talvik. II Läti Arstide Kongress 7.–9. IX 1928 Riias. *Eesti Arst*. 1929, nr. 1, lk. 23

⁵S. Talvik. Meditsiinilised muljed naaberriikidest. *Eesti Arst*. 1925, nr. 1, lk. 17–19.

ber 1928 and wrote a thorough overview for *Eesti Arst*. The number of delegates had fallen to 650, but it still exceeded in numbers the most populous Days of Estonian Physicians. Six guests from Estonia participated in this event. A critical situation was created by the fact that 150 health insurance fund physicians stayed away from the congress. Talvik has more thoroughly described the use of curative mud in Latvia and the works of psychiatrists. A number of organisational questions, several of which had already been examined, were also under discussion (the law of the Physicians' Chamber, reorganisation of health insurance fund, the status of specialists, overproduction of physicians). The proposition made by a Professor of the University of Tartu E. Blessig to form permanent meetings of ophthalmologists of the Baltic countries found support and was soon carried out.¹ The minutes of the congress were published in *Latvijas Ārstu Žurnāls*; summaries were published also in *Eesti Arst*.²

R. Kleitsmann visited the women's clinic of the University of Latvia in September 1927³ and again in 1932. Many changes had occurred meanwhile, the clinic had been transferred to the more spacious rooms of the II Riga City Hospital, which allowed the treatment of up to 150 patients. The clinic promised to accept also Estonian patients for treatment under favourable conditions.⁴

Professor H. Kull, who had taught courses in histology and embryology at the University of Tartu, decided to use his travel stipend for summer 1930 for visits to the institutes of anatomy, histology, and embryology in Riga, Kaunas and Königsberg, and to study the organisation of teaching these subjects in the respective institutes. The organisation of teaching differed at all three universities. In his report to the council of the medical faculty and the university government, Kull described more thoroughly what he had seen in Latvia, mentioning that in Riga he had been convinced that the organisation of the

¹S. Talvik. II Läti Arstide Kongress 7–9.IX.1928 Riias, lk. 22–26.

²O. M[adissoon]. II Läti Arstide ja Hambaarstide kongressi protokollid. *Eesti Arst*. 1929, nr. 8, lk. 313.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 356, p. 243.

⁴R. Kleitsmann. Berliini, Pariisi ja Riia naistekliinikuist. *Eesti Arst*. 1932, nr. 12, lk. 614.

teaching of histology, anatomy and embryology in their right order was not so easy at all as it might have seemed at the beginning. There were independent institutes of histology and anatomy in Riga. The department of embryology had been affiliated to the latter. The heads of these institutes were a docent of anatomy of the University of Latvia Jēkabs Prīmanis (together with whom Kull had gone to America as a Fellow of the Rockefeller Foundation, and who had several times visited him at the institute of histology in Tartu),¹ and a histologist Dr. Max Brandt. Before, the three disciplines had been taught together by the Professor of anatomy Dr. Arsenij Starkov. The younger specialists started to work after Starkov's death.² Comparing the institutes of histology and anatomy of the University of Latvia, Kull said that the latter was much better equipped with instruments and preparations, caused not only by the fact that the institute was led by anatomists, but also because Riga was a large city and besides, a harbour city. For example, in the Riga museum of anatomy one could find beautiful tattooed skin preparations, collected during the recent decade. The institute of anatomy in Tartu had managed to find only a couple of small tattoos. Since Riga was a large city, it was much easier to find all kinds of anomalies there. Describing the situation of the institute of histology, Kull drew attention to an assistant Austra Berbis, who had had to spend much time in taking care of microscopic slides and preparing for lectures. She had not had much time to spare for writing her doctoral thesis, but after docent Max Brandt had assumed the leadership of the institute, she was able to continue her research.³ In Riga, Kull was much interested in the instruments his colleagues used (larger microscopes and their additional devices, microphoto cameras, microtomes). Apparently, he was a good specialist in apparatuses and had attracted attention with his technical knowledge in the USA and in France.⁴ Kull's good contacts with his

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 427, pp. 140–141.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 427, p. 141.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 427, p. 142; comparing the ways how these specialities had been joined at the Latvian, Kaunas and Königsberg Universities, Kull finally concluded that the best solution had been found at Tartu University.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 427, p. 141.

Latvian colleagues can be confirmed by the fact that he had been invited to participate in the conference organised by M. Zīle in September 1930.¹

Siegfried Lind and docent Bernhard Jürgens visited Latvia in 1936 to study the organisation of the fight against tuberculosis. S. Lind wrote a long article on the subject, mentioning that the work organisation was generally similar to that of in Estonia. The All-Latvian Society for Fighting Against Tuberculosis, founded in 1924, was the most important organisation in the field.² B. Jürgens wrote an article concentrating on the treatment of bone tuberculosis in Latvia.³

K. Schlossmann travelled to Riga in September 1936 on the invitation of the Baltic Board of Bacteriology.⁴

H. Madissoon went on a longer foreign trip and spent some time also in Riga in February 1937. Professor Kārlis Kundziņš and director Roberts Šiliņš helped him to find out the reasons of the fall in the birth rate and to learn about the counter means. He wished to meet the scholars and officials of child protection organisations who had to face the problem. He was not able to meet with the lecturer of eugenics, since the latter had fallen ill.⁵ Madissoon visited Riga also in 1939, when travelling through Latvia. He got acquainted with the newest Latvian legislation, which supported people moving to the country and populating rural areas in accord to the latest agricultural policy. He was much interested also in the results of the recently adopted law on "Work Centre", which established the general labour conscription.⁶

¹Сегодня. 1930, 16.09 (№ 256), с. 8.

²S. Lind. Tuberkuloosi vastu võitlemise korraldusest Lätis. *Eesti Arst*. 1937, nr. 5, lk. 389–396.

³B. Jürgens. Luu-liigesetuberkuloosi ravi korraldusest Lätis. *Eesti Arst*. 1937, nr. 5, lk. 397–401.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2b, item 75, p. 208.

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 596, p. 145.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 596, p. 194.

Ulrich Karell participated in the opening of a cancer clinic in Riga in February 1939, on the invitation of the Latvian Health Welfare Society.¹

A. Lüüs wished to participate in the meeting of the Baltic Child Protection Committee in Riga in March 1940 as the chairman of the respective Estonian committee and the chairman of the board of the "Estonian Child Protection" foundation.²

In many cases, the concrete aim of travel was not clear. Latvia, and most often Riga, was visited by the following lecturers of the University of Tartu. In 1920 and 1921, E. Masing went to Latvia to bring back the possessions of the university, which had been evacuated to Riga during the war; he also visited the Herder Institute.³ Maximilian Bresovsky visited Latvia in 1922 during his longer foreign travel.⁴ H. Madissoo travelled to Latvia the same year.⁵ J. Uudelt spent some time in Latvia in summer 1926, most probably being in transit to some other countries.⁶ Henrik Koppel visited Riga in 1929 on his way back from Poland, but as he was very tired of his trip to Posen (Poznan) exhibition, he decided to see the Riga sights some other time.⁷ U. Karell⁸ and L. Puusepp went to Riga in December 1938 and participated in the meeting and congress of the Committee of the Intellectual Co-operation of the Baltic Countries.⁹ H. Madissoo visited Riga in 1939 and in September 1940.¹⁰ K. Schlossmann,¹¹ J. Uudelt¹² and

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 288, p. 216.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 592, p. 175.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 618, pp. 193v, 194v.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 77, pp. 18–22.

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 618, pp. 12–13; Ülikool. *Postimees*. 1922, 2.08 (nr. 172), lk. 6.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1282, pp. 25–29.

⁷EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 387, p. 118v.

⁸EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 288, p. 214.

⁹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2b, item 60, pp. 3–4.

¹⁰EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 596, pp. 191, 200–201; stock 2100, ser. 2, item 146, p. 123.

¹¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2b, item 75, p. 365v.

¹²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1282, p. 149.

Ernst Veinberg¹ planned to visit Riga in 1940, but it is difficult to find confirmation, whether the trips really took place.

We were not able to find data about the travel of Latvian lecturers to Estonia from the materials of the Estonian Historical Archives and in the Estonian-language press.

Thirty-two members of the medical faculty finished and/or defended their dissertations in Tartu: anatomist Jēkabs Prīmanis; biochemist Eduards Zariņš (Sarinsch); dermatologists and venereologists Jānis Brants, Jūlijs Galējs and Jēkabs Šīrons; gynaecologist Ernests Putniņš; neuropathologist Edvarts Kalniņš; ophthalmologists E. Jansons, G. Reinhards and J. Ruberts; pathologists Max Brandt (Brants), Jānis Alfreds Kaktiņš and Roman Adelheim; pharmacists Arthur Kanger, Eduards Svirlovskis, Jānis Kupcis, J. Maizīte and Kārlis Krēsliņš; psychiatrist Hermanis Buduls; hygienists E. Fehrmans and Viktors Mīlenbahs; paediatrician Gerhards Feders; surgeons Aleksandrs Bieziņš, Aleksandrs Liepukalns, Armin Hilse, Jānis Dzirne (Dsirne), Jānis Jankovskis, Jānis Šulcs, J. Alksnis, and Vladimirs Mintz; and therapists Jānis Miķelsons and Martiņš Zīle (Sihle).²

Students and their excursions. The Latvian medical students, who came to Tartu in April 1924 were received by the Academic Medical Society, the event was participated also by the university Rector, Prorector, Curator, professors and lecturers.³ In the early summer of the same year, probably at the end of May, a student delegation and some lecturers from Tartu visited Riga. Sixteen senior students went for a month-long trip to Europe; they made a stop in Riga and met with the local lecturers and visited several clinics and university institutes. In spite of poor financing, Latvians had very successfully expanded their clinics in the recent years.⁴ A group of young peo-

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1324, pp. 151, 210v.

²A. A. Виксна. Тартуский университет и развитие медицины в Латвии. *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*. 6. Tartu, 1977, lk. 34–41.

³Läti üliõpilased Tartus. *Postimees*. 1924, 7.04 (nr. 96), lk. 3.

⁴S. Talvik. Meditsiinilised muljed naaberriikidest. *Eesti Arst*. 1925, nr. 1, lk. 17–19.

ple from the Academic Medical Society visited Riga in April 1928.¹ In 1928, the Latvian medical students visited Tartu for three days. The delegation was led by Professor Pēteris Sniķers, who had started his academic career in Tartu.² Eighteen Latvian medical students together with Professor Edvards Kalniņš spent three days in Tartu in 1931. Among other places, the guests got acquainted with Tartu cemeteries and visited the grave of Professor S. Talvik — an activist in developing contacts with Latvia — who had passed away a few years earlier.³ S. Talvik had been a honorary member of the Students' Society of the Medical Faculty of the University of Latvia; he had received a diploma confirming his membership during the visit to Riga of the Academic Medical Society of the University of Tartu in April 1928.⁴

Contacts in the field of pharmacy

Points of departure and the beginning of contacts. Pharmacists were remarkably active in establishing close contacts among the Baltic countries. The development of such contacts was much favoured by the fact that many lecturers of pharmacy of the University of Latvia had studied in Tartu (Arthur Kanger, Eduards Svirlovskis, Jānis Kupcis, Jānis Maizīte and Kārlis Krēsliņš). Compared with other academic fields, the contacts between pharmacists emerged relatively early. In 1921, the journal *Pharmacia* published a call for professional information exchange among the Baltic countries in its 3rd issue.⁵ The same year, the Estonian readers were given information about the situation in Latvian pharmacy in an overview written by a lecturer of the University of Latvia Eduards Svirlovskis, which was summarised by his Tartu friend and colleague pharmacist Voldemar Kuik.⁶ The pharmacists of the two countries were mutually rather well-informed about each other's activities. In 1921, J. Maizīte and E. Svirlovskis,

¹Kroonika. *Eesti Arst.* 1929, nr. 5, lk. 205.

²Läti arstiteaduse üliõpilaste ekskursioon Tartu. Sõidab 30 üliõpilast. *Postimees.* 1928, 23.11 (nr. 320), lk. 4.

³Läti üliõpilaste külaskäik. *Postimees.* 1931, 2.05 (nr. 118), lk. 5.

⁴Kroonika. *Eesti Arst.* 1929, nr. 5, lk. 205.

⁵Aux pharmaciens des Pays baltiques. *Pharmacia.* 1921, nr. 3, lk. 1–2.

⁶Farmaatsia olud Latvias. *Pharmacia.* 1921, nr. 2, lk. 29–31.

who had studied in Tartu, agreed to become the Latvian correspondents of the journal *Pharmacia*.¹ The same year, colleagues in Finland, Latvia and Poland were sent invitations to participate in the First Estonian Pharmacists' Day in Tartu, on December 3.² Latvians were not able to come to the event, but sent their greetings to the participants.³

The initiative to develop and tighten the co-operation originated from Latvians, beginning from 1923.⁴ No other academic field can boast more effort in creating good contacts. For example, the editorial board of *Pharmacia* sent a Latvian-language greeting to the Latvian professional journal *Latvijas Farmācijas Žurnāls*, when it was launched in 1923.⁵ Soon after that, Latvian pharmacists sent an Estonian-language greeting to their Estonian colleagues. "Similar fate of the neighbouring peoples has tied our countries strongly together both politically and economically. [...] Such getting closer of the pharmacists of the two countries has not only a high ideological value, but also a great practical importance, which was also confirmed by the Second Conference of Latvian Pharmacists. We all realise how important to the development of pharmacy is the co-ordination of the laws concerning pharmacy, the general problems of pharmacy, the curricula for teaching pharmacy and other professional issues".⁶ In many cases, to ensure the success of visits, the speakers of both languages were found and the explanations and presentations were translated into the respective languages, creating a free and friendly atmosphere

¹Meie läbikäimine välismaaga. *Pharmacia*. 1921, nr. 3, lk. 37.

²Eesti Apteekrite päev. *Pharmacia*. 1921, nr. 3, lk. 49.

³R. Wallner. Viis aastat. *Pharmacia*. 1926, nr. 1, lk. 5.

⁴R. Wallner, J. Wilt. Esimene Balti riikide rohuteadlaste kongress 5.–7. juunini 1925. a. Riias. III. *Pharmacia*. 1925, nr. 6, lk. 273; R. W[allner]. 1924: mõttemõlgu-tused ja soovid uuel aastal. *Pharmacia*. 1924, nr. 1, lk. 3–5.

⁵Tervitus Läti Farmatsöotide Liidule ja Läti rohuteaduse ajakirjale. *Pharmacia*. 1923, nr. 6, lk. 259.

⁶Läti rohuteadlaste tervitus Eesti ametivendadele ja "Pharmacia" toimetusele. *Pharmacia*. 1924, nr. 2, lk. 84; it was also published in *Latvijas Farmaceitu Žurnāls*. 1924, 3. nr., lpp. 101.

at these events, which sometimes grew into patriotic manifestations.¹ The peak of the Estonian-Latvian co-operation falls onto the years of 1923–1927. The falling back in the activities in the later period can probably be explained by the fact that mostly, the organisational problems of pharmacies and pharmacy had already been solved by using mutual experience. Close contacts were, without doubt, important in successful communication, but travel was much hindered by the economic crisis of the late 1920s. Some loosening of the contacts with Latvia could well have been caused also by the fact that from the very beginning, Estonia started very actively developing professional contacts with Finns and since the early 1930s, also with Hungarians.² Contacts with Latvia and between the Baltic countries became closer again in all spheres of life in the second half of the 1930s.

Personal meetings added strength to contacts. A lecturer of pharmacy of the University of Latvia J. Maizīte visited Estonia very often; he travelled to Tartu and Tallinn probably already in 1921.³ Group visits started in 1928.⁴

Congresses. In 1924, preparatory work began for the First Congress of Baltic Pharmacists,⁵ which was held in Riga in 1925. Estonia was represented by several participants, among them was Professor of the

¹R. Wallner, J. Wilt. Esimene Balti riikide rohuteadlaste kongress 5.–7. juunini 1925. a. Riias. III. *Pharmacia*. 1925, nr. 6, lk. 275.

²W. Kuik, R. Wallner. Üleskutse eesti rohuteadlastele Eesti-Soome-Ungari Rohuteadlaste ühingu asutamiseks. *Pharmacia*. 1933, nr. 5, lk. 90; Rudolf Wallner. Alexis Rafael Wichmann. Eesti-Soome-Ungari Rohuteadlaste Ühingu ellukutsujale pühendanud... *Pharmacia*. 1933, nr. 6, lk. 105–109; Eesti-Soome-Ungari rohuteadlaste ühingu põhikiri, Eesti-Soome-Ungari rohuteadlaste ühingu Soome-osakonna põhikiri. *Pharmacia*. 1933, nr. 11, lk. 234–238; Ungari Apteekrite Seltsi direktori, Mr. Ph. Otto von Koritsanszky külaskäik. *Pharmacia*. 1926, nr. 4, lk. 178–181; O. v. Koritsanszky. Apothekerverhältnisse in Ungarn. *Pharmacia*. 1926, nr. 4, lk. 176–178. Based on materials and impressions from Estonia, Koritsanszky started publishing long articles on Estonian pharmacies in Hungarian pharmaceutical journals in autumn 1926 (Uue aasta lävel. *Pharmacia*. 1927, nr. 1/2, lk. 5.)

³Miscellanea. *Pharmacia*. 1921, nr. 3, lk. 36–39. Other parts of the article also mention J. Maizīte's visits to Estonia.

⁴Rohuteadlaste külaskäik Riiga. *Postimees*. 1928, 1.05 (nr. 117), lk. 4.

⁵Balti riikide rohuteadlaste kongressi eeltöödest. *Pharmacia*. 1924, nr. 5, lk. 199–200.

University of Tartu J. Stamm,¹ who gave a presentation on the unification of the teaching of pharmacy in the Baltic universities.² The congress was successful, a number of important decisions were made, among them the decision to form the Bureau of the Pharmacists of the Baltic Countries, located in Riga.³ Summaries of several presentations were published in *Pharmacia*⁴ and in the Latvian journal *Latvijas Farmācijas Žurnāls*. Delegates from all the Baltic countries found that the University of Latvia had been more successful in developing pharmacy than other Baltic institutions of higher education.⁵ The congress focussed on the problems that were important to all three countries, such as the teaching of pharmacy, the control over pharmaceuticals and foodstuffs, trading in pharmaceuticals (including trials), a number of organisational and legal problems (such as customs tariffs), and the compilation of pharmacopoeias. A Latvian colleague J. Punka stressed the fact that old Russian laws were unsuitable for the young new countries (the Russian law of the year 1905, concerning medical care, was still effective in Estonia at that time), and needed re-making. A number of presentations voiced dissatisfaction with the too great power of physicians over pharmacists.⁶ Still another important issue of the congress was the problem of customs tariffs. The presenters introduced each other's customs laws and tariffs, there was even

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1136, p. 73.

²J. Stamm. Zur Frage der Schaffung eines "Einheitsprogrammes sowie einer einheitlichen Organisation des pharmazeutischen Studiums an den Universitäten der baltischen Staaten": Anschliessend an den Vortrag: "Über das pharm. Hochschulprogramm". *Pharmacia*. 1925, nr. 4, lk. 139–152; nr. 5, lk. 209–225; nr. 6, lk. 273–277.

³Esimene Baltimaade rohuteadlaste kongress Riias. *Pharmacia*. 1925, nr. 3, lk. 122; R. Wallner, J. Wilt Esimene Balti riikide rohuteadlaste kongress 5.–7. juunini 1925. a. Riias. I. *Pharmacia*. 1925, nr. 4, lk. 139–150; Esimese Balti riikide rohuteadlaste kongressi otsused. *Pharmacia*. 1925, nr. 4, lk. 150–152.

⁴Esimesel Balti riikide rohuteadlaste kongressil Riias 5.–7. juunil 1925. a. peetud teaduslikud ettekanded. *Pharmacia*. 1925, nr. 5, lk. 175–208.

⁵R. Wallner, J. Wilt. Esimene Balti riikide rohuteadlaste kongress 5.–7. juunini 1925. a. Riias. II. *Pharmacia*. 1925, nr. 5, lk. 209–225; R. Wallner, J. Wilt. Esimese Balti riikide rohuteadlaste kongress 5.–7. juunini 1925. a. Riias. III. *Pharmacia*. 1925, nr. 6, lk. 275–276.

⁶R. Wallner, J. Wilt. Esimene Balti riikide rohuteadlaste kongress 5.–7. juunini 1925. a. Riias. II, lk. 209–221; R. Wallner, J. Wilt. Esimese Balti riikide rohuteadlaste kongress 5.–7. juunini 1925. a. Riias. III, lk. 273–277.

some talk about banishing customs borders from between the Baltic countries.¹ The representatives of all countries considered mutual co-operation extremely important. The atmosphere of the congress was patriotic, the newly gained freedom caused even some political euphoria. It came out that at that time a number of Estonians were working at Latvian pharmacies.² The presentations given by Latvians and Lithuanians were published in *Pharmacia* in the form of longer summaries translated into Estonian.³

The next congress of Baltic pharmacists should have been convened by Estonia, and the congress would have been a continuation of the first one. But as the publication of the proceedings of the first congress was delayed, it was decided to postpone the congress for a year. The economic conditions of the time were rather poor, too. An important factor was also the lack of agreement among the pharmacists in both Latvia and Estonia, which hindered successful co-operation.⁴ The Bureau of Pharmacists of the Baltic Countries, which had been formed in 1925, assembled in September 1928; Henn Parts was the Estonian representative at the Bureau. The bureau discussed the problems of assembling the next congress of pharmacists and the themes that should form the agenda of the congress. The subjects concerning practical training of pharmacists, patented substances and offi-

¹Z. Kuzavas. Tollitariifi küsimuse kohta Leedus. *Pharmacia*. 1927, nr. 9/10, lk. 234.

²R. Wallner, J. Wilt. Esimene Balti riikide rohuteadlaste kongress 5.–7. juunini 1925. a. Riias. III, lk. 273–277. Kutse Balti riikide rohuteadlaste delegaatide kongressile. *Pharmacia*. 1925, nr. 2, lk. 42–44.

³R. W[allner]. I Balti riikide rohuteadlaste kongressi trükis ilmunud tööde puhul. *Pharmacia*. 1927, nr. 7/8, lk. 163; Balti riikide rohuteadlaste kongressi trükis ilmunud tööde puhul. *Pharmacia*. 1927, nr. 7/8, nr. 164–170 (E. Svirlovskis, D. Blumentāls, J. Maizīte, J. Valentinavičius); *Pharmacia*. 1927, nr. 9/10, lk. 229–234 (W. Kieseritzki, D. Blumentāls ja Z. Kuzavas); *Pharmacia*. 1927, nr. 11/12, lk. 307–312 (D. Blumentāls), 1928, nr. 3/4, lk. 89–91 (E. Zariņš, D. Blumentāls). The proceedings of the congress were published as a separate volume.

⁴R. Wallner. Uue aasta lävel. *Pharmacia*. 1927, nr. 1/2, lk. 5–6; Eesti rohuteadlaste organisatsioonide juhatuste ühine koosolek ... 11. veebruaril 1928. a. *Pharmacia*. 1928, nr. 1/2, lk. 37–41; J. W[ilt]. Läti oludest. *Pharmacia*. 1927, nr. 1/2, lk. 38.

cial pharmacopoeias were considered important.¹ The general meeting of the boards of Estonian pharmaceutical organisations was held in Tallinn in 1928. The meeting discussed very seriously the problems related with the congress and it was found necessary to postpone the congress for several important reasons; among others, it was noted that the resolutions of the previous congress had still been left unrealised.² The intended congress was not held and the co-operation that had started so spiritfully, remained passive for several following years. Even the professional meetings within Estonia became scarce. When the pharmacists' days were initially held on yearly basis — seven such professional days were organised from December 1921 to December 1925³ — then in 1926–1937, only one such day was held in Kuressaare in summer 1937.⁴

The next joint meeting — the congress of Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian pharmacists' societies — was organised in Kaunas on 30 May 1930, where two Estonian delegates should have participated, but in the end, nobody went.⁵ Co-operation between the Baltic countries revived again in 1934. The general meeting of the Estonian Pharmacists' Society was held in May 1934, and the need to intensify professional contacts with the neighbours was again in the agenda.⁶ The Estonian Pharmacists' Society supported the decision of Latvian and Lithuanian pharmacists to organise a common conference for delegates from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, engaging at least four delegates from each country, in Riga in October 1935 to discuss the problems of practical work of the profession.⁷ The resolution adopted

¹Balti riikide rohuteadlaste büroo liigete nõupidamine Riias 23. ja 24. septembril s.a. *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1928, nr. 10, lk. 199–200.

²Eesti farmatsöitliste organisatsioonide... *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1929, nr. 1, lk. 14–15.

³R. Wallner. Viis aastat. *Pharmacia*. 1926, nr. 1, lk. 5.

⁴IX rohuteadlaste päev. *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1938, nr. 4, lk. 128.

⁵Eesti Apteekrite Seltsi tegevuse aruanne 1930/1931. a. *Pharmacia*. 1931, nr. 3, lk. 127.

⁶K. Rähesoo. Eesti Apteekrite Seltsi korraline peakoosolek Tallinnas, 15. mail 1934. a. *Pharmacia*. 1934, nr. 5, lk. 113.

⁷Th. Rosenwald. Eesti Apteekrite Seltsi korralise peakoosoleku aruandeid, eelarveid ja arutlusi 19. mail 1936. a. Tallinnas. *Pharmacia*. 1936, nr. 6, lk. 219.

at the conference evaluated the situation in the pharmacies and made several proposals concerning organisational work, especially regarding the leadership and the more strict requirements to the supply and selling of pharmaceuticals (for example, there were more pharmacies in Latvia than in other Baltic countries).¹ Something positive regarding Estonia came out at this conference, namely that Estonia had been more successful in adopting legislation concerning pharmacy than the other Baltic countries.² We should mention that the co-operation between the countries was quite demanding financially. For example, the Estonian Pharmacists' Society paid to the Union of Latvian Pharmacists a fee of 310 LVL, the equivalent of 650 EEK, which came as a donation from the Chairman of the society Julius Lill.³ Resolutions of the conference of the representatives of Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian pharmacists were published in *Pharmacia*.⁴ Although no major meetings had been taken place between the pharmacists of the Baltic countries for several years, it seems that they were quite well informed about each other's activities.

The next conference of the pharmacists of the Baltic countries was organised in Kaunas in October 1936. According to the agenda, the conference discussed the state of pharmacies in the Baltic countries and their relations with large wholesale warehouses of medicaments and with pharmaceutical laboratories.⁵ Two overviews were published in the press to reflect the impressions from the conference and introduce Lithuania and its pharmaceutical policies. A number of practical problems had been discussed at the conference, the presenters attempted to compare the organisation on pharmacies and pharmaceuticals in

¹Eesti-Läti-Leedu apteekrite delegaatide konverents. *Pharmacia*. 1935, nr. 10, lk. 235; Eesti, Leedu ja Läti apteekrite esindajate konverentsi resolutsioonid. Saadetud Läti Apteekrite Seltsi poolt. *Pharmacia*. 1936, nr. 8, lk. 300–302.

²R. Wallner. Seaduste ja määruste koostamise puhuks. Mõtteid ja soovitusi. *Pharmacia*. 1935, nr. 12, lk. 303.

³Th. Rosenwald. Eesti Apteekrite Seltsi korralise peakoosoleku aruandeid, eelarveid ja arutlusi 19. mail 1936. a. Tallinnas. *Pharmacia*. 1936, nr. 6, lk. 220.

⁴Eesti, Leedu ja Läti apteekrite esindajate konverentsi resolutsioonid. Saadetud Läti Apteekrite Seltsi poolt, lk. 300–302.

⁵Leedu, Läti ja Eesti apteekrite uus konverents Kaunases 1936. a. oktoobris. *Pharmacia*. 1936, nr. 8, lk. 303.

different countries and Estonian achievements were judged to be the best among the Baltic countries. Lithuania expected to use the experience of Estonia and Latvia in its new laws that were under preparation; the Baltic countries planned to increase co-operation in the pharmaceutical industry; the presenters called for the unification of pharmacopoeias and expressed regrets that the Estonian pharmacopoeia, which was the first one that had been published in the region, had included unknown and unexplained terminology. No doubt, by that time the pharmaceuticals of the Baltic countries had achieved the level, where larger shortcomings had already been eliminated and the results were comparable with those of many European countries. The conference adopted a resolution of 17 clauses, which were recommended to be taken into account in the pharmaceuticals of the participating countries. This document contained essential information about the development of pharmaceuticals of the time and co-operation in the field. R. Wallner mentioned professional co-operation in his paper and suggested that Finland and the Scandinavian countries were included in it. The working language of the conference was Russian, since it was the most widespread foreign language in Lithuania. The conference was widely reported in the press.¹

We should add here some notes about co-operation in the neighbouring field to pharmacy — the preparation of serums. The first joint meeting of the Baltic specialists in the field was held in Tartu on August 7–8, 1935. It was decided to divide the preparation of different serums between the different countries; so far, all serums had been

¹R. Vallner. Eesti, Leedu ja Läti apteekrid Kaunase konverentsil. Tähelepanekuid ja muljeid Leedust ja Leedu pealinnast. Ettekanne Eesti Apteekrite Seltsi kõnekoosolekul 6. dets. 1936. *Pharmacia*. 1937, nr. 1, lk. 9–11; nr. 2, lk. 41–46; nr. 3, lk. 71–79; Ch. Volmer. Leedust ja sealsetest farmaatsiaoludest. *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1936, nr. 11, lk. 294; R. Vallner. Balti apteekrite koostöö. *Pharmacia*. 1936, nr. 10, lk. 370; R. Wallner. Balti apteekrite koostöö. *Uus Eesti*. 1936, 24.10 (nr. 289), lk. 7; Leedu, Läti ja Eesti apteekrite uus konverents Kaunases 1936. a. oktoobris. *Pharmacia*. 1936, nr. 8, lk. 303; R. W[allner]. Balti riikide apteekrite konverents Kaunases 16.–18. okt. 1936. a. *Pharmacia*. 1936, nr. 10, lk. 339.

imported mostly from Germany. A special bureau was established to co-ordinate the work.¹

About a year later, the heads of the institutes of serum of the Baltic countries met in Riga. Estonia was represented by the head of the institute Herman Peterson and a Professor of Tartu University K. Schlossmann. One of the main subjects of the meeting was to find the ways of distributing serums cheaply or even for free also in the cases of diphtheria and scarlet fever, as it was already done in the case of smallpox. The problem of the standardisation of serums was also under discussion. A mutual exchange of information was established at the meeting.² At those times, serums were also made for the use in veterinary medicine. It is worth mentioning that the Lithuanian Institute of Serum had achieved the highest international level at that time.³

After the Kaunas conference we can again talk about closer relations between the pharmacists of the Baltic countries.⁴ The next time the pharmacists of the Baltic countries met in Tallinn in 1937. This conference was held as one section of the "Baltic Congress", some guests came from Finland and Sweden, testifying of the fact that the co-operation of pharmacists had spread and included also the Nordic countries. The conference discussed the work results of the recent years and new tasks; it was decided to establish the Union of Baltic Pharmacists. The resolution, consisting of 13 items, gave the common principles for developing pharmacies in each countries. At this conference, too, several presentations were given in the Russian lan-

¹Ühine võitlusrinne taudide vastu. Balti riikide seerumivalmistajate nõupidamine Tartus. *Postimees*. 1935, 8.08 (nr. 213), lk. 3.

²Balti riikide seerumiinstitiutide juhatajad olid koos. Institutiute omavahelise koostöö organiseerimine. Asutakse ühiselt seerumite standardvalmistamisele. *Postimees*. 1936, 2.10 (nr. 266), lk. 6.

³R. Vallner. Eesti, Leedu ja Läti apteekrid Kaunase konverentsil: tähelepanekuid ja muljeid Leedust ja Leedu pealinnast. Ettekanne Eesti Apteekrite Seltsi kõnekoosolekul 6. dets. 1936. *Pharmacia*. 1937, nr. 3, lk. 74.

⁴R. Wallner. Balti apteekrite koostöö. *Pharmacia*. 1936, nr. 10, lk. 370 (a reprint from the newspaper *Uus Eesti*. 1936, 24.10 (nr. 289), lk. 7).

guage to facilitate better understanding.¹ The proposition to hold the second conference of the Baltic pharmacists during this meeting in Tallinn, since quite a long time had passed from the previous conference in Riga (1925), was rejected because Lithuanians considered the preparatory period too short.²

The next conference of the Baltic pharmacists took place in Riga in 1938 as a section of an event titled the IVth Co-operation Congress of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in the framework of "The Baltic Week". "The Baltic Week" was attended by the union of cities, journalists, criminal lawyers, health care organisations, Rotary club, chairmen of the central co-operation organisations, fire-fighters, pharmacists, esperantists and the representatives of the Latvian-Finnish labour welfare organisation. This was a large-scale event with the participation of about 1000. The meetings and consultations were alternated with outings, including visits to the Riga and Tallinn Song Festivals. The events lasted for three days, together with the outings, even for a whole week. Each country had sent three official delegates to the meeting of pharmacists, but all interested persons could attend the conference. According to the decision of the board of the Latvian Pharmacists' Society, the representatives of each country were allowed to give two papers — one on the general situation of the

¹R. W[allner]. Balti apteekrite konverents Tallinnas. 12.–14. juunil 1937. a. *Pharmacia*. 1938, nr. 3, lk. 77–82; R. Wallner. Balti apteekrite konverentsi puhuks. *Pharmacia*. 1937, nr. 5, lk. 133–134; Balti apteekrite konverents Tallinnas 12.–14. juunil 1937. a. = Baltischer Kongress 1937: Konferenz der Baltischen Apotheker in Tallinn den 12.–14. Juni. Tallinn, 1937; Ettekandeid Balti Apteekrite Konverentsilt Tallinnas. *Pharmacia*. 1938, nr. 2, lk. 43–49 (K. Harjula); Balti Apteekrite Konverents Tallinnas 12.–14. juunil 1937. a. Rohuteadlaste Koja ruumes, Olevimägi 14-2 [exerpt from the minutes]. *Pharmacia*. 1938, nr. 3, lk. 77–82; J. Maizite. Über die Kontrolle der pharmazeutischen Spezialitäten in den Baltischen Ländern. *Pharmacia*. 1938, nr. 3, lk. 82–88 (J. Maizite); nr. 4, lk. 122–124 (J. Maizite); nr. 5, lk. 142–148 (F. Kurrot, J. Ingelevičs, J. Valančius, the last paper was translated from Russian into German for the publication in *Pharmacia* by R. Vallner for the purpose of better understanding).

²R. Vallner. Eesti, Leedu ja Läti apteekrid Kaunase konverentsil: tähelepanekuid ja muljeid Leedust ja Leedu pealinnast. Ettekanne Eesti Apteekrite Seltsi kõnekoosolekul 6. dets. 1936. *Pharmacia*. 1937, nr. 3, lk. 76.

pharmaceuticals of the country and the other on a free subject.¹ The secretary of the Estonian Pharmacists' Society Eugen Urm gave an overview of the Riga conference at an extraordinary general meeting in Tallinn; he also explained the statutes of the Union of Baltic Pharmacists, prepared by R. Wallner and presented at the Riga conference.²

The next conference of the Baltic pharmacists was held in the framework of the Estonian-Latvian-Lithuanian co-operation congress ("The Baltic Week") in Kaunas in 1939. The number of guests from Estonia was about 120. The event was overshadowed by the anxiety caused by the forced surrender of Klaipeda and its surrounding areas to Germans according to the treaty from March 1939. A number of papers given at the conference discussed pharmaceutical education; a resolution was adopted at the end of the conference.³ The next conference took place in Tallinn in June 1940.

Publications and papers. Professional journals *Pharmacia* and *Eesti Rohuteadlane* published during the whole period under discussion numerous articles on the subject of Latvian pharmaceuticals, which were usually based on materials published in Latvian professional publications.⁴ Some works by Latvian pharmacists also appeared in both of

¹Eesti, Läti ja Leedu apteekrite konverents Riias. *Pharmacia*. 1938, nr. 5, lk. 148; Th. Rosenwald. Balti apteekrite konverentsist: IV Eesti, Läti ja Leedu koostöö kongressil 16–18. juunil 1938 Riias. *Pharmacia*. 1938, nr. 6, lk. 165–171; Balti apteekrite konverentsi ettekanded Riias. *Pharmacia*. 1938, nr. 7, lk. 200–203; nr. 9, lk. 250–252.

²Th. R[osenwald]. Eesti Apteekrite Seltsi erakorraline peakoosolek. *Pharmacia*. 1938, nr. 7, lk. 213.

³Th. Rosenwald. Balti apteekrite konverentsist. V Eesti-Läti-Leedu koostöö kongressil 9.–11. juunini 1939 Kaunases. *Pharmacia*. 1939, nr. 6, lk. 169–173.

⁴J. Wilt. Läti farmatsöotide liikumisest. *Pharmacia*. 1923, nr. 6, lk. 259–262; J. W[ilt]. Läti oludest. *Pharmacia*. 1923, nr. 2, lk. 84–87; J. Wilt. Farmaatsia oludest Lätis. *Pharmacia*. 1924, nr. 1, lk. 49–50; Läti teine farmatsöotide kongress. *Pharmacia*. 1923, nr. 6, lk. 256–259; N. Veiderpass. Farmaatsia õpetusest ja oludest Lätis, Poolas ja Leedus. *Pharmacia*. 1926, nr. 4, lk. 183–185; 1927, nr. 1/2, lk. 40–43; nr. 3/4, lk. 76–83; N. Veiderpass. Farmaatsia oludest Lätis. *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1928, nr. 1, lk. 1–6; H. Paris. Iseseisev farmatsöitiline valitsus Lätis. Läti farmatsöotide suuropäev. *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1931, nr. 5, lk. 113–117; H. Paris. Farmaatsia tänapäev Lätis. *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1934, nr. 9, lk. 172–179; Ch. Volmer. Farmaat-

these publications.¹ The obituary of an one-time Professor of pharmacy at the University of Tartu Ivan Kondakov, who had lived in Elva, Estonia, was written by J. Maizite, who had had closer relations with him in Tartu and Voronezh.²

Assignments of the lecturers of Tartu University when abroad.³

A number of trips were undertaken in addition to common conferences and congresses. Private docent Nikolai Veiderpass visited several countries in June and July 1926, including Latvia, to further his knowledge in the teaching methods of galenic pharmacy and to get acquainted with the laboratories and their equipment.⁴ During the Christmas break of the next year, Veiderpass again visited Riga with a similar aim.⁵ He has twice published more thorough overviews of the teaching of pharmacy and its situation in Latvia.⁶ J. Stamm visited Riga during the Christmas break in 1934.⁷ In July 1940, N. Veiderpass had wished to visit sister institutions of the University of Latvia

siaoludest Lätis ja Leedus. *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1936, nr. 1, lk. 11–13. I. V[allner]. Läti endine farmatsiavalitsuse juhataja mag. pharm. D. J. Kikans †. *Pharmacia*. 1936, nr. 3, lk. 110; Läti ülikooli teine farmaatsia doktor. *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1937, nr. 5, lk. 163–165; H. Paris. Mõningaid jooni Läti apteegiasjandusest iseseisvuse 20. a. perspektiivis. *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1928, nr. 11, lk. 361–366; V. Sirgo. Lätis ravimdroogide tootmisega tutvumas. *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1939, nr. 11, lk. 303–308; H. Paris. Ravimtaimede kultuur ja droogideturu korraldamine Lätis. *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1939, nr. 12, lk. 338–344.

¹J. Maisit. Über die Bedeutung der Alkaloide im Leben des Menschen und der Pflanze. *Pharmacia*. 1923, nr. 1, lk. 6–12; nr. 2/3, lk. 72–81; J. Maizite. Zur Geschichte des "Extractum Filicis maris Volmarensis". *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1937, nr. 5, lk. 140–146; nr. 6, lk. 184–186; nr. 7, lk. 200–207.

²J. Maizite. Prof. I. L. Kondakov. *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1931, nr. 11, lk. 257–260.

³This passage does not include trips to congresses and conferences and excursions.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1322, p. 67; E. Labi. Dr. pharm. N. Veiderpass — rakendusfarmaatsia dotsent. *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1936, nr. 2, lk. 30.

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1322, l. 17, pp. 67, 128v; Ülikooli teated. *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1928, nr. 1, lk. 11.

⁶N. Veiderpass. Farmaatsia õpetusest ja oludest Lätis, Poolas ja Leedus. *Pharmacia*. 1926, nr. 4, lk. 183–185; 1927, nr. 1/2, lk. 40–43; nr. 3/4, lk. 76–83; N. Veiderpass. Farmaatsia oludest Lätis. *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1928, nr. 1, lk. 1–6.

⁷EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1136, p. 151.

and the major pharmaceutical factories of Latvia, but most probably the trip was cancelled because of the war.¹

Trips by Latvians to Estonia. Docent J. Maizīte, a lecturer of pharmacy of the University of Latvia (Professor since 1937), who had studied and worked as an assistant at the University of Tartu, visited Estonia more often than other Latvian colleagues. He stayed in Tartu and Tallinn already in 1921, soon after his return from Voronezh, where he had helped to lay the foundations of the teaching of pharmacy at the local university, teaching pharmaceutical chemistry.² In 1923, Maizīte again travelled to Tartu,³ as well as at the end of 1925, when he participated in the 7th Day of Estonian Pharmacists' Day and gave a paper on the unification of the formulas of strong medicaments, which had been discussed at a Brussels conference, where he had represented Latvia. Estonia had not been represented at the conference and Estonian colleagues appreciated Maizīte's information on important international problems. Maizīte forwarded greetings from his Latvian colleagues to Estonians and recalled the fact that the majority of Latvian pharmacists, including himself, had studied in the same room, where the meeting was held.⁴ Colonel D. Blumentāls, the pharmaceutical inspector of the Latvian army, visited Estonia together with Maizīte in 1925, participating in the opening of a new army hospital in Tallinn together with the Director of the Health Care Office of the Latvian army General Pēteris Sniķers. The guests were able to visit pharmaceutical institutions of the Estonian defence army and meet with several Estonian colleagues.⁵ In September 1928, J. Maizīte gave a talk at the Tartu Academic Pharmacists' Society on the subject "An international organisation dealing with the growing and gathering of herbs".⁶ On July 12, 1930,

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1322, p. 135p.

²*Pharmacia*. 1921, nr. 3, lk. 37.

³R. W[allner]. Lāti oludest. *Pharmacia*. 1923, nr. 4, lk. 186.

⁴VII Eesti Rohuteadlaste päev Tartus. *Pharmacia*. 1926, nr. 1, lk. 52–53.

⁵Lāti ülikooli dots. J. Maizīt'i ja Lāti armee farmatsöidilise inspektori kolon. Prov. D. Blumentali külaskäik. *Pharmacia*. 1925, nr. 6, lk. 289–290.

⁶J. Maizīte. Rahvusvaheline organisatsioon arstirohutaime kultuuri ja kogumise alal. *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1929, nr. 2, lk. 29–33; nr. 3, lk. 49–54.

J. Maizīte travelled to Sweden to the meeting of the International Pharmacists' Union via Estonia; no Estonian representatives participated in this meeting.¹ During his stopover in Tallinn, Maizīte met with his colleagues and discussed professional problems. Most probably, he also gave his Estonian colleagues news about Latvian pharmacy, since all Latvian pharmaceutical organisations worked together at that time, having one common professional publication.²

The Baltic pharmacy from a distance. A Swedish pharmacist, John Quist, visited the Baltic countries to learn about the pharmaceuticals of these countries as a Fellow of the Swedish Pharmacists' Society.³ He corresponded on this subject with the editor of *Pharmacia* for several years.⁴ Quist published several longer overviews on the Baltic pharmacy in the Swedish journal *Farmatseutisk Revy* and gave a number of presentations on the subject at Swedish professional societies.⁵

In 1937, the General Secretary of the International Pharmacists' Union, a Dutchman dr. Teunis Potjewijd visited the Baltic countries. He spent five days in Estonia and was especially interested in visiting Tartu, on account of Georg Dragendorff, a pharmacy professor of international renown. During his three days in Tartu, Potjewijd familiarised himself with the equipment which had been used by Dragendorff in Tartu and which was partly still in use and partly of museological value. This scholar of wide interests visited also the university institutes of pharmacology, bacteriology and hygiene and the Zoological Museum, the local pharmacies and other places. When he visited the historical university students punishment cell in the attic of the university main building, it came out that a few weeks ago the place

¹Th. R[osenwald]. Kaheksas Rahvusvaheline Apteekrite Liidu peakoosolek Stockholmis, 16–19. juulini 1930. a. *Pharmacia*. 1930, nr. 7/8, lk. 202–203.

²Meie külalised. *Pharmacia*. 1930, nr. 7/8, lk. 196–197.

³Rootsi rohuteadlase John Quisti külaskäik. *Pharmacia*. 1925, nr. 4, lk. 172.

⁴R. W[allner]. Rootsi rohuteadlase John Quisti külaskäigust. *Pharmacia*. 1925, nr. 6, lk. 287.

⁵J. Quist. Apoteksväsendets administration och specialitetslagstiftningen i de baltiska staterna. *Farmatseutisk Revy*, 16.10.–25.12.1926, and other articles (R. W[allner]. Eesti farmaatsia välismaade teaduslises ajakirjanduses ja kirjanduses. *Pharmacia*. 1927, nr. 9/10, lk. 253).

had been visited by the General Secretary of the League of Nations J. Avenol.¹ Potjewijd also spent two days in Riga, meeting with his Latvian colleagues and learning about the Latvian pharmacy.² In his letter to R. Wallner he told him about his travel impressions and said that such kind of getting familiar with the Nordic and Baltic countries would much facilitate his work in these countries.³

Some idea of the international perception of Estonian pharmacy, during the late 1920s, can be found in a bibliography compiled by R. Wallner, containing numerous articles published all over Europe by Estonians and authors from several other countries.⁴ For example, *Deutsche Apotheker-Zeitung* published an article about the pharmacy of the Baltic states in 1929.⁵

Excursions. 24 persons, 19 of whom were students, participated in the first excursion of Estonian pharmacists to Riga in April 1928, which was the first longer outing of the Estonian Pharmacists' Society at all.⁶ The aim of this trip was to get familiar with the pharmaceutical institutions of the University of Latvia, the army laboratories and the industry of chemistry and pharmacy. In the army laboratories, explanations were given in the Estonian language. In his article "Farmaat-

¹R. Wallner. Rahvusvahelise Rohuteadlaste Liidu peasekretäri matkast Põhja- ja Baltimaadesse 1937. a. *Pharmacia*. 1939, nr. 8, lk. 225–234; R. Wallner. Rahvusvahelise Rohuteadlaste Liidu peasekretäri dr. T. Potjewijdi külaskäik. *Pharmacia*. 1937, nr. 9, lk. 260–261.

²R. Wallner. Rahvusvahelise Rohuteadlaste Liidu peasekretäri matkast Põhja- ja Baltimaadesse 1937. a., lk. 232–233.

³R. Wallner. Rahvusvahelise Rohuteadlaste Liidu peasekretäri matkast Põhja- ja Baltimaadesse 1937. a., lk. 234.

⁴R. W[allner]. Eesti farmaatsia välismaade teaduslises ajakirjanduses ja kirjan- duses. *Pharmacia*. 1927, nr. 5/6, lk. 142–145; nr. 7/8, lk. 198–205; nr. 9/10, lk. 250–255.

⁵Th. R[osenwald]. Apteegiolud Baltimail [based on Das baltische Apothekerwesen. *Deutsche Apotheker Zeitung*, 15.05.1929]. *Pharmacia*. 1929, nr. 5/6, lk. 152–153.

⁶Rohuteadlaste külaskäik Riiga. *Postimees*. 1928, 1.05 (nr. 117), lk. 4. Rohuteadlaste ekskursioon. Sõidetakse Riiga. *Postimees*. 1928, 21.04 (nr. 107), lk. 5; Rohuteaduse üliõpilaste ekskursioon Riiga. *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1928, nr. 4, lk. 76; N. Veiderpass. Farmaatsia üliõpilaste ekskursioon Riiga. *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1928, nr. 5, lk. 82–86; nr. 6, lk. 119–122.

sia oludest Lātis, Poolas ja Leedus” (“On the situation of pharmacy in Latvia, Poland and Lithuania”) (1928), the most active Estonian organiser of the Estonian-Latvian contacts N. Veiderpass wrote about the establishment of a new pharmaceutical laboratory at the University of Latvia; attempts had been made to make the laboratory look as similar to a pharmacy as possible. The students were supervised by chemists, not by lecturers, who had previously given them theoretical training. It was proved that the dispensing practice at the university, followed by practical work at some “decent” pharmacy gave good results. In general, Veiderpass found that the teaching and working conditions in the new and well-equipped building in Riga were excellent. At the university, Estonians saw the laboratories for making tinctures and ointments; the task of pharmacies was only to check their work. Such a system was not used in Estonia. In Latvia, a person could become a student of pharmacy without having previously worked at a pharmacy (the tradition originated from the University of Tartu in tsarist times), but after completing one’s studies, one had to work at a pharmacy for two years to acquire professional skills. Another important difference between the Estonian and Latvian teaching systems was that in Tartu, the institute of pharmacy was a part of the medical faculty, but in Riga, it belonged to the faculty of chemistry. The curricula of pharmacy of the two universities were repeatedly discussed at the meetings and attempts were made to unify them. Veiderpass also thought that the compilation and publication of the Estonian pharmacopoeia was not so well organised than in Latvia, and the number of specialists engaged in the work in Estonia was smaller than in Latvia.¹ The head of the Latvian Board of Pharmacy Dāvids Ķikāns recalled in his speech how he had participated in the foundation of a students organisation “Latgallia” when studying at the University of

¹ N. Veiderpass. Farmaatsia õpetusest ja oludest Lātis, Poolas ja Leedus. *Pharmacia*. 1926, nr. 4, lk. 183–185; N. Veiderpass. Farmaatsia üliõpilaste ekskursioon Riiga. *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1928, nr. 5, lk. 83; N. Veiderpass. Farmaatsia oludest Lātis. *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1928, nr. 1, lk. 1–6; Farmaatsia üliõpilaste ekskursioon Riiga. *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1928, nr. 5, lk. 82–86; nr. 6, lk. 119–122; Rohuteadlaste külaskäik Riiga. *Postimees*. 1928, 1.05 (nr. 117), lk. 4. See also: M. Otter. Pharmaceutical Legislation in the Baltic Republics. *Sydsvenska medicinhistoriska sällskapets årsskrift*. Supplementum 17. Lund, 1992, s. 22–29.

Tartu.¹ In November 1928, a group of 21 Latvian students of chemistry and pharmacy accompanied by docent Maizīte came to Tartu on a return visit.² J. Stamm told the visitors about teaching of pharmacy at the University of Tartu; Paul Kogerman, N. Veiderpass and Jaan Kopvillem talked about Estonian results in oil shale chemistry. After visits to many university institutions and a town tour, the students took a midnight train to Tallinn. Maizīte remained behind in Tartu and gave a presentation on the European Day for "those interested in herbs" held in Budapest and returned to Riga the same night.³

In 1937, a group of about 100 students of pharmacy of the University of Tartu, led by N. Veiderpass, went to Riga for three days. Veiderpass gave a presentation on the teaching of applied pharmacy at the University of Tartu and gave an overview of the galenic part of the Estonian pharmacopoeia.⁴

Latvian students of pharmacy visited Tartu again in 1939, again led by J. Maizīte, who had already become a professor by that time. The group consisted of 40 students. The meetings held during the visit were successful, the reasons being, no doubt, the beautiful spring weather and the fact that the presentations were translated from Estonian into Latvian by a senior assistant of the institute of applied pharmacy Ulrich Kuusik, who had been born in Tartu, finished secondary school in Jēkabpils, and graduated from and received his degrees at the University of Tartu. The author of the overview of the visit no-

¹N. Veiderpass. Farmaatsia üliõpilaste ekskursioon Riiga. *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1928, nr. 5, lk. 86.

²Läti üliõpilaste külaskäik. *Üliõpilasleht*. 1928, nr. 12, lk. 184; H. S. Läti üliõpilaste ekskursioon Eestis. *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1928, nr. 12, lk. 255–257.

³H. S. Läti üliõpilaste ekskursioon Eestis. *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1928, nr. 12, lk. 255–257; J. Maizits. Rahvusvaheline organisatsioon arstirohutaime kultuuri ja kogumise alal (ettekantud Tartus, Akadeemilises Rohuteaduse Seltsis 23.IX.28. a.). *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1929, nr. 2, lk. 29–33; nr. 3, lk. 49–54; *Mitteilungen gelegentlich der II. internationalen Tagung europäischer Arzneipflanzeninteressenten vom 10. bis 14. September 1928 in Budapest*. Budapest, 1928.

⁴Rohuteaduse üliõpilased sõidavad Riiga. *Postimees*. 1937, 3.04 (nr. 89), lk. 7.

ticed that "... many a Tartu student's heart were taken over the border in Valga as contraband".¹

The agitated and anxious political situation before WWII again required the intensification of co-operation between the neighbouring countries. The preparation of drugs in local conditions became an issue and important task. Such production seemed to have been well-organised in Latvia, as well as the stocking of the production in state warehouses. Two overviews, published almost simultaneously introduced the Latvian experience in the field.²

Veterinary medicine

The relations between Baltic veterinarians were relatively close. As a characteristic of applied sciences, joint congresses were organized and visits were undertaken to get acquainted with the work of colleagues. An important feature that contributed to the development of relationships was that several lecturers of veterinary medicine working at Riga University were graduates or lecturers of the Tartu Veterinary Institute. In general, there were a great number of graduates of the Tartu institute among Latvian veterinarians.³ Veterinarians of Latvian origin also had a role in Estonian education and research. In the early 1920s, Tartu University lost several experienced lecturers of veterinary medicine — Ernsts Paukulis, Ludvigs Kundziņš and Kārlis Kalniņš.⁴ They were ethnic Latvians who had been lecturers at the Veterinary Institute and for a short time had been employed by Tartu University, but preferred to continue their careers in their homeland, at the Latvian University. There was also a movement in the opposite

¹E. K. Lāti üliõpilaste ekskursioon Tartus. *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1939, nr. 5, lk. 175–176; 40 Lāti farmaatsiaüliõpilast külastavad Tartut. *Postimees*. 1939, 22.04 (nr. 108), lk. 9; EAA, stock 2100, ser. 1, item 6473.

²H. Paris. Ravimtaimede kultuur ja droogideturu korraldamine Lätis. *Eesti Rohuteadlane*. 1939, nr. 12, lk. 338–344.

³*Eesti Põllumajandusülikooli loomaarstiteaduskond 1848–1998*. Tartu, 1998; V. Kalnin, A. Viksna. Tartu Veterinaarinstituudi kasvandik: [Lāti mikrobioloog K. Helmannis: 125 aastat sünnist]. *Edasi*. 1973, 3.06 (nr. 128), lk. 4.

⁴H. Tankler, A. Rämmer. Õppejõudude koosseisu kujunemine Eesti Vabariigi Tartu Ülikoolis 1920-ndatel aastatel, lk. 42, 144.

direction — Karl Kangro, most probably an Estonian who had studied at the Tartu Veterinary Institute, later found employment in Riga and continued as the docent and professor of special pathology and therapy at the Latvian University from its foundation until his death in 1935.¹

Visits. The lecturers of the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine of Tartu University were frequent guests in Riga. The earliest visit took place as early as August 1919, when professors Karl Happich and Ludvigs Kundziņš participated in negotiations in Riga, at the invitation of the Latvian minister of education.² Johann Valdmann and his assistant Berta Lavendel stayed in Riga from May 28 to September 15, 1921. Valdmann planned to study the work of slaughterhouses in Riga and other Latvian towns, to collect pathological and anatomical specimens from there and to acquaint himself with the situation in meat inspection. His intention was to study the draft of the slaughterhouses act, in order to prepare respective laws in Estonia.³ In 1923, Associate Professor Johann Ainson travelled to Riga in order to study the archive documents regarding domestic animals and the meat trade in Estonia.⁴ In the summer of 1925, J. Ainson went to Riga for ten days to collect material for his lectures on the history of veterinary medicine.⁵ A frequent visitor to Latvia was Professor Hans Richter, who travelled there during several summer vacations and sometimes in transit from 1927–1932.⁶ Once he even travelled from the Estonian island of Saaremaa to Tartu via Riga.⁷ In the summer of 1931, Richter participated in the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Herder Institute and Herder Society.⁸ In the autumn of the same year, he made use of the opportunity to study the skeleton of a Lapland reindeer that

¹Prof. Karl Kangro †. *Eesti Loomaarstlik Ringvaade*. 1935, v. 3, lk. 116; *Päevaleht*. 1935, 14.05 (nr. 132), lk. 7.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 3, item 476 (at the end of the file).

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1301, pp. 4–6.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 13, pp. 16, 123v.

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 13, p. 27.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 969, pp. 104, 251–253, 290, 304, 321–323, 326, 335.

⁷EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 969, p. 335.

⁸EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 969, p. 319.

belonged to the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine of the Latvian University.¹ In 1932, Richter was a guest at Ludvig Kundziņš' jubilee celebration for his 50 years of professional life, and continued with his research on reindeer anatomy.² Aleksander Laas visited Riga at least twice; when travelling through Riga in 1928, he acquainted himself with the work of his colleagues,³ and in February 1940 he delivered lectures at refreshment courses for Latvian veterinarians.⁴ Karl Saral and an expert in technology, Jaan Muuga, travelled to Riga in January 1930, where they took an interest in X-ray apparatuses.⁵ Johannes Kaarde represented Tartu University at L. Kundziņš' funeral in Riga in May 1940.⁶ During the summer holiday of the same year, Elmar Roots wanted to study the history of Estonian dairy, but, most probably, this trip was cancelled.⁷

Joint congresses. From 1931–1939, four congresses of Baltic veterinarians were organized; the presentations often consisted of a main report and two subsidiary reports. Through such a system, all Baltic states were represented in each presentation; the main speakers rotated. The congresses of Baltic veterinarians have recently been discussed in detail by Enn Ernits, so therefore we are not going to dwell on this theme in much detail.⁸ The congresses of veterinarians started in 1931 in Riga, the following congress was held in Tallinn in 1935 and the third in Kaunas in 1937. The fourth congress of Baltic veterinarians was to take place in Riga in August 1940,⁹ but was cancelled because of the outbreak of war.

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 969, pp. 321, 322v.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 969, p. 343.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 485, p. 46.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 485, pp. 172–175.

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1052, p. 85.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 262, pp. 232–234; see also J. K[aarde]. Professor dr. med. vet. h. c. Ludvig Kundzin †. *Eesti Loomaarstlik Ringvaade*. 1940, v. 4, lk. 139–140.

⁷EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 995, p. 190.

⁸E. Ernits. Latvian-Estonian veterinary contacts between two World Wars. *Latvijas Universitātes Raksti*. 2004, 661. sejt., 142.–146. lpp.

⁹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 262, p. 212; item 995, p. 192.

Students' excursions. The initiators of the trip to Latvia and Lithuania in November 1925 were Finns studying at the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine of Tartu University.¹ In October 1928, 35 students of veterinary medicine from Tartu visited Riga, accompanied by two lecturers — H. Richter and J. Ainson.² In 1938, senior year students, accompanied by lecturers and their assistants, visited Latvia again (Riga and Jelgava). The delegation consisted of 24 people and was headed by K. Saral. On average, the Latvian University had 15 graduates in veterinary medicine per year, as the need for veterinarians in Latvia was greater than in Estonia. The excursionists were also impressed by the Riga slaughterhouse and the new veterinary clinic in Jelgava.³ Compared to several other specialities, relatively few articles were published on Latvia in specialist literature,⁴ considerably less than was published about Finland, or even Lithuania and Russia.

Humanities, social sciences and theology

Humanities

In this area, the contacts included field trips to different regions of Latvia to study more thoroughly its culture and history (by archaeologists, linguists, folklorists and ethnologists), and prolonged research in the Riga archives, carried out mainly by historians. Congresses of historians and archaeologists in the Baltic countries played an important role in furthering co-operation between those countries, as well as in the development of scholarly co-operation in the whole Baltic Sea region. Co-operation and contacts between scholars of the humanities were found by the general public to be more attractive and, therefore,

¹Loomaarstiteaduse üliõpilaste ekskursioon Läti- ja Leedumaale. *Postimees*. 1925, 4.11 (nr. 299), lk. 5.

²Eesti üliõpilased Riias [loomaarstiteaduskond]. *Postimees*. 1928, 22.10 (nr. 288), lk. 1.

³Tartu üliõpilased-loomaarstid tutvusid Riia ja Jelgavaga. *Postimees*. 1938, 29.11 (nr. 324), lk. 9.

⁴A. Arras. Välismaa teekonnalt. *Eesti Loomaarstlik Ringvaade*. 1926, v. 2, lk. 26; J. K[aarde]. II Läti loomaarstide kongress Riias. *Eesti Loomaarstlik Ringvaade*. 1928, v. 6, lk. 171–175.

were more often reflected in the press than were activities in other scientific fields.

Co-operation between Estonia and Latvia developed quite unevenly; closer contacts can be observed in the first half of the 1920s and the second half of the 1930s. The contacts stemmed from mutual interest, but now and then it was necessary to remind each other of the importance of joint work. Harri Moora, a professor of archaeology at the University of Tartu, wrote in 1933: "Latvia has initiated co-operation in the study of folklore, ethnography, and archaeology. It would be necessary to formulate an agreement between the universities or scholarly societies of both countries according to which the representatives of the scientists of both countries would give series of exhaustive papers in their fields in each other's countries. In such a way, it would be possible to get more acquainted with problems of mutual interest, as well as to discuss each other's differences, and to promote such work in each country. Estonia and Latvia should systematically work and find ways of ensuring that at least the universities of both countries would receive as complete and systematic a collection of literature concerning the cultural life of their neighbours as possible." He called for creating Estonian-Latvian stipends for more successful students and young scholars, which would enable them to get to know each other's research and work methods, just as it had been done in many other countries and was already in progress between Estonia and Finland.¹ A professor at the University of Latvia, Francis Balodis, wrote the following in an article calling for more active co-operation: "Our fates have been similar in the past, during the dark times of an alien oppressive power; we have created our present in our united struggles [...] working side by side, our two nations can achieve much more than standing alone...". Balodis's article contains much criticism towards the co-operation of the two nations: "We bow down before some Western European scholars of average or even poor standing [...] Latvians and Estonians have still not learned to reach

¹H. Moora. Eesti-Läti koostöö teaduslikul alal = Latvijas un Igaunijas kopdarbība zinātnē. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1933, 1. nr., 16.–18. lpp.

out a hand in friendly co-operation".¹ Professor H. Kruus visited Riga in May 1938, and discussed the co-operation of the historians of the neighbouring countries with the managers of Latvian education and the university leaders. In his interview given to *Postimees*, he mentioned that "the Estonian and Latvian science of history has undoubtedly many common questions and tasks, and is conditioned by the similar historical fate of both of these nations [...] The co-operation between Latvian and Estonian historians has a long tradition and has found expression in numerous joint activities, but this co-operation is still not sufficient for today. The major hindrance for common activities is the fact that the problems of the history of the two countries have mostly been discussed in languages not familiar to the other party."² Some essential differences in the interpretation of the historical points of contact in the two countries have also widened the breach.³ H. Kruus believed that the humanities were the field of science where the common scholarly interests of Estonia and Latvia were most pronounced. In his interview, Kruus found it necessary to stress the recent success of Latvian historians — many young researchers had entered the scene, and with the strong support of President Kārlis Ulmanis, the Institute of History had been established. Since 1937, the latter had been publishing its own journal, the volume of which exceeded by four times that of the Estonian respective journal, *Ajalooline Ajakiri*. A three-volume edition of *Latvian History* was in progress.

¹ F. Balodis. Paremat koostööd teaduse alal! = Labāku sadarbību zinātnes laukā! *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1934, 1. nr., 48.–50. lpp.

² Eesti ja Läti koostöö ajalooteaduse alal. *Postimees*. 1938, 6.05 (nr. 122), lk. 4.

³ Actually, this breach was mostly caused by the discussions over which of the neighbours had been bolder and braver in ancient times, especially regarding the different interpretations of the Sigtuna campaign by the historians of the two countries (J. W[asar]. Kuidas oli lugu Sigtunaga? *Päevaleht*. 1936, 11.02 (nr. 41), lk. 4), or the subject as to who was allied with whom during times of war (e.g., in the St. Matthew's Day battle). Different opinions were also voiced in the discussion over some events of the War of Independence (H. Kruus. Eestlased ja lätlased oma ajaloo hindamisel. *Päevaleht*. 1936, 18.02 (nr. 48), lk. 5).

Kruus especially underlined the interest of Latvians in their ancient history.¹

Conferences (congresses) of historians and archaeologists. A congress of Baltic archaeologists was organised by the University of Latvia in Riga in August 1930. The initiator of the congress was a professor at the University of Latvia, Francis Balodis.² The curator of the congress was the President of the Latvian Republic, Alberts Kviesis, and the honorary chairmen of the organising committee were the Prime Minister and the Minister of Education. About one hundred delegates arrived from foreign countries: 10 from Estonia, 27 from Sweden and 23 from Germany. Papers were presented over three days, and two days were devoted to excursions. A total of 28 papers were presented at the congress. Latvians invited Estonians to participate in their archaeological excavations; among those invited were H. Moora and M. Schmiedehelm, who considered the invitation as an utmost courtesy. H. Moora represented the University of Tartu at the congress, and published an overview of the event.³ Several publications were issued before the conference, containing papers by Estonian scientists.⁴ A large-scale exhibition opened in Riga, demonstrating archaeological finds from Latvia, and an exhaustive catalogue of the exhibition was published.⁵ A number of other interesting works were issued before the conference — for example, *Die Letten. Aufsätze über Geschichte, Sprache und Kultur der älteren Letten* (Riga, 1930).

¹Eesti ja Läti koostöö ajalooteaduse alal. *Postimees*. 1938, 6.05 (nr. 122), lk. 4; Tänavu ilmutab Läti ajalugu. Hiljuti asutatud Ajaloo Instituudi töö areneb hoogsalt. Jutuajamine prof. Balodisega Tartus. *Postimees*. 1938, 1.02 (nr. 31), lk. 3.

²A. Schück. Cultural Co-operation Between Sweden and the Baltic States. *Baltic and Scandinavian Countries*. Vol. 4, No. 2 (May 1938), p. 227.

³H. Moora. Balti muinasteadlaste kongress Riias 19.–23. aug. 1930. *Ajalooline Ajakiri*. 1930, nr. 3, lk. 138–145; EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 670, p. 105.

⁴*Congressus secundus archaeologorum Balticorum, Rigae, 19.–23.VIII.1930 = Orais Baltijas aizvēstures kongress, Riga, 19.–23.VIII.1930*. Riga, 1931. Acta Universitatis Latviensis. Philologorum et philosophorum ordinis series, T. 1., suppl. 1.

⁵*Katalog der Ausstellung zur Konferenz Baltischer Archäologen in Riga 1930*. Riga, 1930.

The first representative congress of historians of the Baltic Sea region was held in Riga in August 1937.¹ Before the congress, two Latvian professors, Francis Balodis and Arveds Švābe, came to Tartu to discuss the organisational questions of the event and to meet with Prorector Hans Kruus.² Historians from 12 countries participated in the congress, and again the initiative for the whole event came from Francis Balodis. The patron of the congress was the President of Latvia, K. Ulmanis.³ H. Kruus highly appreciated Balodis's organisational skills,⁴ but to lessen the workload, the organisational work was shared by the representatives of Estonia, Lithuania, Finland, Sweden, Norway, Germany and Poland. In addition to these countries, France, Italy and Hungary were also represented at the congress, where 170 participants out of 300 were foreigners. Sixty-two papers were offered at the congress, three of them by Estonians (H. Kruus, F. Linnus and H. Moora). The history of the countries of the Baltic Sea region was discussed from very different aspects. Several exhibitions were held during the conference and two longer excursions, one to Livonia and the other to Kurland, were organised.⁵ The congress exhibited the Estonian-Latvian patriotic spirit, and so Baltic-German historians were not given the floor.⁶ The treatment of the same events under different angles by Estonian, Latvian and Baltic-German (and

¹Balti ajaloolased Riias. Eile avati esimene Baltimeremaade ajaloolaste kongress. *Postimees*. 1937, 17.08 (nr. 220), lk. 5; *Conventus primus historicorum Balticorum, Rigae, 16.–20.VIII.1937 = Pirmā Baltijas vēsturnieku konference, Rīgā, 16.–20.VIII.1937: acta et relata relata*. Rīgā, 1938; G. Jenš. The First Congress of Baltic historians, Riga, August 16–20, 1937. *Baltic and Scandinavian Countries*. Vol. 3, No. 3 [7] (Sept. 1937), pp. 562–566; Baltijas zemju vēsturnieku konference, Rīgā. *Latvijas Vestures Institūta Žurnāls*. 1937, 3. nr., 469.–477. lpp.

²Kaks lāti professorit Tartus. *Postimees*. 1937, 21.07 (nr. 193), lk. 4.

³M. Sorgsepp. Akadeemiline Ajaloo-Selts 1937./38. tegevusaastal. *Ajalooline Ajakiri*. 1938, nr. 3, lk. 133; I Balti ajaloolaste konverents = I Baltijas vēsturnieku konference. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1937, 3. nr., 39.–40. lpp.

⁴Mida pakkus ajaloolaste konverents [...] Jutuajamine prorektor prof. H. Kruusiga. *Postimees*. 1937, 24.08 (nr. 227), lk. 5.

⁵*Congressus secundus archaeologorum balticorum Rigae, 19.–23. VIII 1930*, p. 7–16; Mida pakkus ajaloolaste konverents..., lk. 5.

⁶J. v. Hehn. Deutschbaltische Geschichtsschreibung 1918–1939/1945. *Geschichte der deutschbaltischen Geschichtsschreibung*. Hrsg. G. v. Rauch. Köln, Wien, 1986, S. 388–389.

sometimes by German) historians had, naturally, evoked serious disagreements among different groups of scientists. One of the difficult subjects was the power of manor owners and their right of possession of peasants and their belongings. In this case, Estonians and Latvians were of the same opinion, but the scholars of German origin attempted to justify the behaviour of the upper classes. For example, a lively discussion developed about the so-called Rosen Declaration (1793); historian Hans Rothfels from Königsberg doubted the correctness of Garlieb Merkel's critical writings about the harsh conditions of the peasants in Livonia at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, etc.¹ Karl Christoph von Stritzky defended his doctoral thesis on Garlieb Merkel at the University of Königsberg in 1939, contradicting Latvian historians, although he offered thanks to his teachers at the University of Latvia in his foreword.² We should not overlook the attitude predominant among German historians during the reign of Hitler and the prescribed ideas they were required to promote. To summarise this broad subject, which is not exactly relevant to our theme, we offer the opinion of Jürgen von Hehn, who believed that the Estonians had treated these issues with greater objectivity than the Latvians.³ The discussion of subjects concerning law and legal matters was, too, characterised by the treatments as being of one and the same issue from different points of view. The tendency to examine the history of law in the Estonian area from the viewpoint of the local Estonian

¹R. Vipers, J. Vīgrabs. *Die Rosensche Deklaration vom Jahre 1739, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Leibeigenschaft on Livland und Estland*. Tartu, 1937. Review in: *Latvijas Vestures Institūta Žurnāls*. 1937, 2. nr., 296.–299. lpp.; J. Vīgrabs. Poleemika "Roseni deklaratsiooni" puhul. *Ajalooline Ajakiri*. 1932, nr. 4, lk. 191–202; P. Treiberg, P. Haliste. *Ajalooliste teaduste VII rahvusvaheline kongress. Ajalooline Ajakiri*. 1933, nr. 4, lk. 228; see also J. Heeg. *Garlieb Merkel als Kritiker der livländischen Ständegesellschaft*. Frankfurt am Main, 1996. Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe 3, Bd. 718.

²K. C. v. Stritzky. *Garlieb Merkel und "Die Letten am Ende des philosophischen Jahrhunderts"*. Riga, 1939. *Mitteilungen aus der baltischen Geschichte*, Bd. 1, H. 2.

³See more in L. Karstens [J. Hehn]. *Die Entwicklung und die Charakter der lettischen Geschichtswissenschaft. Jomsburg*. 1939, 3. Jg., S. 72; A. v. Taube. *Estnische Geschichtsforschung und Geschichtsschreibung. Jomsburg*. 1938, 2. Jg., S. 45–61.

population can, in a most representative way, be seen in the works of a professor at the University of Tartu, Jüri Uluots.¹

Visits by Estonian archaeologists and historians to Latvia. In Estonia, relations between Estonian and Latvian archaeologists were first initiated by foreigners. The first professor of Estonian and Nordic archaeology at the University of Tartu, a Finn named Aarne Michaël Tallgren, visited several European countries, including Latvia in 1922.² Before coming to Tartu, Tallgren's research had mostly been related to Russia. During his Tartu period and afterwards, many of his works were devoted to Estonian subjects, and especially to Estonian archaeology.³ Tallgren's successor at the department of archaeology, a Swede named Birger Nerman, visited Riga twice in 1924; he gave a presentation at the Riga Society for History and Antiquities (*Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*) and worked at local museums.⁴ He visited Latvia again in the spring of the following year.⁵ Professor Tallgren very much appreciated Nerman's research activities, believing that he was one of the best specialists in ancient Scandinavian culture — he had during recent years familiarised himself with the archaeology of the Baltic countries as well, since his speciality was the past of the island of Gotland.⁶ Having been inspired by his Tartu period, Nerman wrote numerous papers on Estonian and Latvian archaeology, mostly regarding the historical contacts between Scandinavian countries and

¹ Prof. Jüri Uluotsa mälestusraamat. Stockholm, 1945, lk. 48–53. Välis-Eesti Kirjastustoimkonna väljaanne. 6.

² EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1176, p. 25.

³ Bibliography of A. M. Tallgren. *Eurasia septentrionalis antiqua*. Supplementary volume. Helsinki, 1954, pp. 122–145.

⁴ EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 718, pp. 28, 35; *Postimees*. 1924, 12.11 (nr. 307), lk. 2.

⁵ Prof. B. Nerman on teaduslikul otstarbel 25. maist kuni 1. juunini Lätimaale sõitnud. *Postimees*. 1925, 27.05 (nr. 142), lk. 5.

⁶ EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 718, p. 2; B. Nerman. *Die Verbindungen zwischen Skandinavien und dem Ostbaltikum in der Jüngerer Eisenzeit*. Stockholm, 1929. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar (Proceedings of the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities). Vol. XL, I. Reviewed by: J. Kostrzewski. *Baltic and Scandinavian Countries*. Vol. IV, No. 1 [8] (Jan. 1938), p. 99.

the eastern Baltic Sea area. He also described the archaeological excavations near Izborsk and Grobiņa, and wrote the obituary for F. Balodis.¹

After the beginning of Harri Moora's scientific career, contacts between Estonian archaeologists and their Latvian colleagues became closer. From the Latvian side, the co-operation was furthered by a number of scholars, especially by F. Balodis, who had begun his studies at the University of Tartu in 1902. Balodis's letter of October 30, 1925 revealed the interesting fact that he had wanted to receive his doctoral degree at the University of Tartu. He had discussed this idea with professor Tallgren, who had agreed to review his book *Alt-Sarai und Neu-Sarai* and act as an opponent to his work, and even to travel to Tartu for the day of his defence. Balodis's master's exams, which he had passed in Moscow, had been accepted as valid and no new exams were required for his promotion.² Balodis had already received a PhD in Munich, but in Estonia and Latvia it was equal to a master's degree. We have not been able to find out why his plan was not carried out, but Balodis defended his doctoral thesis at the University of Latvia in 1926.³ A large part of H. Moora's studies are related to Estonian and Latvian archaeology. As a student, he had already written a paper on eye fibulae in Estonia and Latvia (1922). This was followed by a study on the spread of Christianity in the Baltic countries.⁴ Moora frequently stayed in Latvia, meeting with his colleagues, participating in excavations and working in museums. According to an agreement between the Boards of the Antiquities of the two countries, Latvians were allowed to organise excavations in Estonia and vice versa.⁵ In 1923, Tallgren highlighted the importance of the ar-

¹M.-L. Bachmann. *Birger Nermans tryckta skrifter*. Stockholm, 1965; J. Ambatsis. Tillägg till förteckningen över Birger Nermans tryckta skrifter. *Fornvännen*. 1979, årg. 74, pp. 45–46.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 4, item 425, pp. 83–84.

³*Latvijas Universitāte divdesmit gados. 1919–1939. II daļa*. [Rīga], 1939, lpp. 33.

⁴H. Moora. Eestlaste, liivlaste ja lätlaste vaatest ristiusule nende kristianiseerimise algul. *Ajalooline Ajakiri*. 1924, nr. 3, lk. 81–90.

⁵*Latvijas Saule*, 1929, 79.–81. nr., lpp. 884; G. Ney. Baltijas tautu kultūras attiecības. Līdzšinējie sasniegumi un turpmākās izredzes = Balti rahvaste kultuurilised

chaeological study of the areas bordering on Estonia, and said that the University of Tartu could assume a leadership role regarding this work.¹ Under Tallgren's supervision, Harri Moora studied more thoroughly the archaeology of Latvia, and wrote his first thesis on the Iron Age in Latvia (*Lätimaa rauaaajast kuni a. 500 p. Kr.*), receiving his MA in 1925. The same year, Moora wished to take part in archaeological diggings in Latvia.² He published materials about the excavations near Jēkabpils.³ Moora applied for a travel stipend for the summer of 1928, adding that the excavations would partly be financed by the Latvian state.⁴ Moora retained his interest in Latvian subject matter throughout his life. In September 1929, he again participated in excavations in Latvia, together with professors B. Nerman and F. Jakobsons. On Nerman's proposal, Moora was engaged in the work as a specialist of Estonian and Latvian stone graves.⁵ A new type of stone grave from the older Iron Age, about the 3rd–6th century, was found near the town of Kandava in Daigone, in the northwest part of Kurzeme. Similar graves had earlier been found in Estonia, southwestern Finland and northern Latvia, near the Estonian border. This find was thought to be rather sensational, as the grave was attributed to Livonians and would have been the earliest proof of a Livonian settlement in the area.⁶ Moora went there and later wrote in his report: "... this trip proved to be especially necessary in the sense that other diggers had had much less experience with such graves, and in spite of the fact that the diggings had been started already in 1928, they had not yet decided upon its nature."⁷ It is known that Moora was able to

suhted. Seniseid saavutusi ja edaspidiseid väljavaateid. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1935, 3./4. nr., lpp. 36.

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 718, p. 3v; A. M. Tallgren. Rahvuslikud olud eelajaloolisel ajal Ida-Baltikumis ja põhjapoolses Euroopas. Ettekanne rahvusvahelisel ajaloolaste kongressil Brüsselis 10.4.1923. *Eesti Kirjandus*. 1923, nr. 5/6, lk. 201.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 670, p. 25.

³H. Moora. Vecākā dzelzs laikmeta izrakumi Jēkabpils apriņķī. *Latvijas Saule*. 1925, 3. nr., 387.–390. lpp.; *Ausgrabungen ältereisenzeitlicher Hügelgräber im Kreise Jēkabpils*. Riga, 1928.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 670, p. 25.

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 670, p. 80.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 670, p. 82.

⁷EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 670, p. 82.

work in Riga, and in the Jelgava, Cesvaine and Jēkabpils museums in 1923, 1925, 1926, the winter and spring of 1928¹ and in the spring of 1935². In 1938 he wrote about a barrow in Jelgava County;³ the same year that he defended his doctoral thesis *Die Eisenzeit in Lettland bis etwa 500 n. Chr.* No other writing from this period could be more devoted to Latvian subject-matter than these books. A. M. Tallgren, having reviewed the thesis, had a very high opinion of its scientific value.⁴ This was a voluminous and profound study, the first part of which had been completed already in 1929, with the second part submitted as the doctoral thesis. Moora continued his Latvia-related research even in the years when Estonia and Latvia were occupied by the Soviet Union. H. Moora, H. Kruus, A. Tammekann, J. Käis and A. Mägi wrote an exhaustive article about Latvia for *Eesti Entsüklopeedia* (*The Estonian Encyclopaedia*; 1935, vol. 5, pp. 663–681).

On the initiative of Swedish and, especially, German archaeologists, an excursion to Estonia was organised for Baltic archaeologists by the department of archaeology at the University of Tartu under the supervision of professor H. Moora. A number of guests were from Sweden, Finland, Germany and Latvia (a professor of archaeology of the Herder Institute, Carl Engel, a professor of the University of Latvia, F. Balodis, a director of the historical museum, W. Ginters, and an inspector of the Board of the Antiquities, Dr. E. Šturms). One day was spent in Tartu, where the guests visited the Estonian National Museum and a small exhibition arranged for this event, which provided an idea of the activities of the Estonian scholars during recent years. A tour of South Estonia was held on the second and a tour of Virumaa on the third day. Although no official meetings were prepared, the problems of co-operation were discussed and it was decided, upon

¹Harri Moora. *Personaalnimestik*. Tallinn, 1989, lk. VII; EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 670, pp. 58, 321 v.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 670, pp. 167–168.

³H. Moora. Das II Hügelgrab von Gailiši, Gemeinde Īle, Kreis Jelgava. *Senatne un Māksla*. 1938, 2. nr., 64.–73. lpp.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 670, p. 236; J. Selirand. Harri Moora elust ja tegevusest. *Harri Moora. Personaalnimestik*, lk. XXI.

the kind invitation of the Finnish participants, that the next "extraordinary conference" would be held in Finland in two years.¹

It is well understandable that Estonian history and its research have tightly been intertwined with Latvia and its history, ever since the Province of Livonia of Tsarist Russia had been divided into two parts, up to when Estonia and Latvia had gained independence. It is difficult to draw borders in historical writings dividing the history of Livonia among Estonia and Latvia. Many archival documents on Livonia have been distributed among the Riga and Tartu archives. The majority of Tartu historians, as well as some other researchers interested in historical subjects, found it necessary to work in Latvian archives during the period under discussion (E. Blumfeldt, J. Vasar, H. Kruus, L. Leesment, H. Sepp, P. Treiberg, Elmar Roots, Johann Ainson, Lauri Kettunen, Peeter Arumaa and others). A professor of the department of Estonia and Nordic countries at the University of Tartu, Arno Rafael Cederberg, probably did not visit Latvia during his Tartu period; but he was engaged in the specification of the materials treating the whole of Livonia in Swedish archives (including the National Archives) and libraries.² Encouraged by Cederberg, his disciple Juhan Vasar was interested in the relations of Estonia (Estland) and Livonia (Livland) with Sweden in the last quarter of the 17th century;³ and Hans Kruus, who studied the Estonian National Awakening, started researching subjects related to the history of Estonia and Latvia. H. Kruus was sent to Riga for three months starting from June 1, 1926, so that he could gather material for his doctoral dissertation on peasant revolts in South Estonia (*Talurahva käärimine Lõuna-Eestis XIX sajandi 40-ndail aastail*)⁴; he intended to work

¹Naabermaade muinasteadlased Tartus. *Postimees*. 1935, 10.08 (nr. 215), lk. 6. R. Indreko and M. Schmiedehelm wrote about research in archaeology in 1934 and 1935, see *Ajalooline Ajakiri*. 1935, nr. 3, lk. 142; B. Nerman. Baltisk arkeologkonferens i Estland 10–12 aug. 1935. *Fornvännen*. 1935, vol. 30, p. 313–315.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 83, p. 26v.

³J. Vasar. *Die grosse livländische Güterreduktion, die Entstehung des Konflikts zwischen Karl XI und der livländischer Ritter und Landschaft 1678–1684*. Tartu, 1930.

⁴The dissertation was published as a book in 1930, but it was defended the next year.

with the materials of the Archives of the Livonian Nobility.¹ Kruus planned a one-month trip to Riga as well in the beginning of 1929, to gather material for the completion of his thesis and for his lectures;² he may have also stayed for short periods and conducted research in Riga in 1931 and 1938.³ Kruus wrote about the contacts between the Estonian and Latvian national awakenings,⁴ and he reviewed Arveds Švābe's work *Die älteste schwedische Landrevision Livlands (1601)*.⁵ He participated in the Day of the Baltic Historians in Riga from August 15–20, 1937, as the representative of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Tartu.⁶ We can call Hans Kruus the Estonian liaison between the historians of the two countries. Already in February of 1929, he gave a presentation about the current research topics of Latvian historians at the Academic History Society.⁷ In 1938, H. Kruus was elected an honorary doctor of the University of Latvia; he was much surprised by this, because in his public presentations a few years earlier, he had criticised his Latvian colleagues for errors in their treatment of some common historical subjects.⁸ Juhan Vasar, who held a foreign fellowship at the University of Tartu, was a frequent visitor to the Riga archives. In September 1928, Vasar intended to work in Riga, studying the archival materials of the Livonian Nobility, the so-called "reduction commission" and others. He wrote: "When I arrived

¹ Archives of the University of Tartu (henceforth TŪA), ser. 3/51, item 867, pp. 12, 23.

²TŪA, ser. 3/51, item 867, p. 39.

³TŪA, ser. 3/51, item 867, pp. 123, 172.

⁴H. Kruus. *Igauņu un Latvju attiecības tautiskās atmodas laikā*. Rīga, 1938; H. Kruus. Eesti ja Läti rahvusliku ärkamisliikumise kokkupuuteist. *Eesti Kirjandus*. 1938, nr. 5, lk. 225–241 (Reprint: H. Kruus. *Eesti ajaloo XIX sajandi teisel poolel: 60–80-ndad aastad. Lühikirjandus*. Tallinn, 1957, lk. 221–233); H. Kruus. Beziehungen zwischen den Esten und Letten während der Zeit des völkischen Erwachens. *Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurnāls*. 1938, 2. nr., 163.–188. lpp.

⁵A. Švābe. Die älteste schwedische Landrevision Livlands (1601). *Ajalooline Ajakiri*. 1934, nr. 1, lk. 48.

⁶TŪA, ser. 3/51, item 867, p. 169.

⁷An overview of H. Kruus's presentation "Läti tänapäeva ajaloolisest uurimis- tööst" see *Ajalooline Ajakiri*. 1929, nr. 2, lk. 95–96.

⁸Eesti ja Läti koostöö ajaloo teaduse alal. *Postimees*. 1938, 6.05 (nr. 122), lk. 4; see H. Kruus. Eestlased ja lätlased oma ajaloo hindamisel. *Päevaleht*. 1936, 18.02 (nr. 48), lk. 5.

at Riga and started my work, it turned out that the local archives contained much more material relevant to my subject than it could have been expected from the lists of archival documents. The originals of some of these materials are held in Stockholm, and the copies are in Riga, but working in Riga is much more practical, since the cost of living and expenses are much less here than in Sweden. Besides, I can use the archival materials also in the afternoons, which is not possible elsewhere.”¹ Due to these circumstances, Vasar wished to prolong his stay in Latvia for two months in the late autumn of 1928, and tried to find additional financing.² Vasar again visited Latvia during the Christmas break in 1930.³ Latvian archives and libraries were also used by Evald Blumfeldt, who had written his thesis at the same department,⁴ and Hendrik Sepp.⁵ Lecturer E. Blumfeldt had a research stipend from the University of Tartu for a stay in Riga from the beginning of September to the beginning of November in 1931; he mostly worked in the Latvian State Archives and in the archive of the Riga Society for History and Antiquities.⁶ His work was made more difficult by the lack of collections lists, but with the kind permission of his Latvian colleagues, (he mentioned Dr. Albert Bauer specifically), Blumfeldt was allowed to use several manuscripts that were ready for publication (the manuscripts of the 13th volume of the First Series of *Urkundebuch* and supplements to the previous volumes, the 3rd volume of *Livländische Güterurkunden* and the 2nd volume of *Akten und Rezesse der livländischen Ständetäge*).⁷

In relation to research activities, we should talk about the attempts at exchanging archival materials between Estonia and Latvia. The Department of Science and Arts of the Estonian Ministry of Education developed a plan together with the Central State Archives of Estonia, listing the archival collections that Estonia wanted to acquire from

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1312, pp. 33, 41.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1312, p. 33.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1312, pp. 60–62.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 69, p. 28–31.

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1076, pp. 52–54.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 69, pp. 29, 95.

⁷EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 69, p. 29.

Latvia. The materials that Latvia wanted to acquire from the Central State Archives of Estonia are also known. By August 1926, 118 linear metres, or about 39 000 items of archival materials, had been separated out from the collections of the Archives. But a relevant agreement had not been reached, the materials were not sent to Latvia, and negotiations were started, which did not achieve any results.¹

Art history. For a long time, art history was taught by Swedes at the University of Tartu. Helge Kjellin (a professor in Tartu from 1921–1924) took a long study trip to Estonia and Latvia in the summer of 1922 to study historical buildings. He was accompanied by student Eeva Pedriks, later Eeva Niinivaara, who was Kjellin's student assistant from 1922–1924. On an assignment from Kjellin, Pedriks-Niinivaara worked as a grant student in Riga in the summer of 1924, and Kjellin visited her there when he attended a conference. Niinivaara has briefly described her Riga stay in her memoirs.² Swede Sten Karling, a professor of art history in Tartu from 1933–1941, was interested in mutual influences in regards to the architecture of the Baltic countries.³ He engaged Armin Tuulse in this research. The Latvian subject matter occupied an essential part in Tuulse's works.⁴ Tuulse visited Riga several times in the summer of 1937⁵ and in 1939,⁶ and he supervised an excursion of a group of more than 20 art history students to Riga in 1940.⁷ During his life in Sweden (1944–1977),

¹L. Leppik. Balti kindralkubernerite arhiivi lugu. *Eesti Ajalooarhiivi Toimetised = Acta et commentationes Archivi Historici Estoniae*. 4 (11). Tartu, 1999, lk. 102–106.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 353, pp. 40, 45, 47; Prof. Tor Helge Kjellin on... *Postimees*. 1922, 26.07 (nr. 166), lk. 2; Eeva Niinivaara. *Ikka paistab seesama päike. Elu mu noorusaja Eestis ja Soomes*. Tallinn, 1994, lk. 81–82.

³E.g. S. Karling. *Matthias Holl från Augsburg och hans verksamhet som arkitekt: Magnus de la Gardies tjänst i Sverige och Baltikum*. Göteborg, 1932.

⁴A. Tuulse. Die mittelalterliche Burgenarchitektur Alt-Livlands. *Konsthistorisk tidskrift*. 1938, H. 4, s. 105–106; A. Tuulse. Das Schloss zu Riga. *Õpetatud Eesti Seltsi Aastaraamat*, 1937, II. Tartu, 1939. lk. 61–132. The most important among his works is *Die Burgen in Estland und Lettland*, Tuulse's published doctoral thesis, defended in Tartu in 1942.

⁵Estonian Literary Museum, Tartu, Estonian Cultural History Archives (henceforth KM EKLA), stock 175, M 18-14, p. 2.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1266, p. 54.

⁷EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1266, pp. 69–70.

Tuulse discussed subjects related to Estonia and Latvia in separate papers and as a part of other major works.¹ Tuulse's personal stock in EAA contains his manuscripts *Kunstatlas für Ostmitteleuropa* (one part concerning the Baltic countries),² *Schweden und das Baltikum in der mittelalterlichen Baukunst*,³ and some other materials, including his notebooks with some references to Latvia. The Latvian materials still comprise only a small part of his personal stock.

Ethnography. In this field, the influence of neighbouring nations can always be clearly seen and studied. Very often it is also important to explain a lack of such an influence, since it helps to demonstrate the typical and unique development of the cultures of different peoples. A Finn, Ilmari Manninen, once the director of the Estonian National Museum and a docent at the University of Tartu, took a two to three week-long study trip to Latvia and Lithuania in December 1923.⁴ Among other things, he planned to visit the Latvian Museum of Ethnography.⁵ After his trip, Manninen discussed a noticeable difference in the materials originating from North and South Latvia. He explained the similarity of the materials from the northern areas to Estonian materials with the influence of the Livonians in Latvia. The material which had been gathered from areas lacking Livonian settlement was of an entirely different nature. Manninen also mentioned three *Krevin* women's headgear *sapan* found in the museum. Typologically, he found *sapan* important, since it seemed to represent an older type of headgear than the present "*Votian sapan*".⁶ Manninen again visited Latvia in the summer of 1924;⁷ his book on Finno-Ugric ethnography *Soome sugu rahvaste etnograafia* (Tartu, 1929) contains

¹A. Tuulse. *Die spätmittelalterliche Steinskulptur in Estland und Lettland*. Helsinki, 1948. Suomen muinaismuistoyhdistyksen aikakauskirja, 49:1; A. Tuulse. *Burgen des Abendlandes*. Wien, 1958; A. Tuulse. *Castles of the Western World*. London, 1958; A. Tuulse. *Romansk konst i Norden*. Stockholm, 1968; see also EAA, stock 5298, ser. 1, item 32.

²EAA, stock 5298, ser. 1, item 34.

³EAA, stock 5298, ser. 1, item 35.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1113, pp. 9–9v, 15–16.

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1113, p. 15v.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1113, p. 16.

⁷EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 606, pp. 22–26.

an overview of Livonian folk culture. A lecturer at the University of Tartu, F. Leinbock-Linnus, was very interested in the Livonians. He visited the coastal areas of Livonia three times in 1927 and 1928.¹ His diaries written during these trips have been preserved, where he describes in detail fishing and the fishing equipment, and generally everything related to fishing, as well as some games. Leinbock-Linnus took many notes on bee-keeping in Livonia, and he actually described everything he deemed noteworthy during his trips — farming and husbandry, lumbering, household work, food and eating, clothing, medical treatment, buildings, weather, etc. He studied the Livonian language, collected its vocabulary, special terminology, folklore, etc., during his trips.² Leinbock-Linnus wrote a longer article on the main occupation of the Livonians — fishing³ and he was interested in the apiculture of the Livonians.⁴ His long-time work on the ethnographical dictionary of the Livonian language remained unfinished, and the book was not published.⁵ In 1937, Gustav Ränk visited several countries in the Baltic Sea region, including Latvia. His main aim was to find additional material for his thesis on the farm buildings of the island of Saaremaa. In this work he compared his own views on several essential problems (e.g. the spreading of the barn dwelling in Latvia) with those of some Latvian researchers (Pauls Kundziņš and others), and explained some important features of the farm architecture of North Latvia with the fact that some time ago these areas had been inhabited by Estonians.⁶

¹F. Leinbock (Linnus). Liivlaste kalastusest ja vähipüügist. *Eesti Rahva Muuseumi Aastaraamat*, 4. Tartu, 1928, lk. 109.

²The diaries are in the possession of F. Leinbock-Linnus's grandson Tanel Linnus in Tartu.

³F. Leinbock (Linnus). Liivlaste kalastusest ja vähipüügist. *Eesti Rahva Muuseumi Aastaraamat*, 4. Tartu, 1928, lk. 109–151.

⁴KM EKL A, stock 175, M 13:28, p. 5, see the book.

⁵E. Väiri. Die Liven und die livische Sprache in den Jahren 1920–1970. *Finnisch-ugrische Forschungen*. Bd. 39, H. 1–2. Helsinki, 1971, S. 142.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1023, pp. 32–35, 59; G. Ränk. *Saaremaa taluehitised. Etimograafiline uurimus*. Tartu, 1939. Õpetatud Eesti Seltsi kirjad, 5, lk. 326–328; G. Ränk. *Vana eesti rahvas ja kultuur*. Tartu, 1996, lk. 167–168.

The Livonians. Deep interest in the Livonians brought Estonian and Finnish researchers to Latvia; they studied the spiritual and material culture and the dying language of this small related nation, its folklore, beliefs and customs, ways of living and working, clothing, etc., even its fate and their future. Tartu and Helsinki developed into the main research centres for the Livonian people and their language, and the work was done jointly by Estonians and Finns. The Latvians, too, made their own contribution, although it was still a small one at that period.¹ We know a lot about the research done on the Livonian language thanks to Eduard Vääri's exhaustive overviews written up to the early 1970s; the author is still continuing his work.² An overview written by O. Loorits in 1934 gives an idea of the support given to Livonians by Estonians and Finns, and of the development of the kindred peoples movement together with the Livonians.³

The joint work of the Estonians and Finns began in the summer of 1920,⁴ when a professor of the department of Baltic-Finnic languages at the University of Tartu, a Finn named Lauri Kettunen, together with a student at the same department named Oskar Loorits, spent the whole summer with the Livonians.⁵ The trip was planned to last for at least two months, and the researchers were equipped with a photographic camera and a phonograph.⁶ Kettunen believed that the Livonian language was becoming extinct, and he was worried that there were no specialists who knew the language well; he thought that

¹E. Vääri. Liivi keele uurimise ajaloost. *Emakeele Seltsi Aastaraamat*, 5. Tallinn, 1959, lk. 220–221.

²E. Vääri. Liivi keele uurimise ajaloost, lk. 190–217; E. Vääri. Die Liven und die livische Sprache in den Jahren 1920–1970, S. 139–148; E. Vääri. Tartu ülikooli osa liivi keele ja liivlaste uurimisel. *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*. 13. Tartu, 1983, lk. 90–100.

³O. Loorits. Liivi rahva elu ja surma küsimus. *ERK*, 1934, nr. 11–12, lk. 180–185.

⁴The modern stage of the study of the Livonian language and culture was actually started by L. Kettunen already in 1917, when he worked for about a month with a Livonian refugee in Finland (E. Vääri. Die Liven und die livische Sprache in den Jahren 1920–1970, S. 139).

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 324, p. 6; L. Kettunen. Liiviläismatkalta. *Virittäjä*. 1920, vk. 24, s. 111–119.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2b, item 33, p. 7.

it would be a matter of honour that the future specialists of this important Finno-Ugric language were found in Estonia.¹ The work was begun at the beginning of June, in Lūži, the westernmost village of the Livonian area. The dictionary of the Livonian language, compiled by Lauri Kettunen, was revised and necessary additions were made over two weeks. Moving from village to village, they eventually gathered very rich material, which all in all comprised of 712 octavo pages of texts, including 47 fairytales (263 pages), 69 tales and other prose pieces (279 pages), 35 longer songs (85 pages), 186 different variations of riddles (259 pages), and proverbs, incantations, descriptions of superstitions, etc. Kettunen had to leave for Tartu for ten days, but Loorits, who had become an experienced field researcher, continued the work alone during this time.² Kettunen was extremely satisfied with the results of this work. He had been able to add plenty of new material to his collection of Livonian words and to concentrate on the phonetic features of the language. It was possible to revise thoroughly and re-evaluate a number of outdated and literature-based ideas. As a result of this expedition, a large amount of language samples (including 20 phonograph rolls with recordings) and folkloristic materials arrived in Tartu. The material also proved to be an important contribution to the study of the Livonian syntax. Fifty-eight photos, mostly of an ethnographic nature, were taken, and copies of the photos were donated to the Estonian National Museum. Kettunen found it necessary to remark that his co-worker Loorits had been of great help to him, combining "the talents of an excellent field worker and researcher with praiseworthy diligence and work ability. I would use this opportunity to express a hope that the university would support Mr. Loorits also in the future, if he wanted to continue his work with the Livonians".³ Kettunen and Loorits visited the Livonians again the next summer, travelling to almost all Livonian villages in the area, excluding only the neighbourhood of Kolga (Kolka).⁴ During the summer break

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 324, pp. 7–8.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 324, p. 12v.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 324, p. 13.

⁴Professor L. Kettunen liivlaste juures. *Postimees*. 1921, 19.09 (nr. 215), lk. 3; Professor L. Kettunen tagasi jõudnud. *Päevaleht*. 1921, 13.09 (nr. 243), lk. 7.

of 1923, Kettunen again went to Livonia to continue his studies of the Livonian language and to complete his manuscript on the historical phonetics of Livonian.¹ He also spent the following year's summer break in Livonia, gathering additional material for his study of Livonian, which he wished to publish in the near future.² This time, he also intended to work in the Latvian archives.³ Kettunen became the most outstanding specialist of the Livonian language. He published some studies on Livonian in the Proceedings of the University of Tartu,⁴ and he also published numerous shorter studies on the Livonian language; for example, in 1938 he discussed the peculiar imperative of the verb "minna".⁵ In 1938, Kettunen completed his work of twenty years — the Livonian dictionary *Livisches Wörterbuch mit grammatischer Einleitung* (Helsinki, 1938), 517 pages of a dictionary and a grammatical overview.

Encouraged and influenced by Kettunen, Oskar Loorits became an outstanding scholar of folklore; several aspects of the Livonian subject always occupied a central part in his work. From 1927–1937, Loorits worked as a private docent, and from 1937–1944 he worked as a docent at the University of Tartu. He was the founder of the Estonian Folklore Archives. As already mentioned above, Loorits visited the Livonians thrice during the years of 1920–1923. In the winter of 1923, he went to the coast of the Livonian Gulf and to Riga, where he studied Latvian folklore and learned some Latvian.⁶ In the summer of 1923, he again went to Livonia,⁷ and that same year, he pub-

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2b, item 33, p. 19.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 324, p. 36.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 324, p. 32.

⁴L. Kettunen. *Untersuchung über die livische Sprache. I, Phonetische Einführung. Sprachproben*. Tartu, 1926. Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis, B, 8, 3; reviewed in *Eesti Keel*, 1926, nr. 1/2, lk. 38–40.

⁵Lauri Kettunen. Liivi li 'mine'. *Liber saecularis: Litterarum Societas Esthonica, 1838–1938*. Tartu, 1938. *Õpetatud Eesti Seltsi Toimetused*, 30, lk. 249–253, and others.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2b, item 44, p. 12.

⁷EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2b, item 44, p. 5.

lished a longer overview on the Livonians.¹ He lived in Riga during the whole first semester of 1924, thoroughly studying Latvian folklore and the relations between Livonians and Latvians. He mainly worked in the Riga public library, but was able to borrow books that could not be found in the library collections from a Latvian bibliophile, Jānis Misiņš. He also examined the collections of manuscripts of Professor Pēteris Šmits, *can. phil.* Anna Bērzkalne and Arveds Švābe. Loorits systematically studied Latvian folk songs, fairytales and sagas, mythology, descriptions of superstitions and customs, and worked his way through a large amount of newspapers and journals.² Loorits's master's thesis on the Livonian religion *Liivi rahva usund I* was completed in 1926.³ In 1926, a professor of Finno-Ugric folklore, Walter Anderson, wrote that Loorits's thesis was "an outstanding work, being one of the best of its kind. The book has a permanent scientific value, because of the fact that the mythological material used in it has so far been unpublished and it had been gathered by the author himself, and also because the material has been organised and reproduced in an excellent manner. Mr. Loorits's work will remain a standard work in the field of Livonian mythology also in the future, and all scholars of Estonian and Latvian mythology are obliged to know Livonian mythology as well".⁴ Loorits's habilitation paper was an annotated catalogue of Livonian fairytales and sagas.⁵ This work was much praised by W. Anderson, as well as by Mattias Johann Eisen, a professor of folklore: "The compilation of such a catalogue does not demand only much diligence and assiduity, but it also needs outstand-

¹O. Loorits. *Liivi rahva olevik. Eesti Kirjandus*. 1923, nr. 1, lk. 37–46; nr. 2, lk. 73–82; nr. 3, lk. 129–139; nr. 4, lk. 166–182.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 573, pp. 24v–25.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 573, p. 27; O. Loorits. *Liivi rahva usund*. 1. Tartu, 1926. *Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis*. B. 11 (1); reviewed by: M. J. Eisen. O. Loorits. *Liivi rahva usund I. Eesti Kirjandus*. 1926, nr. 12, lk. 667–668. Loorits published *Liivi rahva usund*. 2 (1927) and *Liivi rahva usund*. 3 (1929) in the series *Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis. Liivi rahva usund. I–III*. Facsimile edition, Tartu, 1998; O. Loorits. *Liivi rahva usund. IV–V*, Tartu, 2000.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2b, item 44, p. 47.

⁵O. Loorits. *Livische Märchen- und Sagenvarianten*. Helsinki, 1926. *Folklore Fellows Communications*, 66.

ing expertise, which would help to recognise and clearly characterise all types of tales".¹ Most probably Loorits visited the Livonians again in the late autumn of 1927² and in the summer of 1934;³ it is quite possible that we do not have data about all of his trips to the area.

Besides the works mentioned above, Loorits also published several books and numerous articles on the Livonians.⁴ Among these, we can clearly distinguish the works written in defence of the Livonians, which sometimes employed a rather sharp tone.⁵ Some of his works

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 573, p. 70; reviewed by: W. Anderson. Oskar Loorits. *Livische Märchen und Sagenvarianten*. *Eesti Kirjandus*. 1927, nr. 7, lk. 403.

²KM EKLA, stock 175, M 13:28, p. 9.

³Dr. O. Loorits sõidab liivlasi uurima. *Postimees*. 1934, 14.07 (nr. 189), lk. 2.

⁴Oskar Loorits. *Trükitud tööde bibliograafia*. Koost. K. Tammkivi. Tartu, 1990; Oskar Loorits. 1900–1961. *Bibliograafia/Bibliographie*. Toim. K. Ribenis. Tartu, 2000. Loorits either compiled or published four or five volumes of *Liivi lugemik* (I–V, Tartu, 1921–1926), published in the serial Akadeemilise Emakeele Seltsi Toimetised; O. Loorits. Liivi rahva olevik. *Eesti Kirjandus*. 1923, nr. 1, lk. 37–46; nr. 2, lk. 73–82; nr. 3, lk. 129–139; nr. 4, lk. 166–182; O. Loorits. *Valik Liivi muistendeid*. Viljandi, 1927; O. Loorits. Eesti-liivi kalurite sõnakeeld ja salakeel. *Virittüja*. 1931, vk. 35, n:o. 4, s. 447–468; O. Loorits. Die Geburt und der Tod in der livischen Volksüberlieferung. *Õpetatud Eesti Seltsi toimetused = Commentationes Litterarum Societatis Esthonicae*. 26. Tartu, 1932, lk. 131–169; O. Loorits. Der Tod in der livischen Volksüberlieferung. *Ibidem*, lk. 170–200; O. Loorits. Livonian folklore and mythology. *Baltic Countries*. Vol. 2, No. 2 [4] (Sept. 1936), pp. 187–190; O. Loorits. Volkslieder der Liven. *Õpetatud Eesti Seltsi toimetused*. 28, Tartu, 1936. Loorits wrote an article on the Livonian folklore and mythology for the Latvian encyclopaedia, as well as for the Estonian Encyclopaedia. When living in Sweden, Loorits returned several times to the subject of the Livonians — O. Loorits. Das livische Kalendarium. *Arv. Ärg*. 6 (1950). Uppsala, 1951, s. 100–144; O. Loorits. Eine altrussische Tradition bei den Liven und Letten. *Commentationes Balticae = Jahrbuch des baltischen Forschungsinstituts*, 4/5, 5 (1958), S. 115–167. He used the Livonian subject matter for comparison in his other works published in exile (K. Salve's foreword to Loorits's book *Liivi rahva usund*. IV–V, Tartu, 2000, lk. XI).

⁵The first articles of this kind were published already in Estonian daily newspapers in 1921. O. Loorits. Liivi rahva elu ja surma küsimus. *ERK*. 1934, nr. 11–12, lk. 180–185; O. Loorits. Vom Untergang des livischen Volkes. *Fenno-Ugrica*, 5. Tallinn, 1936, lk. 348–386; O. Loorits. *Liivi rahva mälestuseks. Reisivesteid ja ülevaateid*. Tartu, Tallinn, 1938. In his review, Oskar Urgart praised this book as well as Loorits's activities in the study and defense of the Livonians, but his attitude towards the future of the Livonian people remains somewhat sceptical, simply on the basis of Loorits's vaguely expressed point of view. The engaging style and humorous

on the Livonians have been preserved in manuscripts.¹ The Estonian Folklore Archives hold materials on Livonian folklore gathered by O. Loorits and F. Leinbock-Linnus. In collecting Livonian material, Loorits used the help of correspondents.² Up to 1940, Loorits had bibliographed almost all of the published materials concerning the Livonians, and according to his own information, he had also acquired a collection of several thousands of newspaper clippings covering everything that had been published about the Livonians in the press of Estonia and neighbouring countries.³ Very few letters from Latvian correspondents can be found among the preserved correspondence of Loorits, but it is known that he had very close long-time contacts with Anna Bērzkalne,⁴ and he met with Jānis Endzelīns.⁵ On the occasion of the latter's 60th birthday, Loorits wrote an article for the newspaper *Päevaleht*.⁶ Anna Bērzkalne had already in 1922 inquired about the possibility of getting her degree at the University of Tartu. This idea was repeatedly discussed over the following years, until in 1935 she

tone of the book very much added to its success (O. Urgart. O. Loorits. Liivi rahva mälestuseks. *Eesti Kirjandus*. 1939, nr. 9, lk. 418–420). E. Vääri has expressed an opinion that as a collection of travel notes and overviews, the book contains many sentimental and subjective ideas, which is true. We would want to stress also that the sharpness of tone was a characteristic feature of Loorits's, which was readily expressed in his attitude towards the subject of the Latvians and Livonians. Aleksander Loorits, the older brother of Oskar Loorits, recalls: "He was perhaps even too loud-mouthed in his life, causing worry for many and hardships for himself. But still, he did not evade these hardships." (A. Loorits. *Oskar Looritsa noorusmailt* (Estonian Literary Museum, Tartu, Estonian Folklore Archives, henceforth KM ERA, RKM I, 10, p. 499); A. Loorits. *Oskar Looritsa noorusmailt*. Viljandi, 2000, lk. 10).

¹KM EKLA, stock 175, M 24:2 (Aruanne viieaastasest tööst liivi rannikul), M 27:12, M 27:13 (Livju lietā), M 27:14 (Līvō kiel grammatika termīnōd), M 27:4 (Kōne liivi keeles Liivi Seltsi asutamisel 18.11.1923), M 31:19 (Reis liivlaste juurde).

²KM ERA, RKM I, 10, p. 487 (P. Damberg. *Mälestused O. Looritsast*).

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 573, p. 177.

⁴Anna Bērzkalne's archive in Jānis Misiņš's library in Riga holds a large number of letters sent to her by Loorits during 22.11.1924–28.12.1943, a total of 134 letters in Russian, German, and Estonian, but also in Latvian and Finnish (Bērzkalne, VII, 1–134).

⁵KM EKLA, stock 175, M 10:8.

⁶O. Loorits. Janis Endzelins 60-aastane. Lāti rahvusliku teaduse suurpäev. *Päevaleht*. 1933, 22.02 (nr. 52), lk. 6.

passed the doctoral exams at the University of Tartu and defended her thesis, *The Song of the Youth Who Died for Sorrow*, there in 1942.¹

Loorits was not the only lecturer at the University of Tartu to deal with the Livonians. Andrus Saareste, a professor of the Estonian language, visited Livonia for a couple of weeks in the summer of 1932 to study the Livonian language and gather necessary materials.² Julius Mägiste, who taught Baltic-Finnic languages at the University of Tartu, wrote several works on the Livonian language,³ and touched upon the subject in some other publications.⁴ Research-related correspondence developed between Mägiste and J. Endzelīns.⁵ A professor of Slavic languages, Peeter Arumaa, was interested in similar features in Estonian and Livonian phraseology and syntax.⁶ Research on the Livonian language can be found in the works of Paul Ariste,⁷ who visited Livonia twice during the period under discussion. Villem Ernits did some work on the Livonian language. Gathering materials for his dissertation *Die estnischen Lehnwörter im Grossrussischen und in anderen slavischen Sprachen*, he was permitted by Professor E. N. Setälä to examine his manuscript collections of Livonian and Vepsian words, and by Professor L. Kettunen to examine his collections of Livonian and Votian words.⁸ In 1934, Ernits visited the Livonians and attended the consecration ceremony of the flag of the Livo-

¹ Anna Bērzkalne's archive in Jānis Misiņš's library in Riga: W. Anderson to Bērzkalne 11.04.1922; Bērzkalne's letters No. 11, 24, 45, 55; KM EKLA, stock 175, M 19:29, pp. 3, 5; *Postimees*. 1942, 30.06 (nr. 152); *Postimees*. 1942, 9.05 (nr. 110), lk. 7.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1036, p. 219.

³J. Mägiste. Eräitā liivilāisiā possessiivisuffiksin jāännöksiā. *Virittājā*. 1928, vk. 28, s. 285–287; J. Mägiste. Liivi sõnaseletusi. *Eesti Keel*. 1931, nr. 10, lk. 129–138; J. Mägiste. Liivi *kāi*, *kōi* 'lusikas'. *Eesti Keel*. 1939, nr. 1, lk. 7–10.

⁴E.g. J. Mägiste. oi-, ei-deminutiivid läänemeresoomse keelis. *Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis*. B, XII, 2. Tartu, 1928, lk. 1–3.

⁵TÜR KHO, stock 52, item 29.

⁶P. Arumaa. Eesti-Liivi ühisest fraseoloogiast ning süntaksist. *Eesti Keel*. 1935, nr. 4/6, lk. 124–136.

⁷P. Ariste. Liivi sõna Ruhnu rootsi murdes. *Eesti Keel*. 1939, nr. 5, lk. 129. Later, P. Ariste became an outstanding scholar of Finno-Ugric languages and continued his research on the Livonian language.

⁸EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 41, p. 119.

nians' Society and gave a festive address, which had been translated into Livonian by O. Loorits.¹ In Estonia, Ernits was an active member of the kindred peoples and temperance movements. He participated in the World Temperance Congress in the USA in 1922, and was elected the representative of the World Anti-Alcoholism Union in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. During his travels concerning these matters, he also studied the Latvian and Lithuanian languages and read works by the linguists of these countries.² Folklorist Elmar Päss, who taught at the University of Tartu for some time, had some contacts with the Livonians in 1927.³ In 1937, three Tartu scientists organised an expedition to Latvia, covering 3000–4000 kilometres by car. Oskar Loorits remained behind in Livonia, wishing to check the correctness of the texts of Livonian folk tales he intended to publish; later he attended the congress of the Baltic historians in Riga and after that travelled to Lithuania. Gustav Ränk was interested in Latvian buildings, mainly on the Livonian coast, south of Liepāja, where the old buildings had been best preserved. Edgar Kant collected materials on economic geography. Lauri Kettunen spent some time in Livonia together with Loorits, checking the materials for his manuscript of the Livonian dictionary.⁴

The feelings of Estonians and Finns towards the vanishing kindred people of Livonia and their attempts to protect their rights comprise a subject in its own right. Both of the main researchers of the Livonian matters, L. Kettunen and O. Loorits, took active steps to ensure the survival of the Livonians. When Kettunen and Loorits visited the Livonians in 1921, Kettunen made a visit to the Latvian Minister of Foreign Affairs Z. Meierovics, and told him about the sad fate of the people. Meierovics promised to do everything possible to save the

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 41, p. 125.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 41, p. 122.

³[E. Päss]. Truudusevanne rahvusele esivanemate kalmistul. Kolmkümmendwiis kooliõpilast kogu Liiwi rannikult õppesõidul oma juhi õpetaja M. Lepste'ga. *Päevaleht*. 1927, 4.07 (nr. 178); see also KM EKLA, stock 175, M 36:1, pp. 1017–1020.

⁴3000-km teaduslik ekspeditsioon. Prof. E. Kant ja mag. G. Ränk jõudsid uuri-misreisilt [Lätist] Tartu tagasi. *Päevaleht*. 1937, 10.08 (nr. 217), lk. 2; about the organisation of the trip see E. Kant's letters to O. Loorits KM EKLA, stock 175, M 12:26, l. 1, 6.

Livonians from extinction. Kettunen published a longer article about the state of Livonian affairs in a Latvian newspaper.¹ In 1921, Kettunen brought two Livonian youths to study at the Tartu Teachers' Seminar,² but unfortunately, both of them had to interrupt their studies.³ After several unsuccessful attempts, three Livonian youths graduated from the Jelgava Institute and became teachers in 1934.⁴

Whenever an Estonian or a Finn started to work with the Livonian themes, they also started to love the people and wanted to do everything possible to further their cultural life and general conditions. Contacts which had, as a rule, begun with scientific research, soon developed into friendship and all-inclusive support. Attempts were made to give financial support to this much-suffered people, who had been made to leave their homes during WWI, and the more-enthusiastic friends even sacrificed their own savings. There was also an attempt to provide compensation for the help that Livonians were giving to the scientists; but mostly presents were given, and money was paid less frequently.⁵ Estonian and Finnish students joined the efforts made towards the building of a village hall in Mazirbe.⁶ The Academic Kindred Peoples Club at the University of Tartu organised yearly collections for the Livonians, and the representatives of the club delivered the presents at the end of the year. Different students' organisations in Tartu also offered such support as they could, and even contributed to the building of the village hall.⁷ A two to three-day excursion was planned to Livonia in 1932, in order to deliver the

¹Professor L. Kettunen liivlaste juures. *Postimees*. 1921, 19.09 (nr. 215), lk. 3; Professor L. Kettunen tagasi jõudnud. *Päevaleht*. 1921, 13.09 (nr. 243), lk. 7; L. Kettunen. Lõbieši. *Latvijas Kareivis*. 1921, 245. nr., lpp. 2.

²Professor L. Kettunen liivlaste juures. *Postimees*. 1921, 19.09 (nr. 215), lk. 3.

³Akadeemilise Emakeele Seltsi Aastaraamat. I. Tartu, 1921, lk. 8; Akadeemilise Emakeele Seltsi Aastaraamat. III. Tartu, 1923, lk. 7.

⁴O. Loorits. Liivi rahva elu ja surma küsimus. *ERK*. 1934, nr. 11–12, lk. 182.

⁵KM EKLA, stock 175, M 13:28, p. 6v.

⁶*Päevaleht*. 1936, 10.01 (nr. 9), lk. 5.

⁷Liivlasile tehakse jõulupuu. *Postimees*. 1935, 02.01 (nr. 1), lk. 7; Liiwi hõimu heitlused olemasolu eest. *Päevaleht*. 1936, 10.01 (nr. 9), lk. 5.

collected presents.¹ The Academic Mother Tongue Society organised collections to support the Livonians, and a small sum was allotted from the budget of the Society for those who attempted to save Livonian antiquities.² In the correspondence between F. Leinbock (Linnus) and O. Loorits (1927–1929), we can find frequent referrals to the meetings with Livonians, and to the acquisition of notes for the newly revived Livonian singing choir,³ much aided by Loorits.⁴ The Livonian choir was invited to perform in Tartu.⁵ Now and then, giving assistance to the Livonians consumed so much energy that scientific activities remained in the background. But the stronger relations became with the Livonians, the more the relations of Estonians and Finns with the Latvians suffered, and especially in regards to the Latvian authorities. Ethnographer F. Leinbock-Linnus was right in saying that writing about the Livonians demanded much tact from the authors.⁶

Generally, the contacts between the Estonian and Latvian scientists were characterised by friendship and respect and mutual interest in each other's activities, but the deportation of Oskar Loorits from Latvia in 1937 caused very serious tensions and inspired sharp articles in the press. The situation was made even worse by L. Kettunen's article in the newspaper *Varsinais-Suomi*. There were other articles, whose titles themselves were probably not to the liking of the Latvian officials, such as an interview of Kettunen in the newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat*.⁷ These events were topped by a rather sharp note sent

¹ *Akadeemilise Emakeele Seltsi Aastaraamat*. IV. Tartu, 1924, lk. 7; Üliõpilased lutsilaste ja liivlase juurde. *Postimees*. 1932, 24.11 (nr. 276), lk. 7; Liivlased tulevad esinema Tallinna laulupeole. *Päevaleht*. 1938, 10.01 (nr. 9), lk. 5.

² *Akadeemilise Emakeele Seltsi Aastaraamat*. III. Tartu, 1923, lk. 8; *Akadeemilise Emakeele Seltsi Aastaraamat*. IV. Tartu, 1924, lk. 7–8.

³ KM EKLA, stock 175, M 13:28, pp. 2–3.

⁴ KM EKLA, stock 175, M 13:28, p. 4.

⁵ Tartu kuulis liivi keelt. Karl Stalte jutustas liivlaste olukorrast peale maailmasõda. *Postimees*. 1936, 5.03 (nr. 62), lk. 4; Tartus korraldati liivi-õhtu. *Päevaleht*. 1936, 5.03 (nr. 63), lk. 3.

⁶ KM EKLA, stock 175, M 13:28, p. 6.

⁷ Liiviläised eivät saa puhua omaa kieltään edes oman seuransa kokouksissa. *Helsingin Sanomat*. 1936, 12.08, s. 5–6.

to Estonian President K. Päts and Minister of Foreign Affairs K. Selter by the Estonian Patriots' Clubs.¹ An undated document addressed to the Estonian Minister of Foreign Affairs, written in O. Loorits's hand, has been preserved, presenting a list of seven points and explaining what should be done to better the situation of the Livonians. The points of the demand were published in the journal *ERK*.² A Professor of the University of Tartu, Edgar Kant, actively supported Loorits's protest.³ "The Livonian question" was even under discussion at the 9th Estonian-Finnish Students' Days in Helsinki in 1939.⁴ Several sources have hinted that the Latvian powers had already decided to prohibit Loorits from visiting Latvia in 1935,⁵ but that this had been made known only two years later.⁶ Meanwhile, Loorits had visited Riga in January 1937 without being hindered, and he attended the Congress of the Baltic Historians in August 1937. This prohibition could have been inspired by Loorits's article "Liivi rahva elu ja surma küsimus" (The Question of the Life and Death of Livonians; 1934) and by his presentation at the celebration of the anniversary of *The Kalevala* in Finland on February 28, 1935.⁷ Loorits himself offered the following explanation in the newspaper *Postimees*. He said

¹Eestlaste ja liivlaste seisukord Lätis vajab parandamist. *Postimees*. 1937, 29.09 (nr. 263), lk. 5.

²KM EKLA, stock 175, M 22:9, pp. 1–2; ERK-ide Liidu märgukiri välisminist-rile. *ERK*, nr. 9/10, 24.01.1938, p. 201.

³KM EKLA, stock 175, M 12:26, p. 7.

⁴Liivi küsimus üliõpilaspäevadel. *Postimees*. 1937, 29.09 (nr. 263), lk. 5.

⁵HAN. Eesti-Läti suhted. Kuidas teha järeldusi ja milliseid. *Uudisleht*. 1937, 31.08 (nr. 151), lk. 4; KM EKLA, stock 175, M 10:4, p. 2.

⁶KM EKLA, stock 175, M 22:10, p. 5.

⁷O. Loorits. Liivi rahva elu ja surma küsimus. *ERK*. 1934, nr. 11–12, lk. 180–185; KM EKLA, stock 175, M 22:10, p. 2; see also: Liivi rahva elu ja surma küsimus. Dr. O. Looritsa ettekanne hõimupäeva aktusel Tartus. *Päevaleht*. 1934, 22.10 (nr. 291), lk. 4. A summary of the presentation was published in the newspaper *Sakala* (Kas liivi rahva elu või surm? Lätis tehakse liivlaste ümberrahvastamiseks energiliselt tööd. *Sakala*. 1934, 24.10 (nr. 124), lk. 2; maybe in some other Estonian newspaper too); J. Tandere. Que usaque tandem abuteris, Lettonia patienta nostra!? *ERK*. 1937, nr. 5/6, lk. 150. Sharp remarks about the Latvian politics toward the Livonians were found in several Estonian newspaper articles in 1934, written also by other authors besides Loorits.

he had not been aware of the fact that Latvian officials had had prohibited him from entering Latvia; on the contrary, he had received an official invitation to the Congress of the Baltic Historians. On July 23, 1937, Loorits together with his colleagues crossed the Latvian border at Vastse-Roosa by car. Since the customs official was not at home, they were advised to go to the customs office in the town of Ape, where they had had their passports registered, but had not been given the necessary stamps.¹ Ants Piip, a professor of international law at the University of Tartu at the time, talked about this case at a club meeting in Tartu, and the talk was summarised in the newspaper *Postimees* without mentioning Loorits's name.² After this, Loorits wrote a public letter to Professor Piip,³ who then, in his answer, accused Loorits of creating an international critical situation.⁴ The Political Department of the Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs asked Loorits to provide a "brief confidential summary of the incident as you see it and as it has concerned you" on September 10, 1937.⁵ The first draft of Loorits's letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the description of different additional details has been preserved.⁶ On behalf of Latvia, the former Minister of Education Ludvigs Adamovičs attempted to smooth over the situation, but his attempts were probably met with official opposition.⁷ The newspaper *Jaunakas Zinas* (28.08.1937, No. 193) published an article in response to the writings in Estonian newspapers, which was translated and provided with commentaries by the *Postimees*.⁸ The Estonian ambassador in Riga, Karl Menning, was cross with Loorits. Pro-

¹O. Loorits. Kuidas ma üle Läti piiri läksin. *Postimees*. 1937, 7.10 (nr. 271), lk. 3; O. Loorits. Kuidas ma läksin üle Läti piiri. *ERK*. 1937, nr. 7/8, lk. 199; see also the manuscript of Loorits's article (KM EKLA, stock 175, M 26:5).

²*Postimees*. 1937, 4.10 (nr. 268), lk. 2.

³O. Loorits. Avalik kiri prof. A. Piibule. *Postimees*. 1937, 5.10 (nr. 269), lk. 3.

⁴A. Piip. Avalik vastus dr. O. Looritsale. *Postimees*. 1937, 6.10 (nr. 270), lk. 3, see also Loorits's detailed explanations about this incident (KM EKLA, stock 175, M 22:10, pp. 1–6); see also Loorits's public letter to Prof. Piip (KM EKLA, stock 175, M 24:4).

⁵KM EKLA, stock 175, M 10:4, p. 2.

⁶KM EKLA, stock 175, M 22:10, p. 6.

⁷KM EKLA, stock 175, M 22:10, p. 4.

⁸*Postimees*. 1937, 30.08 (nr. 233), lk. 4.

fessor Edgar Kant suggested that he should, on his way back from Kaunas, make a stop in Riga and have himself be officially deported from Latvia,¹ a suggestion that came to be realised.² The tension was growing.³ The newspaper *Uudisleht* published an article about Estonian-Latvian relations on August 31, 1937, which was of a rather cutting tone, according to the opinion of both E. Kant and the authors of this present work.⁴ On September 1 of the same year, the *Postimees* published a counter attack to an article published in the Latvian newspaper *Brīva Zemē*, which reflected official views.⁵ Finally, the newspapers were given the order to leave this subject behind; most probably the order was issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.⁶ A misunderstanding occurred as well with Valentin Kiparsky from the University of Helsinki, who intended to give a presentation about the Livonians in the autumn of 1937, only to have it forbidden on the initiative of the local prefect.⁷ On March 6, 1939, L. Kettunen sent a letter to Loorits and asked whether the ban to his entering Latvia was still valid, and announced that he wished to straighten the relations up in a diplomatic way.⁸ Kettunen, too, seemed to be rather displeased with the Latvians.⁹

During the following years, and mostly as the result of Loorits's and Kettunen's efforts, the situation of the Livonians became considerably better. Kettunen wrote at the beginning of 1938 that the pastor of the Narva Finnish-Swedish parish, H. K. Erviö, had started religious services in the Livonian language for Livonians the previous month. Preparations had been made for the construction of the Livonian vil-

¹KM EKLA, stock 175, M 12:26, p. 9.

²KM EKLA, stock 175, M 22:10, p. 4.

³HAN. Eesti-Läti suhted. Kuidas teha järeltusi ja milliseid, lk. 4.

⁴KM EKLA, stock 175, M 22:10, p. 5.

⁵*Brīva Zemē*. 1937, 30.08 (nr. 194), lpp. 10. The article was authored by a well-known writer and historian A. Grīns; Läti valitsusleht wahekordadest Eestiga. *Postimees*. 1937, 1.09 (nr. 235), lk. 4.

⁶KM EKLA, stock 175, M 12:26, p. 10.

⁷Liivlaste olukord Lätis paraneb. Prof. Kettunen jutustab. *Postimees*. 1938, 29.01 (nr. 28), lk. 5.

⁸KM EKLA, stock 175, M 12:35.

⁹KM EKLA, stock 175, M 12:35.

lage hall in Mazirbe.¹ The Latvian officials had in every way obliged the activities that gave support to the Livonians, initiated by Finland and the Finns.²

Estonians in the regions of Ludza, Gulbene and Alūksne. A small group of Estonians, called “*lutsilased*”, lived in Latgallia, in the Ludza region. It is believed that they had migrated there in the 17th century; in the 19th century, more than 4000 Estonians were living in the area. By now, their dialect has vanished. Estonians were interested in the peculiar variety of the South Estonian dialect spoken by the people living in this polyethnic region, and in the fate of this small group.³ The Academic Kindred Peoples Club organised collections on behalf of these people every year.⁴ V. Ernits, who worked in Poland from 1929–1933, visited the Latgallia area and the Estonians living there.⁵ Another group of Estonians — “*leivud*”, also known as the country people of Koiva — lived in the neighbourhood of Gulbene and Alūksne, in northeastern Latvia. By 1935, more than 130 people had been registered as belonging to the group.⁶ In the summer of 1932, Professor Andrus Saareste stayed in Alūksne with the Koiva Estonians, and used the material gathered there for the completion of his study on Estonian dialects *Leksikaalseist vahekordadest eesti murretes*.⁷ Paul Ariste studied the phonetics of the Koiva dialect.⁸ Professor Julius Mägiste analysed thoroughly and appreciated highly a volu-

¹E. Vaalgamaa. *Valkoisen hiekan kansa: liiviläisten historiaa ja kulttuuria*. Jyväskylä, 2001, s. 127–128.

²Liivlaste olukord Lätis paraneb. Prof. Kettunen jutustab. *Postimees*. 1938, 29.01 (nr. 28), lk. 5.

³P. Voolaine. Lutsi maarahvas 1925. a. *Eesti Kirjandus*. 1925, nr. 9, lk. 372–379; H. Prants. Lutsi maarahva päritolu. *Eesti Kirjandus*. 1928, nr. 9, lk. 489–494; O. Kallas. *Lutsi maarahvas*. Helsinki, 1894; L. Vaba. *Uurimusi Läti-Eesti keelesuhetest*. Tallinn-Tampere, 1977, lk. 33.

⁴Üliõpilased lutsilaste ja liivlase juurde. *Postimees*. 1932, 24.11 (nr. 276), lk. 7; Narva õpetaja käib Liiwi hariduselu juhtimas. *Põhja Kodu*. 1935, 30.01 (nr. 13), lk. 4; *Postimees*. 1935, 9.01 (nr. 8), lk. 4.

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 41, p. 124.

⁶V. Niilus. *Leivu rahvas*. Tartu, 1935, lk. 370–372.

⁷EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1036, p. 219.

⁸P. Ariste. Lisandeid Koiva murrete vokaalide häälikute loole. *Eesti Keel*. 1931, nr. 6, lk. 175–179.

minous pioneering work *Die Kurenfrage* by a docent of the University of Helsinki, V. Kiparsky, on the dialect of the Kurland Estonians.¹ Up to that point, the specialists in the Baltic languages — Latvians and Lithuanians — had studied this dialect, but Kiparsky knew the Baltic and Baltic-Finnic languages equally well. Based on proper names, and mostly on toponyms, Kiparsky demonstrated a heavy influence of Finno-Ugric languages in the region where these people lived.²

The Estonian language and literature, folklore. Andrus Saareste, a professor of the Estonian language, began, together with a professor of history, A. R. Cederberg, the publication of older written monuments of the Estonian language.³ With this aim in mind, he travelled to several places in Europe during the summer break of 1925, and made a stop in Riga as well, to get familiar with some older manuscripts in the Estonian language and with some unique publications (he has mentioned works by Joachim Rossihnius (Rossinius) and Johann Hornung) that could not be found in Estonia.⁴ With the aim of studying dialects, Saareste travelled abroad, and, among other cities, visited Riga again in 1930.⁵ P. Arumaa studied the Latvian language and Latvian loan words in the Estonian language; he published an article "Läti keelt Liivimaa kohtuaktides 17. sajandist".⁶ Two of his articles reflect his studies of loan words in the Estonian language.⁷ Arumaa's innovative study "Eesti-liivi ja läti ühisest fraseoloogist

¹V. Kiparsky. *Die Kurenfrage*. Helsinki, 1939. *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*. B XLII. Reviewed by J. Mägiste. Kurelaste probleem uues valguses. *Eesti Kirjandus*. 1939, nr. 9, lk. 406–412.

²J. Mägiste. Kurelaste probleem uues valguses, lk. 407.

³A. Saareste, A. R. Cederberg. *Valik eesti kirjakeele vanemaid mälestisi*. Viik 1–2. Tartu, 1927, 1929–1931. Akadeemilise Emakeele Seltsi Toimetised, 16.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1036, p. 63.

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1036, p. 182.

⁶P. Arumaa. Läti keelt Liivimaa kohtuaktides 17. sajandist. *Liber saecularis: Litterarum Societas Esthonica, 1838–1938*. Tartu, 1938. Õpetatud Eesti Seltsi Toimetused, 30, lk. 69–78.

⁷P. Arumaa. Mõningaid läti laene lõuna-eesti murdeis. *Virittäjä*. 1936, vk. 40, s. 308–311; P. Arumaa. Läti laensõnu lõuna-eesti murdeis. II. *Eesti Keel*. 1937, nr. 1–2, lk. 42–50; see also EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 41, p. 203 (J. Mark evaluates Arumaa's works).

ning süntaksist”¹ discussed the semantic and syntactic loans mostly from the Estonian and Livonian languages in the Latvian language. In the summer of 1940, Arumaa intended to visit Kaunas, Vilnius and Riga. In Riga, he planned to work in the Central State Archives of Latvia for a week, gathering and checking Livonian toponyms. He was especially interested in the question regarding to how large an extent could Baltic-Finnic elements still be found in Latvian toponyms.² We do not know whether he took this trip, or whether it was cancelled because of the war. Arumaa most likely had contacts with Professor Jānis Endzelīns in Riga, who had reviewed and found praiseworthy an important linguistic study of Arumaa’s.³ The Arumaa stock contains a file of materials on the Latvian language.⁴ O. Loorits, too, studied Latvian loans in the Estonian language.⁵

Latvian subject matter could now and then be found in the Yearbook of the Academic Mother Tongue Society, which operated at the University of Tartu. For example, Professor Max Vasmer and his colleagues had a discussion there concerning the Latvian word *mulkis* and its possible Estonian equivalent *mulk* in 1920.⁶

Walter Anderson has written about Latvian influence on older Estonian fiction.⁷ A professor of Estonian and world literature, Gustav Suits, wanted to work at the Riga archives and libraries in December 1933, to prepare for publication his book *Eesti kirjanduslugu tekstides II*.⁸

¹P. Arumaa. Eesti-liivi ja läti ühisest fraseoloogiast ning süntaksist. *Eesti Keel*. 1935, nr. 4/6, lk. 124–136.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 41, p. 213.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1036, l. 128; P. Arumaa. *Litauische mundartliche Texte aus der Wilnaer Gegend*. Tartu, 1930. Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis. B, XXIII, 3.

⁴KM EKLA, stock 349, item 244.

⁵O. Loorits. Mõningad läti laensõnad Eestis. *Eesti Keel*. 1929, nr. 7/8, lk. 168–189.

⁶*Akadeemilise Emakeele Seltsi Aastaraamat. I*. Tartu, 1921, lk. 8–9; see also M. Vasmer. Indo-Germaani laensõnad Eesti keeles. *Eesti Kirjandus*. 1920, nr. 11/12, lk. 343–346.

⁷W. Anderson. Läti mõjust eesti vanemas ilukirjanduses. *Eesti Kirjandus*. 1925, nr. 9, lk. 385–396; nr. 10, lk. 408–413.

⁸EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1147, p. 178.

Professor Ludvigs Bērziņš, a specialist in Latvian literature and an extraordinary professor at the Latvian University, studied in Tartu.

Kārlis Straubergs, a professor at the University of Latvia, mentioned the co-operation between the two nations in folklore research in an article of his written in 1933. He described the collection of folklore materials in the Riga castle, which began in 1925, and called for the complementing of this collection with materials concerning Latvians living in Estonia, adding that some materials had already arrived from Estonia. Latvians had given the researchers of Finno-Ugric languages and culture valuable materials regarding the Livonian and Seto peoples. The task of folklorists does not embrace only the gathering of the materials. The study of these materials allows for analysing and comparing the traditions of different peoples, especially those of neighbouring countries.¹

A student, Isidor Levin, participated in all seminars given by O. Loorits, who noticed the eager student and gave him the task of systematising the Latvian-language songs during his practical training with archival materials. When it came out that their notions about the Latvian Republic were similar, the relations between the teacher and the student became even closer.²

We have every reason to talk about close contacts between Estonian and Latvian folklorists. On behalf of the University of Tartu, these contacts were maintained by lecturers at the University of Tartu: M. J. Eisen,³ O. Loorits — about whom we have already talked in relation to the Livonians — and Walter Anderson.⁴ Based on the ma-

¹K. Straubergs. Koostöö läti ja eesti folkloori alal = Kopdarbība latviešu un igauņu folklorā. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1933, 2. nr., 17.–18. lpp.

²M. Metsvahi. Tagasipöördumine 60 aasta järel. *Universitas Tartuensis*. 2000, 6.10 (nr. 31), lk. 2.

³M. J. Eisen. Rahvaluule Lätis ja meil. Mis meil teha tuleks? *Postimees*. 1927, 22.11 (nr. 318), lk. 4. Eisen appreciates highly the Latvians' activities in collecting folklore in his article: M. J. Eisen. Rahvamälestused — rahvuslik varandus. *Postimees*. 1928, 7.01 (nr. 6), lk. 5. In one of these articles Eisen supplies numerous data about the recent collecting campaigns in Latvia, praises these activities and disapproves of the Estonians' recent laxity in these matters.

⁴M. Viksna. Walter Anderson and Latvia. *Studies in folklore and popular religion*. Vol. 1. Tartu, 1996, pp. 35–39.

terials in Anna Bērzkalne's personal archive, we can say that their Latvian colleagues were seriously interested in elements of co-operation within this field.¹

Teachers of other languages. In 1935–1936, an unofficial delegation from Riga visited Tartu, its members being a lecturer from the English Institute John Hunter-Blair, Mrs. Adamovičs from the Latvian English Didactic Seminar, a lecturer from the University of Latvia Andrejs Stūresteps, a teacher of English Vidrikis, and a student, Kļavinš. The aim of this visit was to meet with a professor at the University of Tartu, Ants Oras, lecturer Henry Harris, and school counsellor Johann Estam, and to discuss the problem of enlarging the role of the English language in the Baltic countries. The possibilities of organising common lectures for the teachers of English from Latvia and Estonia, to be given by lecturers from England, and distributing the best English textbooks over all of the Baltic countries, were considered. The questions of developing penpal relations between the young people of the Baltic countries and those of England, which would, if possible, lead to mutual visits, were also under discussion. The creation of a central organisation for the teachers of English from Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland was also talked about.²

Johan Bergman, a scholar of classical philology and a former professor at the University of Tartu, gave a presentation at the Riga Society for History and Antiquities and worked in the Riga museums in 1925.³ A specialist in Germanic languages, Georg Sabler, visited Riga in 1923. This was a forced trip; he had wanted to visit other European countries, but as he did not receive a stipend, he could not travel further than Riga.⁴ Sergei Stein, a lecturer of Russian literature, worked in the Riga libraries in the summer of 1926 and continued the writing of his doctoral thesis on the influence of E. T. A. Hoffmann's on Alexander Pushkin *Очерку по учопу*

¹ Anna Bērzkalne's personal archive in Jānis Misiņš's library, Riga.

² Kuidas tōsta ingliskeele osatāhtsust Balti riikides = Kā palienāt angļu valodas nozīmī Baltijas valstīs. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1936, 1. nr., 112.–113. lpp.

³ EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 718, pp. 46–50.

⁴ EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2b, item 74, p. 30.

романтической мистики; but he found much less material in Riga than in Helsinki. Stein also wanted to see how Russian literature was taught in Riga.¹ Having left Tartu, Stein first went to live in Riga and then in Liepāja, where he worked as a teacher for some time.²

In many cases, we were not able to discover the travel aim of the teachers of foreign and classical languages at the University of Tartu, and in some cases their aim was expressed in very general terms. Stops in Riga could often have been made when travelling to some other countries (Wilhelm Süss,³ Willy (Wilhelm) Peters,⁴ and others). A lecturer of the Swedish language, Erik Wilhelm Forsell, visited Riga in 1925.⁵

A Syryan Kallistrat Zhakov (1866–1926) was for a short time (1919–1921) a lecturer of the Syryan language at the University of Tartu, and taught his mother tongue to one student, Aleksander Tiismann (later Tiitsmaa).⁶ Zhakov gave lectures on different subjects at the university and outside of the university. E. Niinivaara remembers him: “Professor Zhakov, who was a Komi by nationality, was a really interesting man. His lectures were unusual and very interesting, but it was not possible to pass an examination on the basis of what he had taught.”⁷ Already in 1920, Zhakov was looking for a position at the University of Latvia.⁸ He had been living in Riga since the early part of 1922, and was married to a Latvian lady. He had started teaching philosophy at

¹ЕАА, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1137, pp. 47–48; Г. Пономарева, Т. Шор. Сергей Стейн: миф и реальность. *Труды по русской и славянской филологии. Литературоведение*, 3. Тарту, 1999, с. 326–327.

²ЕАА, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1137, p. 2, 94v; Г. Пономарева, Т. Шор. Тартуский университет в публицистике приват-доцента Сергея Штейна. *Радуга (Таллинн)*. 1998, № 2, с. 2.

³ЕАА, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1169, pp. 101–106.

⁴ЕАА, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 832, pp. 85–87, 107–111, 123.

⁵ЕАА, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 131, pp. 11–15.

⁶А. Turkin. Komi teadlane ja kirjanik Kallistrat Žakov (1866–1926). *Keel ja Kirjandus*. 1991, nr. 12, lk. 749.

⁷Eeva Niinivaara. *Ikka paistab seesama päike. Elu mu noorusaja Eestis ja Soomes*. Tallinn, 1994, lk. 84.

⁸С. Ковальчук. *Взыская истину*. Рига, 1998, с. 102.

St. Petersburg gymnasiums and carried on from 1907–1917 at the Institute of Psychoneurology, led by Bekhterev. In St. Petersburg, he had already developed his own philosophical theory, called *limitism*¹ — an ideological theory strongly based on religion. Zhakov's ideas became more widely-known via the journal *Lačplēsis Limitists*, published in Riga by Ernsts Barons. The only issue of this journal came out in 1924. A collection of his works was published in Riga in 1929, after his death.² Zhakov gave numerous lectures in Riga, which were often summarised in local newspapers, and published articles (according to our data, Zhakov's name appeared in newspapers at least 40 times as an author). He was also active in the field of literature and published poems, including an epic poem *Biarmija*, written in Finland and translated into Latvian by Jānis Rainis.³ Zhakov also wrote an autobiographical novel called *Сквозь строй жизни*, which attracted the interest of a wide audience; including Maxim Gorky, with whom he became good friends.⁴ Nowadays Zhakov is well-known in the Republic of Komi, mainly for his literary efforts, and especially for his works on Komi subjects. He was a prolific author, who wrote on a varied range of subjects.⁵

An important chapter in the co-operation of the two countries is the establishing of the lectureships of each other's language and culture, which was previously much talked about, but only carried out in 1940.⁶ An earlier discussion on this subject, according to our da-

¹С. Ковальчук, *Взыская истину*, с. 104–108.

²К. Ф. Жаков. *Лимитизм. Единство наук, философии и религии*. Рига, 1929.

³С. Ковальчук, *Взыская истину*, с. 100–114; С. Белокон. Зырянский Фауст. *Даугава*. 1988, 5, с. 112–124.

⁴A. Turkin. Komi teadlane ja kirjanik Kallistrat Žakov (1866–1926), lk. 746.

⁵I. Jääts. Kallistrat Žakov. Komi kirjanik ja filosoof. *Akadeemia*. 2000, nr. 6, lk. 1267–1295; I. Jääts. Komi nationalism and orthodox Christianity in the 19th and early 20th centuries. *Latest reports on ethnology*. Tartu, 2001. Pro Ethnologia, 12, lk. 72–73; Светлой памяти К. Ф. Жакова. *Перезвонны*. 1926, № 13, с. 377; <http://www.komi.com/zhakov/>; <http://www.komi.com/culture/person.asp?g=4&i=3365>.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 4, item 34, p. 11v.

ta, occurred in 1929.¹ Harri Moora spoke about the necessity of such lectureships in 1933.² In 1935, Juhan Vasar, Peeter Arumaa and the dean of the Faculty of Philosophy of that time, Pärtel Haliste, stressed the importance of creating lectureships of the Estonian language in Riga and Kaunas.³ After several unsuccessful attempts, it was decided to establish a lectureship of the Latvian and Lithuanian languages and culture at the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Tartu, based on the decree of the Government of the Republic of Estonia of May 6, 1940.⁴ By the end of that same month, the problem of the establishment of the Latvian and Lithuanian lectureship was under discussion at the meeting of the council of the Faculty of Philosophy. H. Moora, the dean of the faculty, announced that Kārlis Draviņš was the only candidate for the lectureship, and had been recommended by the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Latvia. The faculty council decided to appoint the lecturer for three years, and to allow Draviņš to use German as the teaching language during the first year.⁵ K. Draviņš (1901–1991) had graduated from the University of Latvia and had stayed at the university from 1938–1940 to prepare for research work.⁶ His subject area covered studies in ethnography, dialectology, folklore and literature.⁷ During the war, he mostly resided in Latvia,⁸ but he was engaged in active research during his Tartu period, writing some works on the history of the University of Tartu and the history of Latvian printed books.⁹ He planned to compile a bibliography of Latvian newspaper articles concerned with Estonia and the Estonians,¹⁰ but we have no data as to whether he achieved this. Af-

¹Eesti-Läti akadeemilise sõpruse avaldusi. Prof. G. Suits jutustab külakäigu muljeist Lätti. *Postimees*. 1929, 16.06 (nr. 160), lk. 3.

²H. Moora. Eesti-Läti koostöö teaduslikul alal = Latvijas un Igaunijas kopdarbība zinātnē. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1933, 1. nr., 16.–18. lpp.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2b, item 43, pp. 1–6.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2b, item 43, p. 7.

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2b, item 43, pp. 9–10.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 92, p. 7.

⁷EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 92, p. 11.

⁸EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 92, pp. 21–22, 28, 56v, 59.

⁹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 92, pp. 56–57.

¹⁰EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 92, p. 64.

ter WWII, Draviņš worked for a long time at the University of Lund, studying Latvian dialects and written monuments of the Latvian language, and teaching the Slavic languages.¹ The department of Estonian language was created at the University of Latvia in 1940.² The lectureship was filled by Karl Aben, a graduate of the University of Tartu in 1936, who had been born in Alūksne. He taught the Estonian language and literature at the University of Latvia in 1940 and 1941; starting from 1944, Aben taught Latvian at the University of Tartu up to his retirement in 1961. K. Aben compiled dictionaries, studied Estonian and Livonian loans in the Latvian language (candidate's thesis in 1947), and translated Latvian literature into Estonian (R. Blaumanis, J. Poruks, A. Upīts, A. Brigadere, J. Rainis, the brothers Kaudzītes and others).³

Philosophy. A professor of philosophy, Walther Schmied-Kowarzik, stayed in Riga for several time periods (1925, 1926), giving lectures (among other places at the Kant Society of the University of Latvia),⁴ and listening to papers given by others; we have information about his having attended the lectures by Theodor Litt from Leipzig in 1926. In Riga, Schmied-Kowarzik attended a conference of Latvian teachers.⁵ Docent Konstantin Ramul visited Riga in the summer of 1926 to get familiar with the Riga Youth Studies Institute and to have talks with the organisation *Internationale Vereinigung für Psychologie und Psychotechnik*, the main office of which was located in Riga.⁶ In the summer of 1938, Ramul, already a professor, made a stop in Riga on his way to other countries in Europe. He was interested in the equipment and activities of the Riga Psychotechnical Institute, and had talks about the application of psychotechnique.⁷ A lecturer of mathematics of the University of Tartu, Vissarion Alex-

¹Māris Baltiņš's e-mail to H. Tankler of June 12, 2003.

²*Päevaleht*. 1940, 26.02 (nr. 54), lk. 5.

³*Tartu Riikliku Ülikooli õppe-teaduskoosseisu biobibliograafianimestik*. Tallinn, 1987, lk. 201; J. Stradiņš. *Tartu ülikool Lāti teadusloos*, lk. 229.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1063, p. 103.

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1063, p. 116.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 928, pp. 60, 73.

⁷EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 928, p. 268.

eyeve, published philosophical essays containing educational, scientific, religious and patriotic deliberations and illustrated with quotations from works of fiction in Russian and German-language newspapers in Latvia (*Слово, Libausche Zeitung*).

Social sciences

Co-operation of lawyers

The links between lawyers of the two countries are also worth mentioning. The first conference of Baltic lawyers was held in Tartu in 1928. It marked the tenth anniversary of the beginning of legislative activity in Latvia and Estonia, and emphasized the unity of the legislative process in the Baltic countries (under the motto of *Baltische Rechtsangleichung*). The speakers at the conference were all of German origin, but the number of presentations and the range of themes were impressive. Abstracts were published.¹ A joint meeting of Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian lawyers was first arranged in Kaunas in 1931. The initiative for this kind of meeting came from the Lithuanian government, and it found support in all of the Baltic states. The participants differed radically from the 1928 event; they included ethnic Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians as well as Russians. The only Baltic German speaker was Senator Dr. A. Loeber (Lēbers) from Riga. The participants discussed practical problems facing the states; for example, on Estonia's initiative, the unification of acts concerning bills of exchange and cheques was included in the agenda. An overview of Baltic co-operation was given by the Lithuanian professor Vladimiras Stankėvičius. Estonia had sent to the meeting a seven-member delegation headed by Professor Ants Piip. The Kaunas meeting adopted several important resolutions and made recommendations. A standing committee of Baltic lawyers was founded, which included three members from each state on the recommendation of the Ministry of Justice. It was decided to publish the reports in

¹ *10 Jahre Gesetzgebung Estlands und Lettlands. Referate der I. baltischen Juristenkonferenz zu Dorpat*. Reval, 1929.

1000 copies, to be equally divided between the three countries.¹ During the period under discussion, the lawyers' committee met several times, but no more conferences were arranged.

Trips to Latvia and mutual visits. In the autumn term of 1922, Professor Igor Tyutryumov lectured on civil law at the Latvian University.² In the summer of 1927, Feodor Korsakov (Korssakov) took a trip to several countries; he used his stay in Riga to acquaint himself with the political system of Latvia and to collect materials on it. Korsakov visited his colleagues at the Law Faculty of the Latvian University and visited the library of the Latvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He reached the conclusion that Latvian literature of his speciality was poorly represented at Tartu University, and he gave the library a list of necessary books it needed to obtain.³ In January 1930, Korsakov visited Riga again to acquaint himself with newer legislation and literature on public law.⁴ In 1928, Leo Leesment studied materials on former state lands at the archives of the Ministry of Agriculture; he was primarily interested in the state manor of Kihnu. In the Latvian State Archives he studied the materials of Riga's highest court from the period of Swedish rule (the 17th century).⁵ Leesment also visited Riga in 1938⁶ and probably during the summer holiday of 1940, when he was interested in teaching history of law.⁷

In 1936–1937, contacts developed between Estonian and Latvian criminologists. In April 1939, P. Lejinš, a professor of criminal law at the Latvian University, visited Tartu in order to discuss possibilities of co-operation between experts of the two countries. In May of

¹K. Selter. Eesti, Läti ja Leedu õigusteadlaste koostöö korraldamisest 1931. a. kestel. *Õigus*. 1931, nr. 10, lk. 468–474.

²*Postimees*. 1922, 3.08 (nr. 173), lk. 2.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 395, p. 87.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 395, p. 120.

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 519, p. 56; L. Leesment. Mõnda Austria juriidilist päevaküsimustest. *Õigus*. 1927, nr. 7, lk. 217–220; EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 519, p. 65v.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 519, pp. 207, 222.

⁷EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 519, p. 273.

the same year, Professor Helmut Kadari from Tartu paid a return visit to Riga.¹

When the Latvian president invited the Belgian professor Niko Gunzburg to deliver lectures in Riga in 1934, then, on the initiative of the Academic Society of Lawyers and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the professor's visit was extended to Estonia. The theme of N. Gunzburg's report was *L'esprit international dans le droit penal*.²

In many cases, we were unable to specify the aims of the trips taken, or they were mostly limited to visits to the archives or libraries of Riga. Sometimes the gathering of research materials or acquainting oneself with arrangement of studies were mentioned as objectives. In some cases, Latvia was probably just visited in transit, without any long stop being made there. As far as we know, the lawyers from Tartu who visited Latvia without any specific aim include Wilhelm Seeler in 1922³ and 1923,⁴ Nikolai Maim probably in 1924⁵ and 1928,⁶ István Csekey in 1924,⁷ 1925,⁸ 1926⁹ and 1927,¹⁰ and M. Kurchinski in 1924,¹¹ 1925¹² and February 1930,¹³ when he delivered public lectures in Riga. A frequent visitor to Riga was A. Piip; the details of his trips could not be established, as Piip's file in the Estonian Historical Archives has been lost. Piip's visits to Latvia obviously concerned politics and activities in the friendship societies rather than research. A great deal of A. Piip's works dealt with political science in its present-day sense; studies concerning Latvia were also written

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 264, pp. 201–202.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 106, p. 166.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1067, pp. 32–36.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1067, pp. 46–51.

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 601, p. 42.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 601, pp. 105–109.

⁷EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 86, p. 42.

⁸EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 86, pp. 58, 70.

⁹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 86, pp. 86–88.

¹⁰EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 86, p. 104.

¹¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 443, pp. 46–48.

¹²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 443, pp. 51, 69–70.

¹³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 443, pp. 174; *Postimees*. 1930, 16.02 (nr. 45), lk. 7.

by some of his students (Heino Õunapuu, Oivo Lahet).¹ Lahet developed his graduation paper into a separate book *Läti riigi tekkimine ja tunnustamine* (*Birth and Recognition of the Republic of Latvia*; Tartu, 1938).

The Estonian juridical journal *Õigus*, the editorial board of which included several lecturers of Tartu University, published a few articles on Latvia. These dealt with the situation in Latvian courts,² changes in the judicial system and civil procedure,³ civil law⁴ and law regarding bills of exchange.⁵ Naturally, the journal also discussed a number of problems concerned with Baltic private law and other topics that bore relation to the Baltic countries or the surrounding region.⁶ The journal *Rigasche Zeitschrift für Rechtswissenschaft* and the organ of the Russian Lawyers Association *Закон и Суд*, which came out in Riga starting from 1929, sporadically published articles on the legislation of the two countries or on problems concerning the unification of legislation. A lecturer of Tartu University who often wrote for *Закон и Суд* was Professor Igor Tyutryumov, who theorized on several themes of civil and business law. Tyutryumov also published articles on juridical themes in other Latvian publications (*Sociāldēmokrāts*, *Слово*). In 1936, Richard Räägo (Rägo), the prosecutor of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Estonia and the lecturer of criminal procedure at Tartu University, acquainted his Latvian colleagues with the reform of criminal procedure in Estonia.⁷

¹H. Õunapuu. *Balti liit: diplomitöö rahvusvahelise õiguse alalt Tartu Ülikooli õigusteaduskonnas*. Tartu, 1939; O. Lahet. *Läti riigi tekkimine ja tunnustamine ühes ülevaatega Lätimaa õiguse ajaloo ja rahvustunde arenemisest*. Tartu, 1937.

²K. Parts. Läti kohtuoludest. *Õigus*. 1921, nr. 9/10, lk. 172–175.

³V. Bukovski. Läti Vabariigi poolt kohtute korralduse ja tsiviilprotsessi alal tehtud muudatusi. *Õigus*. 1932, nr. 2, lk. 49–61.

⁴M. Nurk. Läti tsiviilseadustik 1937. *Õigus*. 1937, nr. 7, lk. 311–329; nr. 8, lk. 351–366.

⁵V. Nõges. Läti eelnõu Genfi Ühtlustatud vekslidõiguse konventsioonide kehtima panemiseks. *Õigus*. 1934, nr. 5, lk. 193–215; nr. 6, lk. 241–245.

⁶A. Piip. Konfliktnormide ühtlustamine Balti riikides. *Õigus*. 1937, nr. 8, lk. 343–346; K. R. Pusta. Balti mere statuut. *Õigus*. 1935, nr. 1, lk. 32–44, etc.

⁷R. Räägo. Kriminālprocesa reforma lgaunijā. *Tieslietu Ministrijas Vēstnesis*. 1936, 4, 910.–917. lpp.

Professors of the Law Faculty of the Latvian University who studied at Tartu University include A. Loeber, P. Mintz, and V. Sinaiski (the latter also worked as a lecturer in Tartu).

Ties of economists

Economic ties between the two countries were mostly developed by businessmen and politicians, with the participation of several lecturers from Tartu University.¹ Personal contacts of economists from Tartu University with Latvia were relatively limited, and usually meant trips to Latvia to visit exhibitions arranged there or to acquaint themselves with the economic life of Latvia. In June 1926, the Academic Association of Economists arranged a 4–5-day excursion to Riga to visit a trade fair.² In 1927, Reinhold Mark wanted to visit the Latvian University to become acquainted with the work of his colleagues and to make preparations for an excursion of Estonian students to Latvia.³ The excursion took place at the end of the same year, as 33 students travelled to Riga for a few days to visit companies there.⁴ In December of the same year, students of economics supervised by R. Mark visited Riga for the second time.⁵ Mark also travelled to Riga in September 1935 with an excursion of his colleagues, in order to get acquainted with the work of the co-operative enterprises of Riga.⁶ In 1938, R. Mark stayed in Riga to do research.⁷

Compared to other specialities, it was exceptional that students of economics could undergo their practical training in Latvia. Tartu University was asked to send two or three students of economics to Riga

¹We have written on the economic relations and the attempts to create the Baltic customs union in the 2nd chapter.

²Ekskursiooni Riia näitusmessile korraldab Akadeemiline Majandusteadlaste Selts. *Postimees*. 1926, 27.05 (nr. 138), lk. 5.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 609a, pp. 172–180v.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 609a, p. 202v; Dots. kt. R. Mark on komandeeritud Lätti. *Postimees*. 1927, 13.04 (nr. 102), lk. 5

⁵Eesti üliõpilaste ekskursioon sõidab Lätisse. *Postimees*. 1927, 16.12 (nr. 312), lk. 1.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 609a, p. 361.

⁷V. Krinal. Reinhold Mark Eesti kaubandusteadlaste õpetajana. *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*. 25. Tartu, 1991, lk. 130.

so that they could practise at businesses, banks, insurance companies, etc. To find candidates, a competition was launched.¹

Professor of the Latvian University Kārlis Balodis, an expert in national economy, had studied at the University of Tartu.

Theology

Contacts between Estonian and Latvian theologians, including lecturers at the Latvian and Tartu Universities, began with their studies at Tartu University during Tsarist rule. Eventual lecturers of the Latvian University Kārlis Kundziņš and Jānis Sanders started their academic careers in Tartu (Kundziņš was the docent of practical theology from 1917–1918 and Sanders the professor of practical theology from 1917). Lecturers of the Latvian University Ernsts Ludvigs Adamovičs, Teodors Grīnbergs, Voldemārs Maldonis and Vilis Rozenieks were also graduates of Tartu University.

After World War I, opportunities opened up for a broader co-operation between churches. In E. Tennmann's opinion, it was important that Estonia participated constantly in the work of three or four international organizations or conferences. One of the most significant international bodies in which Estonia participated was the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches. The links between Latvian and Estonian theologians and clergy were undoubtedly close,² being based on the same Lutheran confession.³

Visits by Tartu University lecturers and students to Latvia. The earliest trips known of were in the summer of 1922, when Associate

¹ Majandusteaduse üliõpilastele suvepraktikat Lätis. *Postimees*. 1938, 19.05 (nr. 135), lk. 7.

² E. Tennmann. Rahvusvahelised kirikute koonduspüüded. I–IV. *Usuteaduslik Ajakiri*. 1926, v. 1, lk. 28–37, 1927, v. 2, lk. 127–136, v. 3, lk. 174–187, v. 4, lk. 174–194.

³ Sõlmimisel Eesti-Läti kirikukonventsioon. *Latvijas-Igaunijas Biedrības Mēnešraksts*. 1936, 1. nr., lpp. 113; Hugo Bernhard Rahamägi. *Eesti Evangeeliumi Luteri Usu Kiriku Piiskop. 50. a. sünnipäevaks*. Tallinn, 1936, lk. 125–126, 158–160.

Professor Eduard Tennmann¹ and private docent Werner Gruehn² visited Latvia. Gruehn, who lectured on systematic theology, descended from Kurland; he gained wide recognition as a philosopher of religion. In 1924, he travelled to Latvia twice; in September 1924, he was invited to attend the synod meeting of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Daugavpils.³

A number of Tartu scholars needed to work in foreign archives. In the summer of 1923 as well as in the following year, Professor of Practical Theology Johan Kõpp collected materials in the Latvian State Archives on Estonian church history and the situation of schools in the 17th–18th centuries. He even found the Riga sources so valuable that he cancelled a planned trip to Britain.⁴ In 1928, being on a sabbatical, J. Kõpp worked for a long time in the libraries and archives of Riga and Tallinn.⁵ In the following year, too, J. Kõpp visited Riga as the newly elected honorary doctor of the Latvian University. He had become Rector of Tartu University a year before, and represented Tartu University at the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the Latvian University.⁶

Finishing a longer journey to Europe to acquaint himself with the teaching of theology and to search for historical materials, Professor of historical theology Olaf Sild made a stop in Riga in the summer of 1927. He found that foreign archives had abundant materials on Estonian church history, of which there were no copies in Estonia.⁷

Returning from a visit to Europe in the summer of 1928, Professor of systematic theology H. B. Rahamägi made a stop in Riga⁸ to learn how selection exams were arranged at the Faculty of Theology. Mak-

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1211, p. 89.

²*Postimees*. 1922, 17.05 (nr. 109), lk. 6; EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 156, pp. 31–33.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 156, pp. 55–61, 108.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 462, pp. 24–26, 34.

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 462, pp. 77–79.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 462, pp. 110–111; H. B. Rahamägi. *Usuteaduskonna elust ja tööst. Usuteaduslik Ajakiri*. 1931/1932, nr. 3/4, lk. 178.

⁷EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1088, pp. 44, 79.

⁸EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 992, p. 136.

ing a choice between student candidates was a topical issue in Tartu as well. In Riga, student candidates had to take exams in the Latvian language and in church history. Describing his impressions in the newspaper *Postimees*, Rahamägi reached the conclusion that such exams would not be justified in Tartu.¹ In 1929, Rahamägi also visited Riga in transit.²

The participants at the second conference of Baltic theologians in Riga in 1929 included the lecturers of Tartu University Otto Seesemann and E. Tennmann.³ The data on contacts in the following years are missing; if they existed at all, they were not frequent.

In 1934, O. Sild was elected honorary doctor of the Latvian University; he delivered lectures in Riga on the occasion of the 14th anniversary of the university.⁴ O. Sild also studied Latvian church history.⁵ In the summer of 1937, O. Sild spent a short time in Latvia. Together with his colleague Villem Uuspuu, Sild worked for a week in the Latvian State Archives in Riga and took a trip to Üksküla (Ikšķile), a former Livonian village, which is the site of the ruins of the oldest stone church in the Baltics (built in 1186). The Estonians wanted to measure the church's orientation towards the points of compass.⁶ Afterwards, in order to gather comparative data, Sild and Uuspuu studied the church of Põlva and the ruins of Kirumpää fortified church to determine their orientation, and searched for data on Väimela (Waimel) chapel.⁷

Professor of Old Testament and semitic languages Hugo (Uku) Masing travelled to Latvia in August 1940. The purpose of his visit needs further explanation. Masing had not used part of his earlier travelling grant; with another part of the grant, he had ordered copies of Ethiopi-

¹H. B. Rahamägi. Rahu tähe all. *Postimees*. 1928, 7.09 (nr. 243), lk. 4.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 992, pp. 141–145.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1069, pp. 50, 125v; item 1211, pp. 83, 89; ser. 5, item 36, p. 72.

⁴*Päevaleht*. 1934, 14.05 (nr. 131), lk. 1.

⁵O. Sild. Missugune vaimulik näidend tuli etendusele Riias talvel 1205/1206 ja missuguse kirikupühaga ta oli seotud. *Usuteaduslik Ajakiri*. 1935, nr. 2, lk. 47–49.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1088, p. 107.

⁷EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1088, p. 107.

an manuscripts from Berlin. Referring to the complicated travelling conditions, he wanted to use the rest of the grant as well for ordering copies, but the university administration did not give him permission to do so.¹ The trip to Daugavpils, then the centre of Latvian Jews, materialized with the help of Isidor Levin, who was born in Latvia and had studied folklore and theology in Tartu. Levin helped Masing to reach agreements concerning visits to Daugavpils' synagogues and for using the manuscripts of the Jewish library.² Summarizing the results of his trip, Masing said that it would have been more expedient to order copies from Berlin, but that the materials found in Daugavpils could also be of great use.³

Students were not left out of the contacts between theologians. As guests of the Academic Theological Society, 20 students of theology from the Latvian University visited Tartu in May 1937. They saw the sights of the town, including the Estonian National Museum at Raadi, churches and the university with its library. In the evening, the society organized a social, with many people participating.⁴

Joint conferences (congresses), split between the participants. The first conference of Baltic theologians was held in Helsinki in 1927, with participants from all of the Baltic states and Finland. The initiative for this regional meeting came from the Theology Faculty of the Latvian University.⁵ The participants of the conference numbered 18, two of them from Estonia — H. B. Rahamägi and E. Tennmann. The following meeting was to take place two years later in Riga.⁶ The convocation of the conference was associated with co-operation between churches within the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches. The reports presented at the conference

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 621, p. 248.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 621, p. 253.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 621, p. 253.

⁴Läti üliõpilased Tartus. *Postimees*. 1937, 7.05 (nr. 122), lk. 7.

⁵E. Tennmann. Baltimaade usuteaduskondade konverents [26.–31.05.27]. *Usuteadusline Ajakiri*. 1928, nr. 2, lk. 95.

⁶E. Tennmann. Baltimaade usuteaduskondade konverents. *Usuteadusline Ajakiri*. 1928, lk. 95; I balti teoloogide konverents [...] Helsingis. *Postimees*. 1927, 18.05 (nr. 133), lk. 5.

dealt with theology and the situation of the church in the participating countries in most general terms; curricula and examination requirements at different universities, etc.¹ The second conference of Baltic theologians took place in Riga in June 1929. The circle of participants had broadened to include the universities of Königsberg and Uppsala. From Tartu, professors O. Seesemann and E. Tennmann presented reports titled *Zur johannischen Frage* and *Idealismus und Christentum* respectively.² While preparing for the conference, the future of the conferences was discussed in Riga. A decision was taken to limit the number of presentations, and after heated debates, the rights of new membership were given to Lund University.³

The third conference of Baltic theologians was held in Tartu in 1932.⁴ We were unable to find out why the Theology Faculty of Kaunas University did not participate, although Professor Vilius Gaigalaitis had promised to come.⁵ By 1932, word of the Baltic theologians' conferences had spread further afield — the organizers received inquiries from Berlin and Paris.⁶ The chair of the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work was at that time Professor Adolf Deismann from the Theology Faculty at Berlin University, who wished the conference success in its work.⁷

The next meeting was to take place in Königsberg in 1934.⁸ Before that, a quarrel broke out concerning the circle of participants. The Latvian University did not agree to the participation of the Herder Institute and the exclusion of Kaunas University. Tartu University sided with the Latvians, but finally the Herder Institute was invited to Königsberg as an official delegation, and subsequently the representatives of the Latvian and Estonian national universities boycotted the

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 5, item 36, pp. 8–9, 87–88.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 1069, pp. 50, 125v; item 1211, pp. 83, 89; ser. 5, item 36, p. 72.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 36, p. 6.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 5, item 36, pp. 3–4.

⁵EAA, stock, 2100, ser. 5, item 36, pp. 57, 127.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 5, item 36, p. 71.

⁷EAA, stock 2100, ser. 5, item 36, p. 15.

⁸EAA, stock 2100, ser. 4, item 36, pp. 112–112v.

conference. The complicated relationships have been carefully documented.¹

A decision was taken to hold the next conference in Turku in June 1937. Conflicts over broadening the circle of participants continued. K. Kundziņš had earlier approached the Swedish professor Johannes Lindblom, who had good relations with Latvians, in order to determine the Swedish stance. Lindblom attempted to ease the tension.² Early in 1937, the dean of the Theology Faculty at Tartu University, O. Sild, received a letter from Gustav Rosenquist, the dean of Åbo Akademi (the Swedish-language university of Turku), which was also addressed to the deans of the theological faculties of Helsinki, Riga and Königsberg universities. The letter informed them that preparations for the 5th conference of Baltic theologians had begun. Now the universities of Helsinki, Königsberg, Latvia, Tartu, Lund, Åbo and Uppsala, and again the Herder Institute from Riga, were mentioned as participants. The organizers had also contacted Kaunas, but some rearranging was being done there. Rumours even spread that the Faculty of Theology had closed down in Kaunas.³ O. Sild considered it necessary to postpone the conference until the next year, as vacant professorships had to be filled in Tartu. Namely, three of the seven professorships were vacant in Tartu, and they had to be filled by the following semester.⁴ Obviously, this was not the only or even the main reason. The letter also expressed the wish that before the next meeting of Baltic theologians, a committee headed by the Turku dean should meet in order to discuss the most essential problems concerning the continuation of Baltic theologians' conferences: their purpose, aims and means, the exact circle of participants and possible newcomers.⁵ O. Sild also sent a copy of his reply to the dean of the Theology Faculty of the Latvian University.⁶ The letters sent to Turku and the visits of the Turku representative Rafael Gyllenberg to Tartu and

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 5, item 36, p. 100ff.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 5, item 36, p. 128.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 5, item 36, pp. 137–138.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 5, item 36, pp. 138–139.

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 5, item 36, p. 139.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 5, item 36, p. 138.

Riga made the organizers change their original plans.¹ The theologians of Turku agreed that, in order to continue the conferences, a committee should meet beforehand. As too little time remained, they proposed to organize a day of Baltic and Nordic countries' theologians instead of holding a conference, during which the committee meeting could also be held.² The letter sent from Turku to Tartu reveals that most participants favoured the variant of organizing a day of Baltic and Nordic countries' theologians, as it is written in the letter, "to grant the wishes of Riga University".³ In the letter sent to Tartu, G. Rosenquist announced that the day of Baltic and Nordic countries' theologians would be held from June 2–4, 1937 in Turku. The dean of Tartu, O. Sild, did not travel to Turku, justifying this with the above-mentioned problem of filling the professorship vacancies, but sent Associate Professor S. Aaslava instead, giving part of his travelling grant to cover Aaslava's expenses.⁴ Thus, Aaslava should have been considered a fully-fledged representative of the Faculty, but for some reason he did not participate at the meeting of the committee to discuss the continuation of conferences.⁵ The committee members were the following: A. F. Puukko (Helsinki), L. Adamovičs (Riga), G. G. Rosenquist (Åbo) and H. M. Müller (Königsberg). The meeting of the Åbo committee defined the future activities of the Baltic theologians' conference, fixing its own powers and the main organizational matters: frequency of holding the conferences, circle of participants, rotation of chairmen, and the name of the conference.⁶ The committee declared that the official participants were the universities of Helsinki, Tartu, Latvia, Königsberg, Lund and Uppsala, Åbo Akademi of Turku, and also the Herder Institute of Riga. The organizing faculty was free to invite guests. The decision was taken to hold the following conference in Lund in 1941,⁷ but because of war, it was cancelled.

¹EAA, stock 2100, ser. 5, item 36, pp. 149–150.

²EAA, stock 2100, ser. 5, item 36, p. 149.

³EAA, stock 2100, ser. 5, item 36, p. 148.

⁴EAA, stock 2100, ser. 2, item 2, pp. 119–120; item 1088, p. 107.

⁵EAA, stock 2100, ser. 5, item 36, pp. 157, 160.

⁶EAA, stock 2100, ser. 5, item 36, pp. 157–160.

⁷EAA, stock 2100, ser. 5, item 36, pp. 141–143.

Mostly the co-operation between Baltic theologians was co-operation between universities; the University of Tartu had the closest contacts with Latvia. It seems that in this field, we cannot speak of co-operation between separate countries, for example, the links between Estonia and Latvia. There was co-operation between all of the Baltic states and even Finland, Sweden and Germany, in spite of the formal disagreements in the second half of the 1930s. In general, the ecclesiastical life of the period can be characterized by ecumenical trends and co-operation between the clergy of different confessions. Co-operative clerics condemned the Soviet Russian policies that were hostile to the church. It should be also noted that in no other area than theology was one language — German — so predominant international communication of the area.

CONCLUSION

It is difficult to provide a short overview of cultural relations between Estonians and Latvians. This became clear earlier when a presentation was given in Riga in the beginning of October 2002. Another reality has also been revealed; that a large blank spot exists in the historiography of the two countries. This is the main reason for the writing of this book. Mercifully for the reader who has to digest the enormous amount of information held here, and due to the fact that ESTO 2004 will commence soon, the book is not as voluminous as the richness of its subject would have allowed it to be.

Relations between the two neighbouring nations – or rather, between the two neighbouring areas — have always been tight. But in this book, we do not talk only about Estonians and Latvians, but also about other peoples living in the area now covered by the modern states of Estonia and Latvia — e.g. Russians, Germans, and many others. That being said, the cultural relations between Estonians and Latvians are undoubtedly of a unique nature. Let us try to summarise them.

Since the founding of the University of Tartu in 1632, many Latvians and people of other nationalities who have lived in what is present-day Latvia have attended its lectures. During Tsarist time, the number of Latvian students at the University of Tartu exceeded 1400. Many lecturers from the territory of Latvia have taught in Tartu, some Latvians included.

The area of modern Estonia and Latvia has fascinated many researchers; many books and articles have been published by authors of different nationalities. Often it has been difficult to limit their subject

strictly to either Estonia or Latvia. Such an approach, that of ignoring borders, was natural during Tsarist time, since there were no borders in this area then — the Livonian province of the Russian Empire was only later divided between Estonia and Latvia. But even in the later period, the borders had no effect on the natural features of the area. People have always lived in mixed settlements in the bordering areas, and their languages and cultures have constantly interrelated. Our history is similar, no matter whether we talk about the German nobility who governed us for 700 years, or about the Lutheran faith, which was reluctantly adopted for a period of time.

The two young countries were facing similar problems and their universities had to solve many serious issues, the priority being the development of intellectuals in their respective countries. The University of Tartu had been working already for a long time, but after the emergence of the independent state of Estonia, it had, similarly to the University of Latvia, to redouble its efforts in training top-level scholars and professionals for the new state. In the beginning, a large number of foreigners were engaged in teaching at the universities; later, in the 1930s, their number diminished considerably. Economic pressure was hard on both countries in the beginning and at the end of the 1920s, hindering the development of a material basis for studies, as well as the development of contacts with other countries.

In order to share their experience, the scholars of both countries visited each other, organised meetings, seminars, conferences and congresses, and in the practical areas of the natural sciences, arranged excursions and field trips. Meetings of specialists from the Baltic states were also attended by representatives of other countries. Mutual assistance was offered, and new methods and experiences were adopted and adapted in terms of local conditions. When planning major reorganisations, assistance and encouragement was first sought from neighbours. Problems of work organisation in universities, clinics and hospitals, etc., were of mutual interest. Patients from Latvia were treated in Estonia, and vice-versa. For the first time in their history, both countries were able to develop national sciences — linguistics, history, ethnology, cultural studies, etc. Papers were published in each

other's journals and magazines, reflecting the general development of the different sciences in Latvia and Estonia, as well as focussing on more specific problems in individual scientific areas. Professional journals published material concerning the neighbour's problems, introduced specialists from each other's countries, etc.

Mutual contacts were often hindered by the fact that Estonians and Latvians did not know each other's languages. The use of other foreign languages created problems as well, since German and Russian, quite widespread in the Baltic countries, were not considered politically acceptable; but yet the knowledge of English and French was still poor.

Well-co-ordinated joint activities could, in many cases, have saved time and effort and helped to achieve better results, such as in the cases regarding: the compilation of pharmacopoeias in different countries; the problems of legislation; the development of economic relations; the attitude towards the Livonians in the two countries; and problems concerning the exchange of archival materials, etc. In some special cases, historiography was different in Estonia and Latvia, mostly in terms of patriotic concerns. Historians of Baltic-German origin often displayed a still different vision of the same events.

We cannot neglect politics, and we have briefly touched upon the subject — international relations and agreements formed the basis for political, economic and cultural co-operation between the Baltic countries. Often it was difficult to reach an agreement; as the hegemonic ambitions of the great powers played an important role in consolidating the Baltic countries — the need for holding together furthered concern among the politicians. Political co-operation, conditioned by the international situation, was more effective in the early 1920s and the late 1930s. Cultural co-operation during these periods was livelier, and the contacts of the University of Tartu with Latvia intensified as well. The credit for this should be given to people who spent much time and effort in developing joint activities, to university leaders, to the embassies of both countries, and to friendship societies and committees of spiritual co-operation.

Contacts of the University of Tartu with Latvia were closer than those it had with other countries, as conditioned by the geographical neighbourhood, similar fates, similar tasks set before these countries, and the need to stand together, often characteristic of small countries. And we should not forget the importance of the personal relations that often began during common studies at a higher school.

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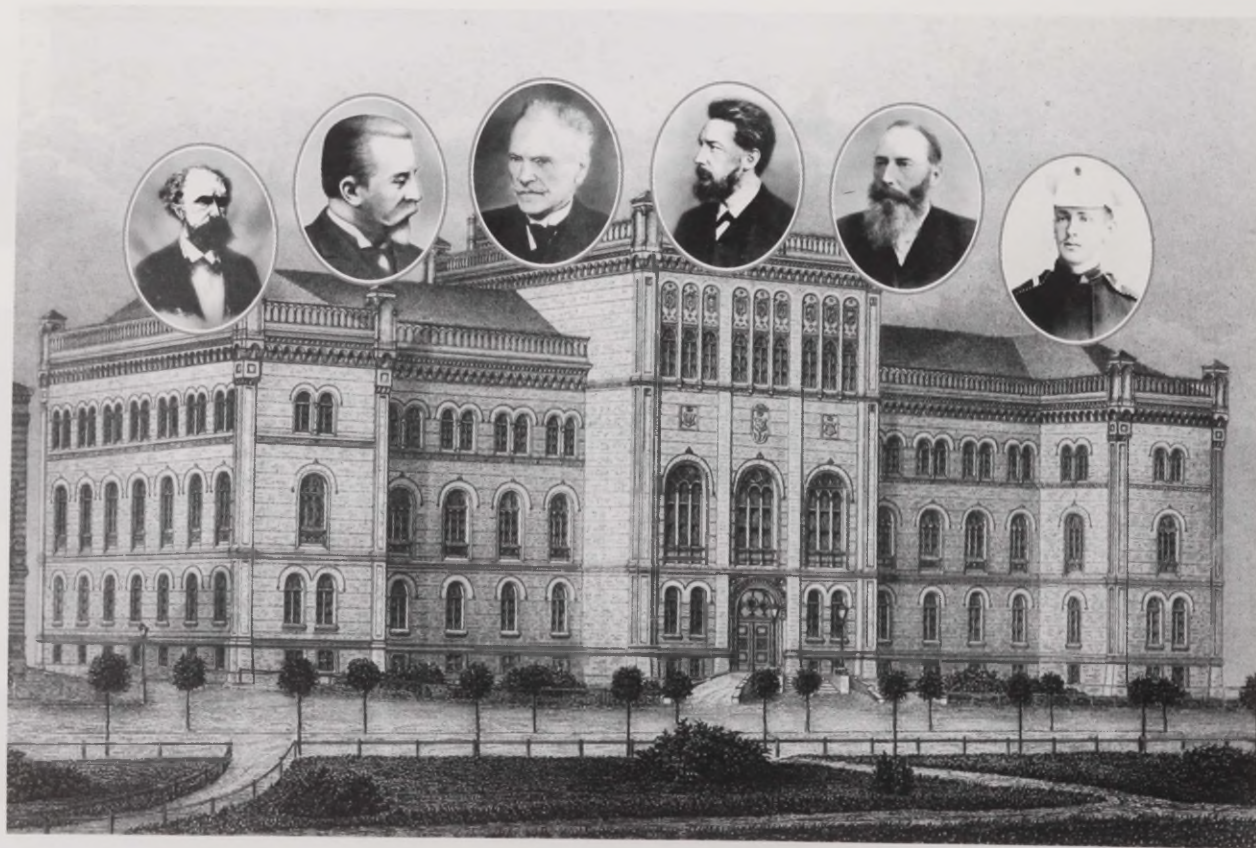


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COMMISSION ESTONIENNE
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TARTU ÜLIKÜL
EESTI - ESTONIE

LIETUVOS INTELEKTUALINIO
BENDRADARBIAVIMO KOMISIJA

COMMISSION NATIONALE
LITHUANIENNE DE COOPÉRATION
INTELLECTUELLE

Nr. 5122

Kaunas, le 14 Mars 1938.

À la Commission Estonienne
de Coopération Intellectuelle.

15 MAR 1938

644

Au cours des discussions sur la question concernant
la révision des manuels scolaires au Congrès de coopération
intellectuelle interbalte de Tartu, les délégués estoniens

Latvijas nacionālā
intelektuālās kopdarbības
KOMISIJA

Commission
Nationale Letonne
de Coopération Intellectuelle

Riga, le 16 décembre 1938.

N°

Monsieur le Secrétaire,

Comme suite à votre demande, j'ai l'honneur
de vous faire savoir le texte de la résolution adoptée

à la Conférence de Riga, notamment:

La conférence, constatant avec satisfaction la présence
pour la première fois des délégués de toutes les commi-
ssions nationales de coopération intellectuelle ren-
trant dans le cadre de cette collaboration régionale
des pays baltiques et nordiques, décide de prévisa-
ger aucun nouvel élargissement de son cadre sans qu'une
telle proposition, après avoir été soumise à l'examen
de chacune des commissions nationales représentées ici,
ait été adoptée par toutes ces commissions.

La seconde résolution recommande aux
pays participants d'élaborer un aperçu court sur l'histoire
de leurs pays.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Secrétaire,
l'expression de ma haute considération et de mes sentiments
très distingués.

Monsieur Fr. PUKSCS,
Secrétaire de la Commission
Estonienne de Coopération
Intellectuelle,

Tartu.

(L. Adamovics)
Président.



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61



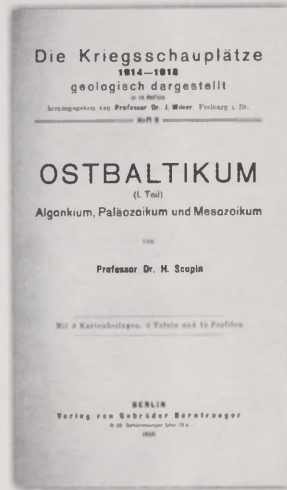
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Lejneska - Ragov
РАБОЧАЯ КНИГА ПО МАТЕМАТИКЕ

НАЧАЛА АЛГЕБРЫ
Курс VI класса начальной школы

Издательство
Рига, 1931.

Lejneska - Ragov
РАБОЧАЯ КНИГА ПО МАТЕМАТИКЕ

НАЧАЛА АЛГЕБРЫ.
Курс IV и V класса начальной
школы.

Издательство
Рига, 1931.

1922

Men in dust.

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71, 5. 6. 21

Almanacertest ja kulturt

Sediment

Dec 24 29 J. B. 1877

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Риси-түл (N) куттукан ка мис-түл

Риси-нагловъ - полианаст.

5-tuult kutnutakse ka jädal-tüel', viita-täl' või ka mä-täl'

Lieber Herr,

Vielen Dank für meine 2 Briefe
und die guten Nachrichten. Ich habe
bis nicht sofort antworten können,
weil ich zuerst einen Professor
an der Fakultät über einen Kandidaten
fragen wollte, den wir auch
empfehlen können.

Aber 1) wir bitten Sie und seine
Fakultät nur einen Kandidaten
für die ~~Lehrstuhl~~ ^{zur Empfehlung} - ~~Lehrstuhl~~ - ^{zur Empfehlung} -
Lehrstuhl auf unserer Fakultät, da
nun ein gültig genehmigt ist und
für die wir Geld zum April a. a. ab
haben. Der Kandidat muss 8 Stunden
wöchentlich lesen und erhält eine
Besoldung von Fr. 280.- monatlich, falls
er natürlich Hochschulbildung
hat, was ja auch in diesem Fall
natürlich ist. Ein Teil der Stunden

kann zwischen Literaturgeschichte
oder auch, z. Bsp., in Fabeln gewidmet
werden. Wir müssen den Kandidaten
März wählen, auf dass die obigen
Bills Besoldigung vor dem 1. April
erfolgen könnte. So wird es
den Kandidaten am 1. September sein.

Empfehlen wir auch, wie
Sie in diesem Brief gesehen, für
eine lehrbuch - literarische Literatur
Körner Karl Drasch. Er hat noch
Univ.-studium absolviert und zählt
aber zu der Universität des Kandidaten,
Fakultät beizugehen. Wir hoffen, er ist
in Zukunft unseren Fabeln und
Bibliographien zu sehen. Er beherrscht
vollständig das Russische und Deutsche
kann auch etwas Französisch und eng-
lisch. Ich empfehle mit dem Russischen
Bereitigt. Will und das Russische
lernen. Es ist eine strengere, engere,
gute Mann. Die Fakultät hat es
bereits ihm auch zu empfehlen.

Ich hoffe auf baldige Antwort.

Mit vielen herzlichen Grüßen

Sein Freund
Dr. F. Salomon

20. IV. 1840

Hochachtungsvoll Herr Kollege!

In der Annahme, dass ich vielleicht nächstens auch Ihnen einige Überblicke geben kann, erlaube ich mir, Sie um gefällige Auskunft in folgenden Fragen zu bitten.

Thomson hat in seinen Vorlesungen liv. gālgab „Sendt“ von gālgā „Fun“ abgeleitet und es mit gālgāwa „große oder schnelle Führe habend“ (denkbar, was aber seinen Sinn ergibt. Könnte gālgab formell nicht „am Führende Befindliches“ bedeuten?

In Westeuropa gibt es Sätzenamen (russchen Ursprungs), die lettisch auf -ē, deutsch auf -sel, -sal enden, z.B.

Wainzē d. Wainzel (alt Wainzelle); Suntzē, d. Sunzel (alt Sundesel); Pabzē (alt Pobasile); Limbzē, d. Lainsal (alt Laineselle; lv. Lāimnisl); Šicē (alt Šenāsile); Kubzē (alt Kubbeselle und Kubāselle). Können da die Formen auf -silē, -selē der lettischen allchivus pluralis und die lettischen Formen auf -ē

der lettischen imfonatīvus pluralis sein? So könnte le. allzē, das zu *allzē entstanden sein könnte, mit liv. allzē oder allzē (imfin. plur. identisch sein. Ob unter den Formen auf -ē auch Frassive vertreten sind?

Man hat z. B. Lainsal als ein Kompositum erklärt, dessen zweiter Teil zu lv. salē „Maratonisch“ gehöre. Aber es scheint mir, dass damit die lettische (Lāimnisl) und lettische (Limbzē) Form sich nicht vertragen.

Zu salē stimmen auch nicht die unzuverlässigen Formen auf -silē.

Wie wäre le. ē in Limbzē gegenüber liv. ē in Lāimnisl zu erklären? Von Lettischen aus ist dieser Vokalunterschied nicht zu begreifen. Gälte es eine gute Etymologie für Lāimnisl? Und was wäre hier älter: lv. Lāimnisl, oder das lv. Limbzē (nach Lāimnisl gesprochen)?

Für eine gefällige Auskunft wäre ich Ihnen sehr dankbar.

Riga, Herbstes 1893. Mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung
Jurgens G. Endzehen



LÄTI-EESTI ÜHINGU KUUKIRI



Mr. 1

1935. G.

APRILIS-MAJIS

LOADS

LATVIJAS IGAUNIJAS BIEDRĪBAS IZDEVUMS

LATVIJAS-IGAUNIJAS BIEDRIBAS
MĒNEŠRAKSTS
LATI-FESTI ŪHINGU KUUKIRI

Nr. 1. 6.5.8

Aprilis-Maijs

1. gods



levadam.
Eessōnaks.

[illegible]

Draudzība var būt īsta un ilgatuda tīkai, ja viens draugs otru ļoti paust, ja vi-
sā variūtēja domārpārha, un pārpār-
to tās ļoti noskaidrovi un lūpāto. Ti-
kai tādas apātāpā rois moditānā dra-
dāha un noskaidrovi bā noskaidroāma un
draha.

Tar nodibohama, tomēr jāietīst, ka kaut kas otrs taspat ir – latviski un igauši – tā vietuieņā kalmā! Arviņš atbilstoši ievērojams vienādos apstākļos, arī arviņš valdīs nostāties nostāties vienādiņā sadarbīdā, viena otru vēl nepietiekami pārlē. Vēl pārlēdams, viena otrs īpašības, centienus, dabas izveidojumu nodibohama.

Täpär vii var vastine võima viia aido-
ma, moolitama. To. varu, gas varu vi-
a vii vii vii vii vii vii vii vii vii vii vii

Järgides oma eesmärki – kindlustada ajurutt Lati ja Eesti rahva vahel ning uudestude omavahelist lähenemist – Lati-Eesti ühingu parast 5 aastast tööd on jõudnud otsusele, et ta oma ülesannete püsivaks kordusaktiivsuseks peab loomama tegevust. Otsuse korraldandis ekskursioone ja omavahelist külastamist, on peetud referaate ning ühispäramisi külastusi, on huvitavalt mõeldud rahvaid, on korraldatud kontserte, näitisi ja asutatud koostööriühise ülesannevõtteid, aga kõik see pole veel küllalt nii suure eesmärgi saavutamiseks.

Sõprus võib olla tõeline ainult siis, kui üks mõelb tunneb teist, kui kõik võimalikud arusaamatused ja mõttevahel selgitatakse ning kõrvaldatakse. Ainult aasratel sõludes võib kind sündinud sõprus ja kinnine äia kindel ja tugev.

Kahjuks pean tunnistama, et lütsinaad ja
võtsinad talinõueteid toimetavad veel väga vähe-
se, heidutava sellega, et nad on arvanud
ühikute olude lahendamise võimaluste ning
võimalduste omade rikkide ja elavuse käsitamisel
mõistmaks. Meie et tuuie teineta-
musepõhise, püüde, et korraldada
metode. Sellepärast võib vahel sündida
kahtlus, osadumatus. Üks tähtsamast
võimaldusest põhjustab on see, et iga rah-
vas raadi: oma keelt, millega teine arv
vab. Pide loetust, et ka lahendamise

BALTIJAS ŪNIJA
L'Union Baltique



Buttress and other forms of support are used to stabilize the structure.

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1. See *supra* note 1, at 100, 101 (quoting *supra* note 1, at 100).

La nouvelle Belgique sous le roi, 1663-1683

With your standard word, instead of *belinda* word

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R I G A



