

ESTONIA: A HISTORY IN ARCHITECTURE

by

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ABSTRACT


This thesis examines the history of Estonia through its architecture. Since 1219, except for a brief twenty-year period, Estonians have been ruled by a succession of foreign powers; it is they who have left their mark on the country by the buildings they chose to erect. By considering a limited number of structures as representative of approximately eight hundred years of written history, this paper focuses on an analysis of the function of architecture in Estonia, not only from a utilitarian and aesthetic perspective but also in terms of what could best be defined as "social function."


Thirteen buildings (or classes of buildings) were chosen for detailed examination in order to represent successive ruling powers and their important institutions. Each structure is discussed in terms of architectural style and purpose within its social, cultural and political context. Although an attempt was made to cover all principal areas of the country, i.e., major towns, the countryside and the islands, the main consideration was to choose examples that are significant by their function to the historical development of the land as a whole.


Architecture in Estonia, as everywhere else, is "politics in three dimensions"; dominant institutions

throughout Estonia's history, as throughout all history, have used architecture as a means of persuasion and an expression of conviction, sometimes deliberately and consciously, sometimes subliminally. This has been done through choice of building to be constructed, selection of site, and determination of architectural style. Through an examination of these factors within the proper context, one must conclude that architecture in Estonia was consistently employed to impress upon the people the will, the interests, and the belief of those in power.

Examiners:


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CHAPTER I

REHIELAMU - THE ESTONIAN FARMHOUSE

For many centuries prior to our own, the peasant dwelling in every culture has had the same general characteristics. Its basic components originated in pre-history and changes occurred slowly and were almost imperceptible. Building materials came from the physical surroundings of forest, field, and rocky knoll, and consisted of natural materials used in a very direct and unadorned fashion. The structure of the building, its form, proportions, and space allocation, was determined by the immediate physical needs of its inhabitants. These needs found their basis in the organization of the family, in its means of livelihood, and in the conditions dictated by climate and topography. In providing for these basic needs, the peasant dwelling remained virtually unchanged for hundreds of years and provided a constant foil for those more self-conscious man-made structures that we usually think of as Architecture.

In Estonia, the dominant kind of farm-dwelling was the rehielamu (Fig. 1). Developed before the Danish and German invasions of the thirteenth century, its basic components of rehetuba (kiln-house-living-room) and rehealune (threshing-room-barn) fulfilled the need for housing the family group during the cold winter months, yet provided a facility for

the efficient drying of grain during the damp harvest season. The rehielamu changed little during its seven hundred to nine hundred year history, and it was a house-type unique in the history of domestic architecture, for it existed nowhere else in Europe except in Estonia and northern Latvia.¹

Estonia is a section of the great north European plain stretching from the Baltic Sea to the Ural Mountains. The country is bounded on three sides by water: on the east, by the Narva River and Lake Peipsi, on the north by the Gulf of Finland, and on the west, by the Baltic Sea. It is a land of more than fifteen hundred lakes and over eight hundred islands. The moraines that cover it are thickest in the south and south-east, while the highest point is Suur Munamägi (1040 ft.), south of the town of Võru.

Estonians are part of the Finno-Ugric family. Together with Livonians, Votes, Finns, Karelians, and Vespians, they form a common sub-group, the so-called Balto-Finnic group. In the absence of early written history, certain differences have arisen between linguists and archeologists about the origin of Estonians.² However, it is generally held that they originated in the plains between the Ural Mountains and the Volga River and that they settled in Estonia at least two thousand if not three thousand years ago. They had, of course, contact with other culture regions, the most significant of which were the Balts, the Germanic peoples, and

the Slavs.

The Estonians have long been a sedentary people. Although both hunting and fishing were important factors, the Estonian economy probably acquired a strong agricultural foundation approximately two thousand years ago. Grain growing, forest apiculture, hay-making and cattle-raising were the chief activities.³ Trade also occurred as a part-time occupation; however, it was not carried out by professional merchants.

Estonians lived in villages, several of which were, in turn, grouped into a kihelkond, a territorial unit led by a chieftain or an elder. Village types, dating from the pre-feudal period, can generally be classified into three categories: 1. a sumbküla or "bunched village"; 2. a ridaküla or "row village"; and 3. an ahelküla, in which the houses were also in rows, but not as close together as in a ridaküla.⁴

Since the thirteenth century, when Estonia was invaded by the Teutonic Knights, the country has been subject to a variety of foreign powers: the Germans and the Danes, the Swedes and the Poles, and finally the Russians. The ruling class consisted mostly of Baltic Germans who were the landowners and the merchants. The peasants, who were largely Estonian, lived generally as serfs until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The farm-houses that are still in existence today date from the second half of the eighteenth and from the nineteenth century.⁵ However, since the conservative traditions of folk architecture among illiterate peoples remain unchanged for hundreds of years, they provide us with reliable evidence of age-old building traditions. Portable items of material culture have been more frequently modified in the course of time, but buildings connected to the soil and to the continuing patterns of day-to-day life retain their forms much longer.

The evolution of a farm architecture has always depended on a variety of local socioeconomic, climatic, topographical and ethnological conditions. Based on existing examples, archeological finds, and references in written records, one can gain an accurate picture of the typical Estonian farmhouse. The rehielamu had developed out of a combination of two components: a heated "living" room and an adjoining open threshing area protected by a roof on stilts (Fig. 2). The low hipped roof, covered with moss or sod, gradually became steeper and was covered with straw, while the threshing area became enclosed.⁶

Occupied by the extended farm family comprising perhaps fifteen to twenty people, the rehielamu was used as a dwelling, for drying grain, for threshing, for housing animals in winter, and sometimes even as a sauna.⁷ It was located in the central part of a farm-yard with the "front" X

facing south, south-west, or east, to take best advantage of the light and weather. All other buildings, the sheds, the sauna, the summer kitchen, and sometimes even a smithy, could be seen from the main house.

The rehielamu⁸ was long (twenty to thirty meters) and rectangular, dominated by a steep (45 degrees) thatched roof, twice as high as the building itself. The high roof provided extensive space for grain which was dried⁹ on beams placed at about the height of 1.8 meters from the floor. Wide eaves (.8 to 1 meter) offered protection all around from the rain. Thick logs, trimmed only with an axe, were used as building material; e.g., in the rehielamu of Sassi-Jaan's farm, the outer walls which are 2.5 meters high were made of only six logs.¹⁰ The crevices between the logs were chinked with moss, then covered with clay.

Doors for dwellings were low, with thresholds forty to sixty centimeters high. The threshold was usually the bottom one or two logs of the wall structure itself. The oldest doors were made of very wide boards¹¹ and were sometimes greater in width than in height; typical measurements would be a height of ninety-three centimeters and a width of ninety-eight. Doors were of two types, the sliding door and the hinged door. The sliding door was extensively used during the feudal period while the hinged door became more prevalent during the nineteenth century. Both doors allowed for the escape of smoke from the interior of the chimney-

less building;¹² the sliding door had a removable top board, while the hinged door was actually a double door: the inner door closed the whole opening while the outer door was basically like the bottom half of the so-called "Dutch" door.

Small openings (approximately 25 cm. x 20 cm.) were chopped into the log walls to allow for light. Before glass, transparent materials such as bladders and intestines of animals were used to cover these "windows". Shutters were sometimes made to cover the openings from the inside. Glassed-in windows appeared on the Estonian farm in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century (Fig. 3), although up to the end of the nineteenth century some glass-less windows could be found in the counties of Lääne and Pärnumaa. Windows, however, remained small; in the mid-nineteenth century, they were still not more than .3 meters square.¹³

The interior of the rehielamu consisted of two basic sections, the smaller, heated rehetuba (which, for example, on Sassi-Jaan's farm,¹⁴ was approximately fifty square meters) and the larger, unheated rehealune. Gradually, chambers were added, and the Estonian barn-dwelling became a house consisting of several rooms. By analyzing the addition of the various chambers to the original components of the dwelling, one can see that at least three different types of rehielamu (Fig. 4) were in use at the end of the feudal period. All were, however, variations on the same theme.¹⁵

The eighteenth century farmhouse belonging to Sassi-Jaan (Fig. 5) from the parish of Kullamaa in the county of Läänemaa is a typical rehielamu or barn-dwelling. The basic components of a rehetuba are here, while a pantry, a chamber, and another room have been added. The "living" room or rehetuba has a large fireplace built into the wall, and is the only heated room. The floor was made of large, flat stones, although other typical materials would have been clay, earth, and even boards. Ceilings were usually made of thin round logs and chinked with moss and clay, although board ceilings were also known.

The typical rehetuba was about three to four meters high. Food was prepared and eaten in this room, and grain was dried in the fall. In some areas it was even used as a sauna (Fig. 6). In the winter, the whole family would sit here on low, three-legged stools below the layer of smoke that hovered about one meter above the ground. The women spun and knitted; the men mended utensils and shoes, or worked with wood. All family members slept here on wide wall-benches.

Sassi-Jaan's rehetuba is almost completely surrounded by other rooms: in front of it, there is a narrow hallway and a larder, on one side a narrow chamber that runs the width of the house, and on the other side, the spacious rehealune. The chamber, which probably gleaned a little warmth from the stone wall of the fireplace that projects

into the room, was basically a storage room. Chambers were not used as sleeping rooms until the nineteenth century. The rehealune had a variety of uses: in the fall, the threshing was done here, and the two doors opposite one another allowed for the free passage of wind and air to help this task. This room was also used as a work-room in the warmer seasons, or decorated for festivities such as weddings when more people would come together. Animals, especially horses and bullocks, were kept here in winter. On the far side of the threshing-room-barn, another narrow room was added to store animal feed.

The Estonian rehielamu or farmhouse faced the farm-yard which was usually 1000 to 2000 square meters in area. From the doorway one could see a variety of out-buildings, the most ancient of which was the suveköök (Fig. 7),¹⁶ or summer kitchen. This conical building,¹⁷ made of thin logs on end, had pre-historic origins and was originally used as a dwelling. In feudal times, the suveköök was used during the summer months as a kitchen for preparing food for both family and farm animals, as a wash-house, for beer-making, and sometimes for heating water for the sauna. In the later period four-sided log or stone buildings were used for similar purposes.¹⁸

The saun¹⁹ (sauna) is also a standard structure found on the Estonian farm, although its use was not spread throughout the country (Fig. 8). The early saunas had one

room while later types usually consisted of two rooms, a koda and a saunaruum. A typical sauna was made out of round logs and had an open stove built into a stone wall. A high bench was built for washing and for beating oneself with a bath whisk. Early saunas had dirt floors, while later, primitive boards were used, but the sauna always had a ceiling to hold the heat. The room adjacent to the sauna proper was often occupied by a saunik or "sauna-man" who received his lodging from the farmer in return for labor.

The importance of the sauna in Estonian folklore is significant. The sauna was used not only for washing and for healing all kinds of ailments and illnesses, but also in conjunction with various important events in human life, such as birth and death. In old Estonian folk religion, the concepts of "clean" and "sacred" were very closely related, and the sauna was a sacred place in every respect. An especially strong sauna "power" (whose concrete expression was primarily the steam) reigned there along with all kinds of spirits. As the influence of Christianity spread, elements of Christian worship were incorporated into traditional animistic beliefs.²⁰

It is thought that the early sauna-type building was the forerunner of the rehielamu, most specifically of the rehetuba or "living" room of the Estonian farmhouse. Linguistic and archeological evidence has been cited to support this claim.²¹ When viewing the plans of rehielamus,

one can see the similarities in the basic elements of their "living" rooms and of the sauna (Fig. 1 and Fig. 7). When one realizes that in some early documented instances²² the rehetuba was actually enclosed on all four sides by the larger rehealune or threshing-barn, the argument seems convincing. Only gradually, it seems, did the "living" room gain an outside wall, or an open porch covered by an overhang, and cease being a house within a house. (Of course, one must also remember the development in a different direction: namely, that in a relatively large part of Estonia, the bathing ritual performed in a sauna actually took place in the rehetuba or "living" room.)

Aside from the summer kitchen and the sauna, another important building type was the ait²³ or storehouse. The storehouse was frequently built as a single structure, sometimes as two adjoining structures, and sometimes, even three or more. Occasionally, two would be built under the same roof and space would be left in between. This type of building had a steep thatched roof and a floor of logs or rough boards. In order to keep its contents dry, the whole structure was raised from the ground by the aid of large stones placed under each corner. The storehouses served a variety of purposes: in the toiduait, food was stored--barrels of meat, of fish, and of honey; in the viljaait or granary, grain, barley and bean were kept. A typical ait had an attic, also used for storage, or, in the summer months,

for sleeping.

Other early buildings were the barn, the mill and the smithy. Little is known of early barn types. The windmill, especially the smaller type that could be turned into the wind, has been known since very early days, while the smithy did not become common until the nineteenth century.

Domestic architecture in Estonia began in pre-history. The early pole-tent was replaced by the saun which ultimately evolved into the distinctive rehielamu, an unselfconscious example of folk architecture eminently suited to the people it served. The rehielamu became the basic building type in Estonia during the feudal period, and only gradual changes in its form took place with the addition of chambers, covered porches, windows, and ultimately in the nineteenth century, kitchens and separate sleeping rooms. The unique combination of barn, threshing-room, kiln and house had served Estonians well during centuries of peasant life; it was not until increased industrialization, the subsequent growth of cities, and the end of serfdom that the rehielamu was built no more.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Gustav Ränk, Old Estonia, the People and the Culture, trans. Betty Oinas and Felix J. Oinas (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1976), p. 71.

² This problem is discussed in some detail in Ränk, pp. 3-6.

³ Evald Uustalu, The History of the Estonian People (London: Boreas, 1952), p. 27; Ränk, pp. 16-53.

⁴ H. Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1965), p. 379.

⁵ Ibid., p. 376.

⁶ Ibid., p. 26.

⁷ E. Vunder, Eesti Riiklik Vabaõhumuseum (Tallinn: Perioodika, 1977), p. 5.

⁸ Detailed description of the rehielamu can be found in Arman et al., pp. 384-390; Ränk, pp. 63-70; and Vunder, p. 5.

⁹ Historically, Estonian grain has been considered among the best, i.e., the driest, in northern Europe. During the period of Swedish conquest (1583-1720) Estonia functioned as "the granary of Sweden." Michael Roberts, ed., Sweden's Age of Greatness, 1632-1718 (London: MacMillan, 1973), p. 70.

¹⁰ Arman et al., p. 389.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 383. For example, in Hiiumaa on Juhan's farm called Männamaa, a door dating from approximately 1700, 125 cm. wide, is made of only two wide boards and one narrow board.

¹² The early nineteenth century traveller in Estonia was struck most by the long fair hair, the fine teeth, and the glazed eyes of the Estonians; "the glazed eye came from the eternally smoky atmosphere of his hut, which at that time had no chimney." J. Hampden Jackson, Estonia (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1941), p. 90.

¹³ Arman et al., pp. 383-384.

14 Sassi-Jaan's rehielamu is now part of the Eesti Riiklik Vabaõhumuuseum (Estonian National Outdoor Museum) outside of Tallinn. Descriptions of this farm dwelling in particular can be found in Arman et al., p. 389; and Vunder, p. 5.

15 Both Arman and Ränk categorized different types of rehielamu, the former using the number of rooms in addition to the rehealune and rehetuba, the latter the structure of the ceiling of the rehetuba. Nevertheless, all types of dwellings have the same basic design. Arman et al., pp. 387-389; Ränk, pp. 69-72.

16 Ränk, p. 59. The summer-kitchen was also known in various parts of Estonia as a püstkoda (upright tent), hirrekõök (pole kitchen), or simply koda (tent).

17 The conical pole-tent must be one of the most widely-spread building types in the world: it has been used in regions as wide-ranging as Eretria, Lapland and Canada.

18 Arman et al., p. 391; Ränk, p. 59.

19 Descriptions of the saun can be found in Arman et al., p. 392; and Ränk, p. 62.

20 It was believed, for example, that after the humans had washed themselves, Christian figures such as Mary with Jesus would enter the saun. Whisks and other sauna supplies were left on the platform for them so that they would be satisfied with the people and bless them. Ivar Paulson, Old Estonian Folk Religion (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1971), pp. 161-162.

21 Ränk, p. 65, believes that the sauna or bath-house was diffused from Estonia into Finland before the development of the rehielamu. Arman et al., p. 392, state that the name saun was given also to the small and sometimes temporary dwellings occupied by fishermen, hired laborers, and poorer folk.

22 Ibid., p. 67.

23 Arman et al., p. 395, provides a description.

CHAPTER II

CHURCH ARCHITECTURE, THIRTEENTH TO FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Part 1

On the island of Saaremaa, the largest in the Estonian archipelago, stands the small single-aisled church of Valjala (Figs. 9 and 10), the oldest on the island,¹ dating from the thirteenth century² and one of the earliest Christian churches in all Estonia. It, like the little hall church of Ambla on the mainland, is part of an extensive network of churches built in Estonia from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. Erected during the era of great cathedral-building in Europe, these modest structures were the product of the same impulse: the impulse of the Christian Church to expand, to dominate and to subdue.

By the eleventh century, the Baltic peoples constituted a pagan wedge between several powerful Christian neighbors.³ Between 1030 and 1192 the Estonians had to repel military campaigns led by the Russians, the Swedes and the Danes, and resisted the more peaceful blandishments of Adalbert, the Archbishop of Bremen, and the monk Fulko from the Bishopric of Lund. The weakness of the Estonians was that they had not succeeded in forming any organized state; also, there was no love lost among the different native groups that comprised the Baltic peoples. Although their countries did have contact with one another, concerted military action against the invaders was difficult to muster on a large scale.

In 1199, Bishop Albert from Bremen arrived, "with a cross in one hand and a weapon in the other."⁴ He led a Crusade by the Fratres Militae Christi, an order sanctioned by Pope Innocent III. During the next thirty years, Albert made repeated recruiting trips to Germany for his campaigns; he also cleverly exploited the differences between the indigenous peoples. Nevertheless, he encountered difficulties and was reduced to calling in King Waldemar II of Denmark as an auxiliary. Waldemar pitched camp in what is now Tallinn in 1219, and by 1227, foreign powers had firmly established themselves in Estonia.

After their conquest of Estonia, the Brothers of the Sword turned their attention southward; they subdued the tribes of southern Latvia but in 1236 lost almost all their fighting forces in a battle against the Lithuanians. The surviving Sword-Brothers joined the Order of Teutonic Knights whose Baltic branch became known as the Livonian Order. The expansionist aims of the Germans continued until they were decisively beaten by Alexander Nevski, the Duke of Novgorod, on the ice of Lake Peipsi in 1242.

The new Baltic state under Teutonic rule became known as Livonia.⁵ Its political structure was very complex and by no means monolithic. Although the supreme power was held by the Teutonic Order whose Grand Master⁶ lived in Marienburg in Prussia, sizeable tracts of land were governed by the Bishops of Riga, Tartu, and Saaremaa-Läänemaa. The

territories under the secular rule of the Bishops did not necessarily coincide with the territories under their ecclesiastical rule. Other political forces were the towns and their growing merchant communities, as well as the German feudal nobility that had been granted large territories in fief. As well, three counties in Northern Estonia belonged to Denmark until 1346, when they were sold to the Livonian Order.

Old Livonia could be called a confederation of states, of a sort. All its various parts were independent. The common interest that united the Order, the bishops, the towns, and the landowners was the defense of the country. Threats to security came from without and within. Estonia had been fought over for many years by its northern neighbors; these threats did not vanish. Also, the local population had to be subjugated, for it rebelled repeatedly against the yoke imposed by the foreign settlers.

A major force in the conquest of Livonia was Christianity,⁷ which provided both the justification for the raids on the natives as well as the means to subdue and indoctrinate them.⁸ During the Middle Ages an extensive network of churches was built.⁹ Country churches were usually located in the administrative centre of a kihelkond,¹⁰ an ancient territorial unit comprising several villages. The earliest structures, none of which has survived, were made of wood, but already in the middle of the

thirteenth century, stone churches were built in the towns and in the countryside.

Bishop Albert from Bremen was the real founder of both the Catholic Church and the German Colony in the Eastern Baltic lands in the beginning of the thirteenth century. After the submission of the Estonian peoples to foreign rule was completed in 1227, many churches were built throughout Old Livonia. There were two prevalent church types: one was the single-aisled country church, exemplified by Valjala, the other was the kodakirik or hall church, of which Ambla is typical. While the one-aisled church was commonly found in western and northern Estonia, and in the islands, the hall church was more frequently found in central, south-east and southern Estonia.

Estonian churches, even the larger imposing basilicas of Tallinn and Tartu, usually had modest beginnings. Some city churches have been destroyed and most have been so altered in the course of history that it is difficult to know what the original structures looked like. The thirteenth century in Tallinn was architecturally active and three major churches as well as two monasteries were established. All these have been significantly changed. In Tartu, the impressive Toomkirik, now destroyed, dated from this period. In order to gain some idea as to what one of these early structures was originally like, one must turn to smaller communities. Valjala Church (Figures 9 and 10) is an

interesting example of the type of country church frequently found in northern Estonia, and in terms of size and function, it can provide us with an insight into thirteenth century Livonia.

Although Valjala received significant additions around the year 1500 in the form of a polygonal apse and a tower added to its south side, its basic form dates from around the middle of the thirteenth century.¹¹ However, it is thought that parts of it are older still. In 1226, after an attack on Saaremaa and a raid on the village of Valjala by a combined force of Germans and Christianized Baltic natives, the villagers "conceived a fear of God and begged for peace."¹² Bishop Albert from Riga then conducted mass baptisms (vividly recounted by Henricus de Lettis in his Chronicle).¹³ Shortly thereafter, the construction of a small chapel-like structure was begun. The walls of this chapel were later incorporated into the walls of the choir of the church, and a rectangular nave with three bays was added. Building activity was halted in 1261 because of a local uprising which, no doubt, was the reason that the church was later completed as a fortress church.¹⁴ The bottom parts of the paired windows were closed off and a safe place (redupaik) above the vault, reached by a stairway three meters above the floor, was built into the southern wall separating the choir from the nave.

A variety of influences are evident in this simple parish church. It is thought to have been started by the apprentices or assistants of the anonymous "Cologne Master" who had worked on the Dom Church in Riga.¹⁵ In the design and proportions of the western façade, the influence of the Cistercians can be felt.¹⁶ The vaulting, completed after the uprising of 1260-1261, is believed to have been the work of a Westphalian master.¹⁷

German origins notwithstanding, it is not inconceivable that Scandinavian influences are also at work here. Most parishes in Scandinavia got their churches before the year 1200 through a process that had begun in Denmark and moved north.¹⁸ Two examples of this type of church in Denmark, Hover and Gudrum (Fig. 11), are similar to Valjala in both plan and proportions. While we do not know who actually had a hand in the final design of the church at Valjala, we must not forget that the Danes had arrived in Estonia in 1219 and remained in the northern provinces until 1346.

The Valjala Church is interesting not for its intrinsic architectural value. It is a modest structure in the Romanesque tradition having thick stone walls and a square choir; Gothic details are evident only in the pointed windows and portal gable. The men who built this church were not much concerned with the strict adherence to style. The Baltic frontier of Christianity was far removed from the theological centres of Rome or Paris and the ideological

basis¹⁹ for style had lost its impact by the time it reached Livonia. The approximately seventy-seven medieval churches in Estonia, of which Valjala was one, were part of the "white robe of churches"²⁰ in which the "world", i.e. Europe, was reclothing itself after the year 1000. The purpose for erecting these solid stone structures was to leave a lasting mark on the countryside, a reminder that the "Crusaders" had come to stay.

It must be remembered that of the "aggressive Ests", the inhabitants of the island of Saaremaa and Hiiumaa "were...the most pagan and warlike of all the Baltic tribes."²¹ There can be no doubt that when Bishop Albert sought to subdue them, he kept in mind the spirit if not the words of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, that saintly Cistercian, when preaching his Crusade against the Slavs: "We utterly forbid that for any reason whatsoever a truce should be made with these peoples, either for the sake of money or for the sake of tribute, until such a time as by God's help, they shall be either converted or wiped out."²²

In the chronicle of Henricus de Lettis one can see how this dictum was carried out: the natives were militarily overpowered into obedience and subsequently baptized. But because they proved to be less than docile, it was obvious that what was needed was not only a church but also a fortress. The necessity for a place of physical as well as spiritual refuge led to the completion of the fortified

church, which could then offer protection to the Christians, German and native, against attackers from both neighboring tribes and hostile Estonians.

Saaremaa had been the last free maakond before it fell to the Germans in 1227. It is evident that the subjugation and baptism of the local inhabitants was of prime importance to the Crusaders. Bishop Albert himself journeyed from Riga to perform the mass baptisms on the island. The baptismal font for this remote village church was made in Riga and transported, no doubt with considerable difficulty, to Valjala.²³ The font, the most highly decorated object in the church, was used in conjunction with the church's most important function, the baptism of the pagans.

And the Valjala church, though towerless,²⁴ was nevertheless an impressive, permanent stone structure, very different from the wooden houses of the islanders. Aside from being a place of physical refuge and religious "conversion", it was also the symbol of a foreign people, who built it to impress their superiority and their presence upon the heathen of the hinterland.

The hall church arrived in Central Estonia by a somewhat circuitous route via Gotland. After 1238, the Danish King surrendered the old province of Järvamaa to the Livonian Order on the condition that no fortresses be built. This seemed to stimulate the Order to an active church building program in the province, a not surprising outcome,

since it must be remembered that in medieval Estonia many churches functioned both as houses of worship and as strongholds. Ambla Church (Fig. 12), finished in the third quarter of the thirteenth century became the model for much church architecture in Central Estonia.

The hall churches, of which Ambla²⁵ is probably the earliest surviving example, were relatively modest structures. They all had similar characteristics: the body of the church was divided into a nave and two narrower aisles by two or three pairs of slender piers; the choir was a separate room and somewhat wider than the nave; the vaults were usually domical and without ribs; the windows were high and narrow. Although these churches boasted few carved portals, most had a tower which could also be used for defense purposes. Ambla, in fact, was the first of Estonian churches to have a large western tower.

It is thought that Ambla was the product of building traditions on the island of Gotland. Two reasons for this supposition have readily been forthcoming. The building of churches in central Estonia could have been encouraged by the arrival in 1230 of forty Gotlanders who were granted some western lands in Järvamaa.²⁶ Also, there is marked similarity in the low relief design of the carved capitals on Ambla with the work of mason Lafrans Botvidarson who worked in Gotland from 1230 to 1250.²⁷

The Germans as traders had settled in Gotland before the twelfth century. They rebuilt St. Maria church in the beginning of the thirteenth century, changing it from a basilica to a hall church and incorporating both Gothic and Romanesque elements. The churches in Visby belonging to the various ethnic groups that had settled there were manifestations of corporate effort. One can assume that these townspeople, especially, favored hall churches because of the kind of community they represented.²⁸ A church where there were no preferred places, where the roof rose to the same height over every one, where a man was his neighbour's equal, seemed to be the appropriate structure for a relatively egalitarian and upwardly mobile society. When one compares the plan of Dalhem (Fig. 13) on Gotland (which is a simplified version of St. Maria) one cannot help but be struck by the similarity it has with the plan of Ambla. The similarity with the Gotland churches which "sounded a subdued echo on Scandinavian soil of the German imperial art"²⁹ meant that Ambla, too, was also a product of the German architectural tradition.

Part 2

The venerable Toomkirik (Fig. 14) still stands high on the small walled plateau of Toompea, once the heart of Tallinn. It was the church of the elite: if one would describe Estonia's capital as a town with an acropolis,³⁰

the Toomkirik would have been its Parthenon. However, the eighteenth century spire that makes the Toomkirik part of Tallinn's skyline today is a relatively recent addition; it is the church itself whose origins predate even the Danish invasion of 1219.

The early churches in the urban centres of Tallinn and Tartu were, in the beginning, similar to unpretentious structures like Valjala and Ambla. All were small buildings erected in the thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries; all were initially single-naved or modest hall churches; all, with the exception of Tallinn's Pühavaimu Church, were significantly rebuilt later. Their style was one of transition: the buildings were low with thick walls, vaulted ceilings, and small windows. Decorative elements were restrained; wall paintings were employed, though few have survived; and low-relief Romanesque sculpture was sparingly used. It is in the slender piers of the hall churches and in the peaked narrow windows that Gothic characteristics are becoming evident.

After the foreign conquest of Estonia in the first half of the thirteenth century, Tallinn became an important administrative and commercial centre. While the rest of Old Livonia was in the hands of the Teutonic Knights, the three northern counties of Harjumaa, Rävåla, and Virumaa belonged to Denmark until 1346, and ecclesiastically came under the Danish archbishop of Lund.³¹ The castle on the south-west

side of Toompea hill in Tallinn was the residence of the Danish vice-regent for over one hundred years. The bishop and the vassals also lived on the fortified Toompea. From the first years of conquest, Germans and Danes had begun to grant large territories in fief to German nobles and, very infrequently, even to Estonians. The Bishops continued this practice, as did the Livonian Order, though more reluctantly.³² For reasons of personal safety and also for status, no doubt, these vassals preferred to have their town houses on Toompea.

The Toomkirik was the church of this powerful group. By the time the Danes had pitched camp on Toompea in 1219, the Toomkirik was already established as a wooden building. By 1229, it was a single-naved, unvaulted stone chapel, and by 1240, it was being referred to as the "Toomkirik" or "Dom Church".³³

During extensive rebuilding in the early fourteenth century, the structure was given a large chancel arch and square choir covered by a domical vault, and the nave was fully developed into a three-aisled hall church.³⁴ The hall church in medieval times represented egalitarianism or a type of urban democracy.³⁵ The inhabitants of Toompea, who participated in the governing of the colony, no doubt believed they were democratic. And so they were, among themselves: as early as the fourteenth century the vassals had met to discuss mutual problems. By the fifteenth century

these assemblies had grown into Diets (Landtag) and included all free classes: nobility, clergy, and town citizens.³⁶ With regard to the native Estonians, one doubts that the German nobles could consider these rustic pagans to be a part of their society when one remembers that even some two hundred years later, the traveller Olearius was to refer to the indigenous people of Livonia as "undeutsche".³⁷

In the fourteenth century, the power of the vassals in Old Livonia grew, while Estonians tried to protect their rights with repeated uprisings. Most of these rebellions were on a small scale but the series of revolts starting on St. George's Day, April 23, 1343, and continuing for two years, has been described as "one of the most serious peasant outbreaks in the Middle Ages."³⁸ The Danes realized their tenuous position and in 1346 sold their Estonian territory to the Livonian Order. This made the Order by far the largest landowner in the country.

Around 1350, Tallinn, like most European cities, was devastated by the plague; however, towards the end of the century, the town had recovered and was growing in prosperity and importance. In Old Livonia, there were twenty towns during the Middle Ages, nine of which were in Estonia. All trade, and to a great extent, all handicrafts were centered in the towns. All were grouped around major castles, and towns like Tallinn and Narva had been built around natural harbors which made them obvious trading

centres. In 1346, Tallinn gained the right to act as an entrepôt for eastern trade, which further enhanced her position. Later, in 1494, the closure of the Hanse offices in Novgorod by Ivan III, the Grand Duke of Moscow, increased the importance of Livonian towns even more.

During the second and third quarter of the fifteenth century, the Toomkirik (Fig. 14) was rebuilt again. While the chancel arch and apse remained untouched, the main structure got its present form and the Toomkirik became a basilica church. The nave was raised to 23.8 meters and the body of the church enlarged to an almost square floor plan measuring 32 x 25.5 meters. The west front was given a new form; the wall was made thicker and a circular staircase led to the vaults. The elements of the west wall, the wide body and the choir with the domical vault, made the Toomkirik reminiscent of Westphalian churches. The main portal on the south side was richly profiled and its pilasters unified by a springing stone which supported the symmetrical lines of a series of recessed Gothic arches in relief. Following the ascetic traditions of the Livonian Order³⁹ and the beggar monks (who had been the first founders of the church), no monumental tower was built, and only a small polygonal bell tower was erected between the chancel and the south side.

During this period, some architectural elements began to appear which seem to be especially prevalent in the Tallinn area. Notable characteristics are the richly

profiled portals where capitals of pilasters were replaced by unified horizontal springing stones, supporting concentric Gothic arches in relief, and the high, triangular gables adorned with sham niches in the shape of round or pointed arches, of trefoils or quatrefoils. These features were employed in both religious and secular buildings.⁴⁰

The transformation from hall church to Gothic basilica occurred in all major churches in Tallinn and Tartu⁴¹ in the latter half of the fifteenth century. It was visible evidence of the desire of the colonizers of "Old Livonia" to firmly assert their position of supremacy. The difficulties of the fourteenth century were behind: the threat of the Plague which had devastated Estonia (and Europe) had greatly diminished, and the towns, functioning almost like independent states, prospered. The peasant revolts had been put down and the peasants disarmed.⁴² With the purchase of Danish lands the Germans reigned supreme, and now considered some of the concessions given under the old peace treaties with the Estonians null and void. Justice was meted out by the vassals themselves, and many peasants fled to the cities which, being short of labor, allowed those who remained undiscovered "'for one year and a day'" to stay.⁴³ Although the privileged populations of the towns were predominantly foreign, the increasing number of Estonian town dwellers was a potential threat.⁴⁴ A strong new statement was needed to show clearly to the indigenous Estonian his position in the

German colony. The hall church with its associations of egalitarianism had outlived its time, and the basilica church, emphasizing the difference of class and status, became the new and appropriate symbol.

The early Romanesque chapels and the later Gothic basilicas had a common purpose in Estonia. The structures had to impress upon local populace the firm intentions of the Crusaders to stay, and to establish a permanent and prosperous Christian bulwark amidst the pagans. And, since the medieval church represented the kingdom of God on earth, these remote churches on the fringes of Christendom had to heed the examples of more exalted models by assuming familiar shapes and proportions. But high style does not travel well. Whereas Romanesque architecture in Germany or France might have involved a "reassessment of the Christian's relation to the world,"⁴⁵ by the time it was transported to the colonial outpost of Livonia, these considerations were lost. While in the twelfth century, the Gothic style had evolved on the Ile de France as the new image for the Capetian monarchy,⁴⁶ when exported far afield, the original political associations dissolved. No architect or stonemason ever built a church in Estonia "transforming the blind wall into transparent surfaces, a heap of stone into a cage of glass."⁴⁷ Modest, sturdy and colonial, the Christian Churches in the towns and countryside of Old Livonia were not only places of physical and spiritual

refuge; they were also concrete manifestations of the foreign power that had come to stay.

FOOTNOTES

¹ The oldest existing Estonian inscription is found on the portal of Kaarma, another thirteenth century church on the island. Dating from its rebuilding in 1407, it reads: "SEL AAS TAL ON SEKIRK WAL MIS SA NUD PET RI PAE WAL AN 1407." (Translation: "In this year this church was completed on St. Peter's day, the year 1407.") The oldest book in the Estonian language, the Wanradt-Koell Catechism, was not printed until 1535 in Wittenburg. Hanno Kompus, Picturesque Estonia, ed. Max Edelberg (Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzel, 1937), p. 87.

² H. Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1965), p. 93.

³ Historical background of the twelfth to the mid-fourteenth century can be found in J. Hampden Jackson, Estonia (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1941), pp. 38-40; M. Ojamaa and A. and T. Varmas, Eesti Ajalugu (Stockholm: Eesti Raamat, 1946), pp. 48-62; and Evald Uustalu, The History of the Estonian People (London: Boreas, 1952), pp. 33-50.

⁴ "rist ühes ja relv teises käes" - Ojamaa and Varmas, p. 240.

⁵ In his crusading zeal, Bishop Albert had dedicated the area of the east Baltic to the Virgin Mary; one of the earliest names given to Estonia was St. Mary's Land (Estonian: Maarjamaa). Ibid., p. 49.

⁶ The Grand Master's injunction to the Teutonic Knights regarding Estonia:

"Dies Schwerdt empfang von meiner Hand
Zu schutzen Gottes und Marien Land."

(Translation: "This sword receive from my hand
To defend God's and Mary's Land.")

Quoted by Jackson, p. 38.

⁷ Expansionist Christians built churches with a variety of functions, often clearly revealing their aims. For example, the Germans used a fortified church as their chief trading centre and storage depot in Novgorod in the twelfth century. I. Solomokova et al., Eesti Kunsti Ajalugu 1 (Tallinn: Kirjastus Kunst, 1975), p. 21.

⁸ Brundage comments on this process in his introduction to the chronicle of Henricus de Lettis. Henricus de Lettis, The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia, ed. and trans. James A. Brundage (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961), pp. 20-21.

⁹ During the Middle Ages there were approximately 77 churches, 3 monasteries and 5 chapels in Estonia outside the cities. Arman et al., p. 91. This number pales, however, when compared to the 1600 medieval churches that still exist in the small neighboring country of Denmark today. Thomas Paulsson, Scandinavian Architecture (Newton, Massachusetts: Charles T. Branford Co., 1959), p. 62.

¹⁰ In prehistoric Estonia, a territorial unit comprising several villages and led by an elder was called a kihelkond. The word kihelkond later came to mean "parish" and is still used in that sense today. Uustalu, p. 29.

¹¹ All sources do not agree on the dating of the construction of the Valjala church. Arman et al. (p. 93) state that basic construction took place in 1260, while Solomokova et al. (p. 34) hold that the nave was begun in the 1240's.

¹² Henricus de Lettis, pp. 243-244. The complete description of the siege reads as follows: (Waldia = Valjala; Oesel = Saaremaa)

When the fort of Mona had been reduced to ashes, the army hurried to another fort, called Waldia, in the midst of Oesel. Waldia is the strongest city amongst all those of the Oeselians. The army encamped there, preparing the instruments of war; paterells, namely, a large machine, huge fir trees and turpentine trees to make a tower against the wall of the fort. The Livonians, Letts, and Esthonians, together with some Germans, went around to all the provinces and took away the horses, the choice cattle, many spoils, much grain, and similar things. They burned down the villages with fire. The people of Waldia could not withstand the stone missiles, because of the multitude of people who were in the fort. Likewise they could not bear up under the missiles of the ballistarii. They took notice, also, of the instruments which had been prepared and with which the fort could easily be taken. They conceived a fear of God and begged for peace.

¹³ Ibid, p. 244. After describing the fierce attack on Valjala and the surrender of the people inside the village fort, Henricus de Lettis tells of the baptism:

The sons of nobles were given up. The venerable bishop of Riga joyfully and devotedly catechized the first of them and watered him from the holy font. Other priests poured water on the other hostages. The priests were led with joy into the town in order to preach Christ and to throw out Tharapita, the god of the Oeselians. They consecrated a fountain in the middle of the fort, filled a jar, and, after catechism, baptized first the elders and upper-class men and then the other men, women, and boys. From morning to evening the men, women, and children crowded very closely around, shouting: "Hurry and baptize me," so that even these priests, of whom there were sometimes five, sometimes six, were worn out with the work of baptizing. The priests, therefore, baptized with the greatest devotion many thousands of people, whom they saw rush with the greatest joy to the sacrament of baptism; and they, too, rejoiced, hoping that the work would count for the remission of their sins.

¹⁴ Most churches on the islands and in Western Estonia had been built as fortress churches. Arman et al., p. 93. In this context it is interesting to note that on the other side of the Baltic, in Scandinavia, "the need for protection from the threat of invasion...from the Estonians and the Wends was a vital factor in the building of churches." Peter Anker, The Art of Scandinavia, 2 vols. (London: P. Hamlyn, 1970), 2:142. Some of these churches, e.g. Halltorp, Hossmo, predate Estonian examples and are similar in function if not altogether in style, being generally more "fortress-like". The round fortress church, on the other hand, e.g. Bjernede, Østerlar, is "a synthesis of the keep and its chapel and is a purely Scandinavian development." Paulsson, p. 76.

¹⁵ Arman et al., p. 95.

¹⁶ The Cistercians built a number of monasteries in Estonia, among them the monastery in Tallinn dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the Padis monastery from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Arman et al., p. 173. Moreover, as early as the late eleventh century, the

Cistercians had begun to make significant inroads into Scandinavia, and, as we have already seen, contact between Estonia and Scandinavia dates from prehistoric times.

17 In the beginning of the thirteenth century, St. Maria, the church of the Germans in Visby, had been built by Westphalians. It, in turn, influenced the construction of some simple churches on Gotland, e.g. Dalhem and Vall. Paulsson, p. 70. These simple churches have some striking similarities in floor plan with Valjala and other small thirteenth century Estonian churches, e.g. Ambla, Nõo.

18 Paulsson, pp. 63-64. The archetype of the simple parish church in Scandinavia had been introduced by priests from Anglo-Saxon England, i.e. England prior to 1066.

19 See note 39.

20 Robert S. Lopez, The Birth of Europe (New York: M. Evans, 1967), p. 195. Lopez is quoting Raoul Glaber, the French chronicler.

21 The Cambridge Medieval History, 8 vols., s.v. "The Teutonic Order," by Alexander Bruce Boswell, 7:250.

22 Bruno Scott James, ed., The Letters of St. Bernard (Chicago: n.p., 1953), p. 467.

23 Arman et al., p. 95. The Baptismal font is believed to have been made by the same "Cologne Master" who worked on the Dom Church in Riga and whose apprentices began the construction of the church at Valjala.

24 Two kinds of churches had been introduced into Sweden from Anglo-Saxon England, those with towers and those without. (The floor plans of these churches were also very similar to that of Valjala.) If the church had a tower, it had the additional purpose of providing space for the king or feudal lord. On Gotland, for example, there were no early churches with towers because of the independence of the island. Paulsson, pp. 63-65. Perhaps also on Saaremaa in the thirteenth century, the lack of a tower signified the absence of a king or feudal lord and the church itself was the symbol of power and authority.

25 Solomokova et al., p. 39.

26 Arman et al., pp. 100-102.

27 Ibid., p. 103.

28 Paulsson, p. 92.

- 29 Ibid., p. 70.
- 30 John Leighly, "The Towns of Medieval Livonia," University of California Publications in Geography 6 (1932-1944):261.
- 31 Uustalu, p. 50.
- 32 Ibid., p. 53.
- 33 Solomokova et al., p. 31; Arman et al., p. 138.
- 34 Solomokova et al., p. 31.
- 35 Arman et al., p. 135; Paulsson, p. 92; Hans Koepf, Baukunst in fünf Jahrtausenden (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1954), p. 107.
- 36 Uustalu, pp. 53-54.
- 37 Adam Olearius, Vermehrte Neue Beschreibung Der Muscowitischen vnd Persischen Reyse. 1656 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1971), p. 110. The term "undeutsche" referring to the indigenous people continued to be used into the nineteenth century.
- 38 Boswell, p. 264.
- 39 Jerry C. Smith and William L. Urban, trans., The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1977), p. xii.
- 40 Sham niches or narrow perpendicular panels can be found in the Carmelite Abbey, Helsingør (1430)(Paulsson, pl. 19), and are also characteristic of the brick architecture of Lübeck. The most striking example of this feature in Tallinn can be found in the ruins of Pirita Cloister, a branch of the Scandinavian Birgittine Order founded in Sweden in the late fourteenth century. Arman et al., p. 162; pp. 165-167.
- 41 Other major city churches were Niguliste and Oleviste in Tallinn, and the Toomkirik in Tartu.
- 42 The Germans had granted the Estonians the right to bear arms after defeating them in the thirteenth century; in return, the Estonians agreed to do military service for the Germans. Uustalu, p. 60.
- 43 Ibid., p. 56.

44 Peasants fled not only to the towns but also escaped to Finland and Sweden. To prevent the growing movement away from the estates, the peasants were made "glebae adscripti", permanently tied to the place where they had been born. Ibid.

45 Norris Kelly Smith. Medieval Art (Dubuque: William C. Brown, 1967), p. 57.

46 St. Denis was the "first" Gothic structure; it was the new image for the Capetian monarchy that had allied itself with the burghers against the feudal aristocracy. Smith, p. 86; Otto von Simson, The Gothic Cathedral (New York: Pantheon, 1956), p. 62. The Germans imported it from France in the thirteenth century under the name of opus francigenum. Lopez, p. 191.

47 Ibid., p. 197.

CHAPTER III

TOOMPEA LOSS (THE FORTRESS OF TOOMPEA)

High on a precipitous cliff, dominating the medieval city of Tallinn and the countryside around it, stands the massive fortress of Toompea¹ (Fig. 15). For over seven hundred years its walls and towers have been shaped and battered by a succession of invaders. Today it remains a mute testimony to the tumultuous history of the region and, more than any other structure, a symbol of Estonia to Estonians everywhere.

The origins of a fortress on Toompea lie shrouded in pre-history. The location was eminently favorable: the high banks of the small, rocky plateau could be defended easily, the nearby harbor was excellent, and the position on the crossroads of established trade routes had great advantages. It is thought that an Estonian hill-fort predated the Danish invasion of 1219 by at least one hundred years. (Indeed, it has always been the custom of conquerors to displace the temples and forts of the vanquished with their own.) Thus, when the Danes under King Woldemar II defeated the Estonians at Tallinn in 1219, the winners naturally set out to build a castle on the spot which has been described as "by far the best defensive site in any Baltic town."²

Already in the first summer after the decisive three-day battle, the Danes began to fortify the hill. Work began

on the south side, the weakest, and probably consisted of a wooden wall reinforced by a moat. During the next four years, they built the castrum maius which had to withstand repeated Estonian attacks. In 1227, the Fratres Militae Christi (a German religious order, absorbed by the Teutonic Knights in 1237) defeated the Danes and replaced them on Toompea until 1238. During this period the south-west corner was fortified and consequently became the castrum minus. The castrum minus reflected the basic fortress structure of thirteenth century Europe and was analogical to the old Roman style of military camp (castrum).³ In 1238, the Danes regained Toompea and remained there for more than one hundred years. They modified the fortress built by the Brothers of the Sword making it both stronger and more comfortable.

It has been said when describing the aggressive uses of the castle by the Teutonic Knights that "A castle on a frontier stands in an architectural position of defiance."⁴ This, of course, was also true for the Danes. However, for them, this Baltic colony was to prove more a liability than an asset. Its distant location, the difficulties with vassals in Harju and Virumaa, the complex power structure, and the bitterness of local Estonians made it a difficult province to manage. Shortly after the violent peasant uprisings that culminated in the so-called Juriöö mäss⁵ in 1343, the Danes sold Northern Estonia including Tallinn to

the Teutonic Order for nineteen thousand silver marks⁶; the Teutonic Order, in turn, resold the colony to the Livonian Order adding a profit margin of one thousand marks.

During the fourteenth century a combination of circumstances led to the largest boom in defensive building in the history of the Baltic North. The Livonian Order was not the only institution with strong ambitions in the region. The Church owned much property, and the vassals and the Hanseatic merchant towns were powerful forces with their own aspirations. These groups lived in constant feud with one another. They also had to counter the external threat of the Russians to the north and the internal threat of the indigenous population. Consequently, during the construction boom of this period, great attention was directed to castles and city fortifications, while large churches and other community structures had to wait for the next century.

Fortresses and fortified cities became a necessity due to the dangers posed by foreign attackers and by the native population. During the medieval period, it is estimated that there were more than 150 fortresses in Old Livonia, of which sixty-six were in Estonia itself.⁷ Stone walls surrounded the bigger cities of Tallinn, Tartu, Narva, Uus Pärnu and Viljandi. In Tallinn, Toompea was fortified first. The systematic building of fortifications began in the third quarter of the thirteenth century and the initial stage was basically complete by 1346 when the moat surrounding the

city wall was filled with water from Lake Ülemiste. The wall of the Lower Town extended 2.5 km and enclosed approximately twenty-eight hectares. Both the Lower Town and the citadel were ringed by a wall reinforced by at least eleven towers. The towers eventually numbered thirty-five as the wall continued to be modified and strengthened over the following two centuries and a city gate system evolved, strongly reminiscent of that of Cologne and Aachen. The construction of the massive tower of Paks Margareeta⁸ as part of the Suur Ranna-värav (1518-1529) saw the completion of the city wall. It is interesting to note that the city wall of Tallinn was twice as high and twice as thick as those of Nurnberg and Cologne,⁹ reputed to be the strongest in Germany.

The Livonian Order, a branch of the Teutonic Order, was the moving force behind the construction of at least eighteen castles¹⁰ in the region. To the twin aspects of the European castle, that of house and fortress,¹¹ they added a third, a religious function. Three general features mark the originality of the Teutonic castles, especially when compared to earlier German fortresses.¹² First, they were military convents and therefore strongly influenced by monastic designs and needs in their construction. Second, their layout was regular, generally rectangular. (This layout has been variously described as a product of the Crusades¹³ or the influence of the Mediterranean countries.)¹⁴ Third, the most important ones were made of

brick (e.g. Marienburg, Marienwerder). The Livonian Order incorporated the first two of these features; however, the basic building material, as had been the practice in the Baltic countries previously, continued to be stone.

The fourteenth century saw the construction of two great fortresses by the Livonian Order in Estonia, the Hermannsburg in Narva and the Castle of Toompea in Tallinn. In the time-honored pattern of conquerors, the Order preferred to build its castles on sites chosen by previous inhabitants. In Tallinn, a mighty structure rose on the site of the old Danish castle. Although it incorporated features from the Rhineland¹⁵ in its defense system, particularly in the main tower called Pikk Herman, its basis was the conventual house.

In the construction of the basically square-shaped conventual house (Fig. 16), walls, previously erected by the Danes, were used for the south, west, and north wings. The new west wall was moved significantly westward to the edge of the plateau; because this edge was not straight, the conventual house received its somewhat uncharacteristic trapezoid floor plan. This, in turn, gave the interior courtyard a trapezoid shape. The courtyard was surrounded on all sides by a two-storey vaulted arcade or ambulatory through which doors led to the rooms in the four wings. The functions of all these rooms is not known; generally it is thought that the lower floor was reserved for storage and

house-keeping.¹⁶

The north wing contained the chapel and the kapiitlisaal (main hall), the eastern side, the refectory, and the western side the long, twin-aisled dormitory. On the outside of the west wall an addition was built which extended from the flat high surface of the wall. This was the dansker or cess-pool tower, containing lavatories.¹⁷ Because visibility from it was good, weapons were also fired from this location. A large moat on the east and south sides separated the conventual house from both the castrum maius and from the long forecourt that isolated the structure from the Lower Town.

The main gate of the fortress with its elaborate closing system was in the south-east corner. In the north wall of the protective courtyard was a four-sided gate-tower. The kellatorn (bell-tower) which connected the fortress with Suur Toompea or the castrum maius while in the south-east corner of the courtyard openings led to the steep stairway Lühike Jalg and the walled pathway Pikk Jalg, both connecting with the Lower Town. (The city dwellers did not get along with the nobles on Toompea so a strong wall was built between the Upper and Lower Town; the gates were shut from the lower side.) On the south side of the castle a new protective wall was built, reinforced by two strong towers, Stür den Kerl in the south-east corner and Pikk Hermann in the south-west. A small round tower, the Pilsticker, was

built in the north-west corner of the wall around the year 1400. The north-east corner of the fortress was not reinforced until the construction of the Landskrone tower under the rule of Grand Master Wolter von Plettenberg (1494-1535) when almost all the larger fortresses in Livonia were strengthened to meet the new development in warfare, the widespread use of fire-arms.¹⁸

The large towers are especially memorable. Pikk Hermann (Figures 17 and 18), built into the massive western wall of Toompea Castle, usually depicted with a flag waving from its crown, is the architectural symbol of Estonia.¹⁹ Finished in 1371 to a height of thirty-five meters, it was built higher still (45 m.) in the beginning of the fifteenth century. Its structure is that of a typical German watch-tower or Bergfried, the nucleus of many castles in German-speaking lands.²⁰ The Bergfried (or Berchfrit)²¹ functioned as a final refuge, rarely as permanent living quarters. Altogether it had four to six levels or floors, connected by wooden ladders or stone stairs built into the walls; typically the entrance was on the first floor and access to the ground floor, frequently used as a jail cell, was only by means of a trap door. Its walls were thickest at ground level (2.5 m. was not unusual) and lost approximately 0.4 meters in thickness per storey. Although the shapes of these towers could vary greatly, the most usual was either square or, as was the case of Pikk Hermann, round.

Thus, in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, a new type of fortress evolved, the conventual house enclosed by a surrounding wall reinforced by towers, creating a well-protected outer courtyard or economic zone. The basis for this unit had its seed in the original Danish fortress on Toompea, but came to fruition in the hands of the Livonian Order. This combination of elements influenced castle construction throughout Estonia, and this form was used even in conservative vassal fortresses, giving them a strong north Estonian character.

The basic organization of the city of Tallinn both expressed and reinforced the political structure and social conditions of the times. Toompea, the high plateau, was the acropolis (Fig. 19). The rulers of the area, the knights of the Livonian Order, were ensconced in the castle. These crusaders were separated by culture, education, religion and language from the indigenous people they ruled. The concentric walls with which they surrounded themselves were built as protection from physical attack, both local and foreign in origin. However, there is no doubt that the walls, towers, moats and drawbridges also served to impress upon the lesser members of the community the superior, invincible and separate status of these military missionaries.

The remainder of the walled plateau, separated from the castle complex by a moat, yet connected to the external

courtyard by the Kellatorn gate, was occupied by the houses of the nobility. On Suur Toompea there were approximately sixty house sites which were somewhat larger than the building lots in the Lower Town.²² The relationship between the inhabitants of the Upper Town and the Lower Town was usually less than harmonious. The Upper Town was connected to the Lower Town by one opening only, a gate leading to the two precipitous approaches, Pikk Jalg, the steep walled alley, and Lühike Jalg, the even steeper, stone staircase. The Lower Town, completely walled by the middle of the fourteenth century, was the home of merchants and craftsmen, as well as some laborers and servants. The knights, nobles, merchants, and skilled craftsmen were almost all German in origin, and together formed one-third to one-half of the population of the city.²³

A considerable part of the city's dwellers had no rights of citizenship. The non-citizens, largely Estonian, were an important part of the economy because they were necessary as unskilled workers who performed menial household tasks and also worked on the city's fortifications, churches, and other buildings as laborers.²⁴ They generally lived in basements or stables, or in the wooden buildings at the outskirts of the city. Though the city council had decreed in 1428 that all wooden buildings within the walls be demolished due to a constant threat of fire,²⁵ this was not done. In the suburbs, however, only wooden buildings

were allowed, for in times of danger, these could be destroyed quickly to prevent their occupation by enemies.

The most powerful segment of the community as a whole occupied the most impregnable site. The choice of site had been made not only for tactical advantages but also for symbolic purposes. By choosing Toompea for its headquarters, the Livonian Order physically displaced the Danes, the former conquerors, who had previously displaced the Estonians. The Order then built a fortress in its own image, a conventual house to satisfy its religious needs, combined with a Bergfried as vantage point and final refuge. To this structure, they brought their own peculiar experience of Teutonic soldier-missionary-colonizer.²⁶ The nobles, elevated and protected, served to support this power structure. The merchants and craftsmen, more independent, less acquiescent, nevertheless benefited from the military presence, while the lowest class in the unprotected, vulnerable fringes of the settlement lived in ramshackle structures whose very existence was, by intention, transient.

The German element made up less than ten percent of the population of Old Livonia as a whole, and here they had established a unique colony. Like the concentric barriers protecting the pinnacle of Toompea, they kept themselves apart by forbidding mixed marriages under the threat of the direst punishment²⁷ and insisting on the use of German in

all written transactions. (The use of Estonian and Latvian was confined to verbal dealings with the conquered peoples.) The peasants under the yoke of serfdom were very badly treated; family members were frequently separated, and sometimes exchanged for dogs or cattle.²⁸ Naturally enough, the peasants viewed the foreign element with great distaste, so much so that the inhabitants of Saaremaa, for example, appealed to the Swedish king to take them over, and some approaches were even made to the Russians.²⁹

Even after the decline of the Order's influence, the importance of Toompea fortress remained supreme. It is interesting to note that the last great fortification-restoration efforts of Livonian castles took place under the leadership of Grand Master Wolter von Plettenberg (1494-1535) when the Order had begun to crumble from within and without. Old Livonia was severed from German rule in the sixteenth century through a disintegration of the medieval concept of Empire and Church, by a new orientation of trade routes and interests, and by the apathy and lack of vision of German merchants.³⁰ The replacement of feudal knights by mercenary soldiers, the sharpened relations with Russia, the religious ferment resulting from the Protestant Reformation all served to undermine the old order. Preceded by smaller skirmishes at the beginning of the century, the Great Livonian War was fought between Russia and Livonia from 1558 to 1583.³¹ Denmark, Poland and Sweden also entered the fray.

In 1561, Tallinn and Northern Estonia became part of the Swedish Empire. Swedish victory was celebrated by the installation of a carved stone plaque on the courtyard side of Pikk Hermann. At the end of the war, new construction was begun on the fortress site under the aegis of the Swedish king, Johann III.³²

FOOTNOTES

¹ Andres Tolts and Tõnis Laanemaa, eds., Tallinn: Toompea Linnus ja Loss (Tallinn: Kirjastus Kunst, 1978), pp. 30-39 is the chief source of the history of the Toompea fortress.

² John Leighly, "The Towns of Medieval Livonia," University of California Publications in Geography 6 (1932-1944):263.

³ It is interesting to note that even in this remote corner of northern Europe, where the indigenous language does not belong to the Indo-European family, that the word castrum found itself used in place-names. The names of two bishops' fortresses during the medieval period were Vana-Kastre and Uus-Kastre (vana = old; uus = new). H. Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1965), pp. 67 and 81. Today, a village on the Emajõgi between Tartu and Lake Peipsi is called simply Kastre.

⁴ William Anderson, Castles of Europe (London: Elek Books, 1970), p. 86.

⁵ Juriöö Mäss, or the St. George's Day Revolt on April 23, 1343, was the last concerted attempt by the Estonians during this period "to liberate the country from foreign oppression." It started in the county of Harjumaa and spread to Läänemaa and Saaremaa. Many Germans were put to death and an Estonian army laid seige to Tallinn. Evald Uustalu, The History of the Estonian People (London: Boreas, 1952), p. 55.

⁶ Tolts and Laanemaa, p. 32; Walter Kirchner, The Rise of the Baltic Question (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1970), p. 125.

⁷ Arman et al., p. 66.

⁸ Ibid., p. 62. The dimensions of Paks Margareeta, i.e. "Fat Margaret", are impressive: diameter, 24 meters; thickness of walls at base, 4.7 meters.

⁹ Ibid., p. 63.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 67.

¹¹ Anderson, p. 20.

¹² Ibid., p. 246.

- 13 Ibid., p. 72.
- 14 Armin Tuulse, Castles of the Western World (Vienna: A. Schroll and Co., 1958), p. 108.
- 15 Ibid., p. 109.
- 16 Tolts and Laanemaa, p. 33.
- 17 The castles of the Teutonic Knights frequently had elaborate structures for the disposal of waste. The most extraordinary example in the great dansker at Marienwerder: "never had so much effort, expense, and superb architectural skill been devoted to a sewage tower in a secular fortress." Anderson, p. 248. It is thought that the reason for this was the religious order's modesty in relation to the functions of the body.
- 18 Tolts and Laanemaa, p. 39.
- 19 Fortification symbolizing cities or states is a very ancient idea, going back to at least the third millennium B.C., in Mesopotamia.
- 20 A significant number of castles in Estonia consisted basically only of a watch tower, e.g., Vao, Kiiu, Paide. Arman et al., pp. 69, 83, 86.
- 21 For an extensive discussion of the etymology of this term, see Otto Piper, Burgerkunde: Bauweise und Geschichte der Burgen (Frankfurt Am Main: Weidlich, 1967), pp. 174-175.
- 22 Arman et al., p. 43.
- 23 All sources are not in agreement regarding these population figures. Kirchner (p. 11) believes that at least one-half of the population was German, while Dollinger quotes figures substantiating the estimate of approximately one-third. Philippe Dollinger, The German Hansa (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970), p. 131.
- 24 It is believed that locally born stone-masons were active in construction in Tallinn. R. Kangropool and D. Bruns, Tallinn Sajandeis (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1972), p. 140. However, one doubts that these people were of indigenous origin due to the very severe membership restrictions enforced by the guilds.
- 25 Arman et al., p. 44. Many wooden buildings were destroyed by a fire in 1433.

26 Heinrich Von Treitschke, The Origins of Prussianism, trans. Eden and Cedar Paul (New York: H. Fertig, 1969), p. 20, describes this Brotherhood (rather one-sidedly) in glowing terms: "These enigmatic champions were not only swashbuckling soldiers, but also thoughtful administrators; not only abstemious monks but also venturesome merchants, and (still more remarkable) bold and far-seeing statesmen."

Balthasar Russow, a sixteenth century chronicler wrote, however, that "the Livonian state of the Order was for the Germans a paradise but for the Estonians a hell." Quoted by Arthur Vööbus, Studies in the History of the Estonian People, 4 vols. (Stockholm: Estonian Theological Society in Exile, 1970), 2:105.

27 J. Hampden Jackson, Estonia (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1941), p. 51.

28 Vööbus, p. 70.

29 Ibid.

30 Uustalu, pp. 64-66.

31 Ibid., pp. 67-76; M. Ojamaa and A. and T. Varmas, Eesti Ajalugu (Stockholm: Eesti Raamat, 1946), pp. 117-122.

32 The Swedes erected the Riigisaal or Nation's Hall (1590) on the south side of the outer courtyard beside Pikk Hermann. After the Great Northern War, Toompea was virtually ignored until the time of Catherine the Great when materials from the now-dilapidated Riigisaal were used to erect a new building on the east side of the citadel (1773). This building is in use today by the Council of Ministers of the Estonian S.S.R. Tolts and Laanemaa, pp. 43-46.

CHAPTER IV

RAEKODA (TOWN HALL), TALLINN

Medieval Tallinn was not just a distant, fortified outpost fueled by German ambitions of Christian conquest and territorial expansion; it was also a flourishing port, a cosmopolitan merchant town, and a member in good standing of the Hanseatic League. The Raekoda or Town Hall (Fig. 20) fronting on the spacious cobblestone Raekoja Plats (Town Hall Square), was the largest building in Tallinn's Lower Town when it was completed in 1404. Built by the merchants and skilled craftsmen of this Baltic port, its social function was threefold: to the nobles of the Livonian Order on Toompea, it proclaimed the solid, mercantile independence of the Lower Town; to the disenfranchised Estonian laborer, it proclaimed the superiority and permanence of the German presence, and to the burghers themselves, it proclaimed their identity as self-confident, responsible, law-abiding, Christian citizens in a remote outpost of the German Empire.

The missionary work in the early days of colonization of Old Livonia had been as much political as it was religious. Albert von Buxhövden, though leading a Crusade, had come more "as a prince than a preacher."¹ He spent thirty years (1199-1229) establishing the German presence in what is now Estonia and northern Latvia. A brilliant leader, he sought (and received) wide-ranging support² for his mission;

he realized that the power of the Church combined with economic power would secure the territory. Eventually, three agencies shared control of Livonia: the Livonian Order, the Bishops, and the towns.³ The most powerful group within the towns consisted of the merchants; already in 1224, two hundred German merchants had settled in Tallinn.⁴ Tallinn joined the Hanseatic League in 1284 and became prosperous as one of the biggest trading centers of the area, especially since it was the port of transit between Novgorod and the west Baltic.⁵

During the Middle Ages, Old Livonia was quite thickly populated compared with its northern neighbors, Sweden, Norway, and Finland.⁶ Although Estonians formed up to one-half of Tallinn's population and there was an important Swedish community, power was concentrated in German hands.⁷ The center of the town was the market: the present Raekoja Plats was used as a market-place from the eleventh century until 1896.

The fourteenth century had been fraught with difficulty for the colony, but the fifteenth was a time of relative peace and prosperity. Many of the buildings that give Tallinn's Old Town its medieval character were built or enlarged during the fifteenth century; these included solid burghers' homes, guild houses, churches, and the Raekoda.

It is thought that a structure on the present site of the Town Hall was used by the town magistrate already in

1343, and perhaps as early as 1322.⁸ This early structure, a one-storey building of the same length as the present one but narrower, was incorporated into the first Town Hall, completed in 1374. By 1400, Tallinn, having recovered from the scourge of the Black Death in 1350,⁹ was growing again and becoming a wealthy trading center, and the existing facility was no longer adequate to serve the needs of the burgeoning merchant community. The building as we know it today was built between 1402 and 1404, and the mason most frequently mentioned in the archives in connection with its construction was one Ghercke stenwerter,¹⁰ a master of local origin. New plans called for a two-storey building with important meeting rooms on the second floor. To utilize the existing walls to advantage, the basement and the first floor remained within the framework of the original walls, and the façade of the 1374 Raekoda was retained as the back wall of the open arcade¹¹ that now faces Raekoja Plats.¹²

The arcade brought a new architectural motif to Tallinn; not only was it an ingenious solution to a practical construction problem, but it also identified the Raekoda as a civic building.¹³ Arcades had been used in municipal buildings in Italy since at least 1215, but it is unlikely that the local masons in Tallinn went so far afield for a model to emulate.¹⁴ It is much more probable that they looked to Lübeck, "das Haupt der Hanse, die einstige Königen der Ostsee,"¹⁵ which had incorporated an arcade in its

Rathaus between 1298 and 1316.¹⁶ Lübeck, in 1400, a town of about seventeen thousand inhabitants, was the influential leader of the Hanseatic League: already in 1274, the burghers of Tallinn had proclaimed their kinship with those of Lübeck: "Our towns are joined like the arms of a crucifix."¹⁷

The Raekoda of Tallinn was, in fact, typical of the Hansa city's Rathaus¹⁸ in its impressive proportions, its marketplace location and its proximity to the parish church. The imposing yet restrained north façade of the Raekoda, facing the town square proclaimed its status as an important building worthy of the prosperous merchants who ruled the town. The façade rests on an open arcade of pointed arches which run almost the total length of the building; only the western end is enclosed by a porch containing a Gothic portal, the main entrance. The placement of the narrow, rectangular windows¹⁹ of the second floor was determined by the arrangement of the rooms within, and is therefore somewhat irregular. The north wall is topped by battlements. Other decorative elements have been limited to the two gargoyles added in the seventeenth century.

The south side of the building faces a narrow street or alley and is devoid of any decoration, its surface broken only by some irregularly placed rectangular windows. The east face used to be partially blocked by a small building occupied by the keeper of the keys; this dwelling was

removed at the end of the nineteenth century. The now blind east side is topped by an octagonal stone tower crowned by a metal spire which has been renovated repeatedly. Initially, the spire was tent-shaped; during extensive alterations in 1627-28 it was given a metal Renaissance helmet; however, it did not achieve its final form until 1781.²⁰ The west face has two narrow rectangular windows and its high gable is topped by a weather-vane²¹ in the shape of a hired peasant soldier, known as Vana Toomas (Old Thomas). The two small additions with baroque copper roofs were added to the western wall in the eighteenth century; these contained shops.²²

The Town Hall (Fig. 21) of medieval Tallinn fulfilled a variety of practical functions. Although the exact uses of the three rooms on the basement level are unclear, the large vaulted room could have been used as a storage room or perhaps wine-cellar. The ground floor contained a wine-cellar (winkelre²³), the treasury (trese kammer) and the furnace room (auen keller). The second floor consisted of a citizens' hall (called vorhus until the seventeenth century) with deepset windows, vaulted ceilings and slender piers. The council chambers or Raesaal (dornse) had a lower vaulted ceiling; it was a heated room used for council meetings, for receiving guests, and sometimes as a courtroom. The main floor also contained a kitchen (koken), a privy (profat), and an office (kemerei) used by

councillors for working on the city's finances. The kemerei was connected to the barrel-vaulted treasury on the ground floor by a small stairway in the room's west wall.

The decorations and furnishings in the interior are overtly didactic. On the west wall of the arcade, the stone relief sculpture of a winged Justitia (1629) complete with Latin inscription proclaims the invincibility of Justice.²⁴ Inside, inscribed tablets (one in Latin, one in German) urged the city councillors to act wisely, fairly and unselfishly in the name of God.²⁵ An oak bench²⁶ of the town council is carved with low-relief sculpture: Samson and Delilah, David and Goliath promote brave behavior in the face of adversity;²⁷ the row of open roses carved along the back of the bench urges the councillors to keep the city's secrets.²⁸ Another bench, carved with figures of Tristan and Isolde,²⁹ serves to recall a noble mythological heritage. Painted on the walls of the Council Chamber are Biblical scenes which instruct and admonish, e.g. Christ and the Tribute Money,³⁰ Susannah and the Elders,³¹ while a Flemish tapestry depicts events from King Solomon's life.³² The rich furnishings served not just to beautify and to impress, but to instruct as well.

The Town Hall was the administrative, judicial, commercial and financial heart of the Lower Town, and it was an architectural statement made by the trading community. Locally, it revealed its relationship to the Great Guild

(Fig. 22) to which the richest merchants belonged, and to the Pühavaimu kirik (Church of the Holy Ghost)(Fig. 23) which at one time had actually served as the Raekabel (Town Council Chapel). The careful selection of site, the steep, triangular gables, the room division into two aisles, the dignified Gothic portals, all spoke of a close kinship. However, on a broader scale, the Raekoda proclaimed its sisterhood with other west European Hansa towns. In the mode of colonists everywhere who choose to build in the manner of their distant but not forgotten homeland,³³ the burghers of Tallinn built a town hall like one of a Germanic city, however small,³⁴ remote or foreign. The choice of site as well as of certain stylistic elements re-emphasized this affiliation: the high saddle roof and Gothic portal (as in Regensburg),³⁵ the arcade (as in Lübeck and Minden), the battlements (as in Bruges).³⁶ Despite the fact that it was distant and provincial, Tallinn was part of the Hanseatic community, a member of the large and influential trading organization that dominated north-western Europe for over two hundred years.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Henricus de Lettis, The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia, ed. and trans. James A. Brundage (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961); introduction, p. 7.

² J. Hampden Jackson, Estonia (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1941), p. 40; Philippe Dollinger, The German Hansa, trans. and ed. D.S. Ault & S.H. Steinberg (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970), p. 28.

³ John Leighly, "The Towns of Medieval Livonia," University of California Publications in Geography, 6 (1932-1944):247.

⁴ Dollinger, p. 28.

⁵ Rasmus Kangropool and Dmitri Bruns, Tallinn Sajandeis (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1972), p. 35.

⁶ M. Ojamaa and A. and T. Varmas, Eesti Ajalugu (Stockholm: Eesti Raamat, 1946), p. 82.

⁷ A study of tax registers of Tallinn for 1538 reveals the following:

Upper class

- 18% - merchants and property owners - wholly German

Middle class

- 22% - "craftsmen in easy circumstances" - 59% German
23% Swedish
18% Estonian

Lower class

- 60% - day laborers - 2% German
25% Swedish
73% Estonian

Dollinger, p. 131.

⁸ Rasmus Kangropool, Tallinna Raekoda (Tallinn: Kirjastus Kunst, 1982), p. 7.

⁹ Dollinger, p. 59, states: "In the German Hansa towns the number of victims was rarely less than a quarter of the population." For example, in Tallinn, it is known that 27 percent of the city councillors died.

¹⁰ Kangropool, p. 22.

11 This arcade was enclosed in the seventeenth century to house shops, and retained this function until the complete restoration of the building in the twentieth century. T. Toomberg, Tallinn (Tallinn: Kirjastus "Perioodika," 1982), p. 25.

12 Kangropool, p. 128, describes the incorporation of the walls of the 1374 building into the fifteenth century structure.

13 The oldest dated government building is the Palazzo del Broletto at Como, dated 1215. Its plan became standard: an open ground floor with arcades and one large room above. Nikolaus Pevsner, A History of Building Types (London: Thames & Hudson, 1976), p. 27.

14 Some sources believe that Tallinn stone-masons must have been familiar with Italian municipal architecture in order to incorporate the arcade into the design of the Town Hall in Tallinn. H. Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1965), p. 178, and E. Rácz and G. Bereczki, Estland (Leipzig: Koehler and Amelang, 1977), p. 33. However, familiarity with German models seems much more likely. Not only in Lübeck but also in Minden, Westphalia, the Town Hall arcades date from the turn of the fourteenth century, and are thus approximately one hundred years older than that of Tallinn. Pevsner, p. 29.

15 Karl Pagel, Die Hanse (Braunschweig: Georg Westermann Verlag, 1952), p. 23.

16 Dr. Spies of the Lübeck Archives supplied this information in a letter of June 23, 1983.

17 Robert S. Lopez, The Birth of Europe (New York: M. Evans, 1967), pp. 293-294.

18 Dollinger (p. 268) describes a Hanseatic town hall thus: "In the typical Hansa town, the town hall was the most important building. Built on one side of the rectangular market square, next to the parish church, it was at first a modest edifice, combined with a drapers' hall. As the city expanded, it increased in size and splendor and finally was used only as the administrative centre. Except in towns of the Teutonic Order, most of the town halls were like that of Bruges, without a belfry."

19 It is interesting to note that during the period of nineteenth century eclecticism when Gothic revival was very much in vogue in Europe, the rectangular windows of the Town Hall were given Gothic peaks. The windows were restored to their original form during the restoration of 1962-1964.

Kangroopool, pp. 37, 43.

20 The restoration and repair of the spire was undertaken by a torni-ehitaja (tower-builder) from Bingen named Pascalis Kappen. He also worked on Tallinn's Niguliste church spire. Kangroopool, p. 36.

21 Weather vanes were an important decorative element in medieval Tallinn, and form a familiar part of the skyline of the Vanalinn (Old Town) even today.

22 Kangroopool, pp. 35-36.

23 The earliest archival material was written in Latin; these terms, however, are in Low German, probably in the Lübeck dialect. The need for a common language led to its adoption by Hansa towns as their official language in 1369. Dollinger, p. 261.

24 Kangroopool, p. 57, plate 10.

25 Ibid., plates 41 and 42.

26 "The sides of the bench with carvings conveying Samson and the lion and Tristram and Isolde (ca. 1370), and the back of a bench decorated with a vine-ornament and medallions, were mounted together to form a town council's bench in the first decades of the fifteenth century." Ibid., p. 130.

27 Ibid., pp. 86-87, plates 60-63.

28 "sub rosa".

29 Kangroopool, p. 66, plate 28.

30 Ibid., p. 91, plate 72.

31 Ibid., p. 93, plate 79.

32 Ibid., p. 78, plates 44-48.

33 Alan Gowans in Building Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 15, writes of the same phenomenon in New France.

34 In 1372 Tallinn had approximately 4000 inhabitants; it was larger than Stockholm. Ojamaa and A. and T. Varmas, p. 93.

35 Banister Fletcher, A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method. 12th ed. (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1945), p. 535.

36 Ibid., p. 537.

CHAPTER V

RAEKODA (TOWN HALL) AND BÖRSIHOONE (BOURSE), NARVA

In the seventeenth century the port of Narva was the center of building activity in Estonia. A great fire in 1659 had destroyed a large part of the town, which allowed for extensive rebuilding, giving the city its relatively unified architectural character.¹ Although the city has been much altered, and its seventeenth century character was destroyed during World War II, private houses still exist² and other reminders of the era can be found in portals and city gates.³ The most important memorials to this period of important mercantile activity are the Raekoda (Town Hall)(Fig. 24) and the Börsihoone (Bourse)(Fig. 25). Estonia was, during this period, part of the Swedish Empire, and it was through Sweden that Dutch Palladianism arrived in Narva, a style most appropriate for the Swedish trading center that it was.⁴

Dutch classicism, a symbol of the emancipation of the burgher, was embraced in Sweden by the nobility and the rising industrial class. It arrived in Estonia by a circuitous route, and found expression in both the Town Hall and the Bourse. Just as Van Campen's grand Town Hall in Amsterdam, built at the height of the city's power and wealth,⁵ was a symbol of community and civic pride, so Narva's Raekoda and Börsihoone proclaimed the status of

Narva as an important trading center during Sweden's "Age of Greatness" (1632-1718).

Narva was of strategic importance to the Swedes.⁶ Around 1630, Axel Oxenstierna, the Swedish Chancellor and later Regent, toyed with the notion of establishing a second capital at Narva⁷ because it was an active, viable trading center, a port for many north European goods, and as such attracted an international merchant community.⁸ It was also the city that was close to the formidable Russian state. Since the Middle Ages, its primary structures had been fortifications. The fortress of Hermannsburg, founded by the Danes in the thirteenth century and extended by the Livonian Order more than a century later, dominated the west bank of the Narva River. Across the river, facing it in defiance, was the massive castle of Ivangorod,⁹ founded in 1492 by Ivan III of Russia. Even during the Swedish period, much emphasis was put on defensive building: in 1682 the Swedish architect, Eric Dahlberg,¹⁰ assembled a defensive project in Narva comprising nine large bastions appropriately named Victoria, Honor, Gloria, Fama, Triumph, Fortuna, Spes, Justitia, and Pax.¹¹ All were completed except, ironically, the last two.

One can easily understand why Sweden had to reinforce the defences of its colony.¹² In the sixteenth century, the Hanseatic cities had been outdistanced by the developing monarchic states around them. Narva had been captured in

1559 by Ivan IV, who attempted to make the port an entrepôt for Russian trade. The leading commercial city, Tallinn, felt threatened, and in the disintegrating situation, both the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order and the city of Tallinn appealed for aid. The Swedish King, Eric XIV, offered to incorporate the city in Swedish territory along with two castle fiefs of the Teutonic Order. Tallinn accepted the offer and Sweden was thus started on a century of empire-building. The Livonian War (1558-1583) in which Sweden, Denmark, Poland and Russia were all involved, was a lengthy and expensive endeavor. Narva was not captured by the Swedes until 1581, and it was not until 1629, when Poland ceded Southern Estonia to the Swedes, that almost all of Estonia and Livonia came under Swedish rule. Saaremaa was not handed over by the Danes until 1645. When one considers the destruction wrought upon the country and its inhabitants,¹³ it is not surprising that most of the non-defensive architecture that remains from the early part of Sweden's rule comprises generally small-scale additions, decorative elements such as portals, and memorials. The great emphasis was on fortifications.

The latter part of the Swedish period proved architecturally more productive. Building activity throughout the land was not as consistent as in medieval times but was concentrated in several strategically important cities.¹⁴ Tallinn and Narva regained commercial

momentum during the second half of the seventeenth century. In Narva, as the focus of special interest, the Town Hall and the Bourse were built as suitable expressions of civic pride and mercantile prosperity.

In 1665 G. Teuffel prepared a model and drawings of a city hall for Narva (Fig. 26); it seems the plans were submitted to Stockholm for approval but little alteration took place.¹⁵ The building (1665-1671)(Fig. 24) is a simple provincial variant of Dutch classicism. Its horizontal line, its façade adorned with colossal pilasters, and its coping emphasized by a triangular pediment were the hallmarks of a style which had first found expression in the Mauritshuis¹⁶ (designed 1633) and Sebastiendoelen (1636) in The Hague. The Narva Town Hall differed in that its materials were stucco rather than stone, and its design was more modest as was suitable for a small trading town in the distant fringes of Europe. The tympanum was unadorned except for a clock, the pilasters were starkly Doric. Restraint was evident in all aspects¹⁷ of the building save the entrance, which was decorated in an early baroque style.

The decoration of doorways was a common way of enhancing the façades of both residences and public buildings in the towns of Estonia. So with the Narva Town Hall. A high double staircase with a finely wrought iron railing designed by S. Gast led to an imposing entrance surrounded by an elaborate portal (Fig. 27). Carved by the

Flemish sculptor G. Millich, it represented the city of Narva: above the door, the coat of arms, centrally placed in a cartouche, was surrounded by triumphal palm branches. On either side of the cartouche were reclining allegorical figures, and above the coat of arms stood the carved figure of justice.¹⁸ The handling of space was typically baroque; upon passing through the constricted yet elaborate entrance, one came upon a large vestibule. Another stairway led up to the even more spacious Raesaal or hall, where civic affairs were considered and justice dispensed.

The Bōrsihoone (Fig. 28) begun in 1695, was a more ambitious variant of the Dutch classical idiom. Built by the architect H. Kindler and the sculptor J.G. Heroldt,¹⁹ it was a full ten meters longer than the city hall and its horizontal lines were much more pronounced. A giant order of Ionic pilasters separated rows of pedimented windows, while the crowning pediment had an infilling of low-relief sculpture: the Narva coat of arms flanked by two lions rampant. The pediment itself was topped by three allegorical figures and the low rise hipped roof was further enhanced by a centrally placed baroque tower²⁰ crowned by a cupola.²¹ The room division on both the ground floor and the first floor was rigidly symmetrical; the centrally placed large basement hall provided a generous space for merchants for the display of goods. An open arcade, reminiscent of town halls of earlier times, and since enclosed, flanked the

basement hall. There is no doubt that the source of inspiration (albeit indirect) for this civic structure was Jacob Van Campen's Town Hall in Amsterdam (begun in 1648).²²

Fifteen years earlier Van Campen had designed the Mauritshuis for Prince Maurits of Nassau. This small-scale but imposing structure was the inspiration for the De Geer house (1646) in Stockholm. Dutch-born Louis De Geer, the first modern industrialist in Sweden, had been elevated to the nobility during Sweden's expansive "Age of Greatness"; in his house, probably built by one of the Vingboons²³ family, the "capitalistic individual ideal of the Renaissance was transmuted to a modern idiom."²⁴ Swedish nobility had expanded significantly during the seventeenth century; the nobles were well-traveled and cosmopolitan, and there were many non-Swedes among their ranks.²⁵ Many had become wealthy as entrepreneurs or through service to the state, and the new style, introduced by De Geer, was eminently suited to their new status as emancipated burghers.

In fact, the composition of the nobility in seventeenth century Sweden reflected the vigorous social mobility that was characteristic of the land.²⁶ The nobility was in a large part responsible for governing the country during this period. The adoption by Sweden of the architectural example of Holland, the great mercantile power and "bourgeois democracy",²⁷ was most appropriate, and to export it to its

territories seemed a natural step, since "in the Baltic colonies, Sweden stood - at least in principle - for enlightenment, reform, high standards of administration, better justice between man and man."²⁸

The Swedish nobility had been active in the organization and administration of the Swedish territories since their acquisition. In Estonia and Livonia, the greater part of the land had been in the hands of the Baltic nobles; during the Swedish period many estates ended up as property of the high nobility of Sweden. Consequently, the names of influential Swedish families, like De La Gardie²⁹ and Oxenstierna³⁰ for example, figure prominently in the history of Estonia. One of the most illustrious of the Oxenstiernas, Axel, who was chancellor of Sweden for forty years, in 1653 invited the architect Joos Vingboons from Holland to take over the design of The Riddarhuset (Nobles' Assembly) in Stockholm. The original design by Simon de la Vallée,³¹ inspired by the Palais de Luxembourg, had not been satisfactory, but Vingboon's ideas were carried out.³² The Riddarhuset was built, and became "the most outstanding example in Scandinavia of the Dutch Palladian style,"³³ and a suitable expression for the humanistic ideals³⁴ acquired by the Swedes on their travels. When the nobles went as administrators to the new territories, they carried these beliefs with them, and when the occasion arose, gave them architectural expression. And so, when the plans of the

Narva Town Hall were drawn up in a modest version of Dutch classicism, it is not surprising that they were left unaltered: the architect obviously knew exactly what was required.

Architecturally speaking, for a relatively poor country far from the great cultural centres of Europe, seventeenth century Sweden was very cosmopolitan indeed. Not only did French, Flemish, and Dutch practitioners³⁵ come to Sweden, many Swedish-born architects also studied abroad or were influenced by the continental ideas that had been imported into Scandinavia.

Eric Dahlberg was a renowned Swedish fortifications expert, architect and artist. When King Charles XI sought to defend Sweden's frontiers by strengthening existing fortresses and building modern ones, he appointed Dahlberg to be in charge. Dahlberg, who compiled Suecia Antiqua et Hodeirna, a magnificent record of Swedish towns, castles, palaces and manor-houses,³⁶ was made Governor-General of Estonia and Livonia in 1693. There is little doubt that the plans for the Bourse in Narva had to be approved by him.³⁷

During this period, Swedish architects, whether native or of foreign origin, worked in a splendid variety of styles³⁸: "One almost concludes that the choice of architect was secondary - the stylistic category of a building being already decided by the program it was to fulfil."³⁹ The use of restrained Dutch classicism in Narva was symbolic of the

humanistic ideals of the Swedish conquerors; also, as a departure from medieval architectural forms, it was a way of marking Narva as a part of the Swedish Empire. And, as is typical with a colonial outpost, especially a mercantile community, such architectural statements are retardataire and made much more modestly than at the center of the empire.

FOOTNOTES

¹ The concept of the "ideal" town, one of the preoccupations of the Italian Renaissance, eventually made its way northward and influenced the planning of new urban areas, especially when circumstances such as a fire made this possible.

² Houses from this period are to be found in Narva on No. 21 Rūütli Street and N. 3 Koidu Street. H Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1965), pp. 226-228.

³ Ibid., pp. 233-234, contains several illustrations.

⁴ Narva was "more Swedish than any other town in the Empire." Michael Roberts, The Swedish Imperial Experience 1560-1718 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 83.

⁵ The Dutch were a great trading nation; they had established their supremacy in Baltic trade early in the seventeenth century, and Amsterdam was the center of this activity. Colbert estimated that the Dutch fleet consisted of 15,000 to 16,000 vessels out of a possible world total of 20,000. Jill Lisk, The Struggle for Supremacy in the Baltic, 1600-1725. (London: University of London Press, 1967), p. 18.

An illustration of Van Campen's Town Hall in Amsterdam, dating from 1648, can be found in Nikolaus Pevsner, A History of Building Types (London: Thames & Hudson, 1976), p. 34.

⁶ The Baltic Colonies of Estonia, Livonia, and Ingria were a source of a great deal of revenue for Sweden in the seventeenth century. Estonia and Livonia, especially, were an excellent source of high-quality grain, and towards the end of the century, became "Sweden's granary." Michael Roberts, ed., Sweden's Age of Greatness, 1632-1718 (London: MacMillan, 1973), p. 70.

⁷ Roberts, The Swedish Imperial Experience, p. 83.

⁸ When Sweden expelled foreign merchants from their cities in 1696, the ruling did not extend to Narva for it would have ruined the town's trade: "nowhere else in the Swedish dominions could so many languages be heard in one place." Ibid., p. 104.

⁹ Giles Fletcher in Of the Rus Commonwealth (originally published in 1591), ed. Albert J. Schmidt (Ithaca: 1966), p. 87, has left us the following account:

The like fell out at the port of Narva in Liefland, where his son, Ivan Vasilevich, devised to build a town and a castle on the other side the river called Ivangorod to keep the town and country in subjection. The castle he caused to be so built and fortified that it was thought to be invincible. And when it was finished, for reward to the architect, that was a Polonian, he put out both his eyes, to make him unable to build the like again. But having left the natives all within their own country without abating their number or strength, the town and castle not long after was betrayed and surrendered again to the King of Sweden.

¹⁰ Dahlberg had also designed the naval based at Karlskrona in the seventeenth century. Paulsson, p. 172.

¹¹ I. Solomokova et al., Eesti Kunsti Ajalugu 1 (Tallinn: Kirjastus Kunst, 1975):106.

¹² The struggle for Estonia is described in Michael Roberts, Gustavus Adolphus and the Rise of Sweden (London: English Universities Press, 1973), pp. 14-16.

¹³ Vööbus provides us with a very vivid picture from G. Mancellus' Langgewunschte Lettische Postill (Riga, 1654):

'Sixty-five years have now gone by since...the mighty Russians not only greatly devastated Livonia, but also tortured, skinned, singed, spitted and roasted the people, the peasants as well as the Germans, even the gentry and the rich merchants, as if they were swine; they whipped their eyes from their sockets, shamed and raped wives and virgins alike, killed others, deported people to the Russian land where they became slaves forever; others, naked as they were born from their mothers were carried to the bridge, struck on the front with a stick or a club, and then thrown into the river to be drowned and eaten by fish and birds.'

Arthur Vööbus, Studies in the History of the Estonian People 2 (Stockholm: Estonian Theological Society in Exile, 1974), p. 110.

Ränk is somewhat more restrained:

Der fast ein Vierteljahrhundert (1558-1583) dauernde russisch-livlandische Krieg war eine der schlimmsten Verwüstungsperioden in der Geschichte Livlands, in der die ostlichen Gebiete Estlands besonders zu leiden hatten, die aber auch zeitweise den entfernteren Westen in Mitleidenschaft zog.

(The Russian-Livonian war (1558-1583), lasting almost one quarter of a century was one of the worst periods of destruction in the history of Livonia. The eastern part of Estonia suffered most; however, the western part was also drawn into the conflict from time to time.)

Gustav Ränk, Die Alteren Baltischen Herrenhufe in Estland (Uppsala: n.p., 1971), p. 35.

¹⁴ Solomokova et al., p. 106. Fortifications were planned and extended in Tallinn, Kuressaare, Pärnu, and Tartu.

¹⁵ Arman et al., p. 222.

¹⁶ Nikolaus Pevsner, An Outline of European Architecture, 7th ed. (London: Pelican Books, 1963), Figure 222, p. 317.

¹⁷ Arman et al., p. 222. The baroque tower, built of wood, was added in 1727.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 222-223.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 223.

²⁰ The top of the tower was removed in 1801, the bottom part in 1875. Arman et al., p. 222.

²¹ Charles XI (1672-1697) is usually thought of as the first absolute monarch in Sweden. The cupola is an entirely appropriate addition to this structure, since "the dome,

more than any other form, symbolizes the radiance of imperial power." Germain Bazin, The Baroque (London: Thames & Hudson, 1968), p. 28.

²² See note 5.

²³ Thomas Paulsson, Scandinavian Architecture (Newton, Massachusetts: Charles T. Branford & Co., 1959), p. 149.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 131. Paulsson goes on to say: "The mansion was pure Dutch Palladian, altogether in the style of the Mauritshuis...", p. 149.

²⁵ Roberts includes two charts on the origins of Sweden's titled nobility (Sweden's Age of Greatness, pp. 76-77). These have been summarized below:

Places of Origin of Titled Nobility
Introduced into the Riaddarhus 1560-1697

Counts and Barons

	Swe- den	Fin- land	Baltic pro- vinces	Ger- many	France	Scot- land	Eng- land	Nether- lands	Total
Eric XIV (1560-8)	2	1							3
John III (1568-92)	2				1				3
Charles IX (1600-12)	1								1
Gustavus Adolphus (1612-32)	2			1	1	1			5
Regency (1632-44)	1			6					7
Christina (1644-54)	28	7	15	3		2	2	2	59
Charles X (1654-60)									-
Regency (1660-72)	5		3	1		1		2	12
Charles XI (1672-97)	27	2	18	17		1	1	1	67
	68	10	36	28	2	5	3	5	157

²⁶ Roberts, Sweden's Age of Greatness, p. 74. A list of men from central Sweden whose families had recently risen in the social scale is an indication of this mobility. Included

in the list is the fortifications expert Eric Dahlberg, later Field-Marshal, and Governor-General of Livonia and Estonia, whose father had been provincial treasurer in Uppsala. Dahlberg himself was given the title of Count.

27 This phrase is used by Kenneth Clark to describe the society of the seventeenth century Holland. Kenneth Clark, Civilisation (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1969), p. 195.

It might also be worth noting in this regard that Sweden was never a feudal state.

28 Roberts, Sweden's Age of Greatness, p. 8. In fact, both among Estonians and Latvians, the Swedish era was known in subsequent generations as "the good old Swedish days." J. Hampden Jackson, Estonia (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1941), p. 54; Alfred Bilmanis, "Grandeur and Decline of the German Balts," Slavic and East European Review, American Series 3 (December 1944):79. Even 250 years later, during the brief period of Baltic independence, rural inhabitants would refer to the "vanad head Rootsi päevad."

29 Pontus De La Gardie was a career soldier from France; he had served the Danes and was captured from them in battle by the Swedes. He entered Swedish service and commanded a mercenary army of Germans, English, Scots and Swedes which captured Narva in 1581. J. Hampden Jackson, Estonia (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1941), p. 55. He went on to found one of the great Swedish families: his son Jacob led the Swedish army to Moscow and captured Novgorod in 1610. His grandson Magnus De La Gardie became the most influential man in Sweden during the rule of Queen Christina (1644-54). Pontus De La Gardie and his wife are buried in Tallinn's Toomkirik, "The Pantheon of Estonian Nobility," under an elaborate grave monument carved by the Dutch-born sculptor Arent Passer, who arrived in Tallinn in 1589. Arman et al., p. 208.

30 Marte Oxenstierna, of the Oxenstierna family, also lies in the Toomkirik under a Passer monument, or one possibly carved by one of his helpers. Solomokova et al., p. 89.

31 The Swedish nobles and their leader, Axel Oxenstierna, "did not find it natural to ape the elaborate tastes of Marie de Medici." They were looking for an architectural style that expressed the new humanistic ideals they had acquired. Paulsson, p. 150.

32 Actually, the shape of the roof and the attic windows are the work of Jean de la Vallée. The roof is especially noteworthy, because here one finds the first example of the so-called säteri roof in Sweden. Ibid., p. 151. (A säteri roof is a Scandinavian and especially Swedish roof-form which has two slopes usually interrupted by a short vertical portion. Ibid., p. 135. Paulsson includes a number of illustrations of the säteri roof; among them are plates 58, 60 and 61-a.)

33 Ibid., p. 150.

34 It is interesting to note in this regard that it was Axel Oxenstierna who had first invited Descartes, the foremost humanist of the day, to the Swedish court to educate the young Queen Christina. Ibid.

35 Among the most influential foreign architects during this era in Sweden were Simon de la Vallée and his son Jean (French); Nicodemus Tessin the Elder and his son (Flemish); Justus Vingboons (Dutch). Ibid., p. 133.

36 Dahlberg (1625-1703) was commissioned by the regency to compile such a record. He actually executed the drawings during the time of Charles XI (1655-1697) but it was due to the combined efforts of Charles XII (1682-1718) and the architect Nicodemus Tessin the Younger (1654-1728) that they were prepared for publication. The first plates for the work were printed in 1717; ultimately it consisted of 448 engravings. R.M. Hatton, Charles XII of Sweden (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1968), p. 96.

37 Dahlberg himself had worked in the Dutch Palladian idiom in the design of the Town Hall in Jonköping and the Old Town Hall in Copenhagen. Paulsson, p. 151.

In Narva, Dahlberg designed not only the bastions but also the Kuningavärv (King's Gate), begun 1691, which was executed by G. Heroldt. Heroldt later worked with the architect Kindler on the Narva Bourse. Arman et al., pp. 220-221.

38 Stylistic inspiration came from Holland, France, and Italy, and depended on the social function of the building and on the patron. Merchants built their town-houses in a continuation of the style of Christian IV into the eighteenth century. Paulsson, pp. 132-135.

39 Ibid., p. 134.

CHAPTER VI

KADRIORU LOSS (THE PALACE OF KADRIORG)

In a park a few kilometers outside the medieval walls of the old city of Tallinn, in a suburb called Lasnamäe, stands a small pink and white palace, Kadrioru Loss (Fig. 29). It is the only work in Northern Europe by the Italian architect Nicolo Michetti to survive more or less as it had been designed in the beginning of the eighteenth century. And, despite its modest proportions, it is an image of authoritarian rule: the idea of authoritarian power associated with Louis XIV and his capital at Versailles.

Although Peter the Great preferred to select his architects himself, Michetti had been recommended to him by an agent, Kologrivov, as one who had great knowledge of mechanics and perspective as well as being an excellent architect and painter.¹ Michetti arrived in St. Petersburg in June, 1718, and already by July 18th, the impatient Tsar and his new architect were in Tallinn, measuring out the foundations and vegetable garden for a summer residence, planned for the Tsarina Catherine.

The Tsar did not wait until the signing of the Treaty of Nystad in 1721 to exercise dominion over his newly acquired provinces. The Great Northern War fought between Peter the Great of Russia and Charles XII of Sweden had had disastrous effects on the inhabitants of Estonia. After the

crushing defeat at Narva in 1700 suffered at the hands of Charles XII, Peter spared little effort in exacting his vengeance. Narva was taken in 1704, Tallinn followed in 1710; the countryside was left so desolate and barren² that General Cheremetiev was able to report to Peter: "There is nothing left to destroy; not a cock crows from Lake Peipus to the Gulf of Riga."³ Some modern Estonian S.S.R. sources have downplayed the negative aspects of the war⁴; other historians, however, have not spared any details in describing the destruction it caused.⁵ M.S. Anderson is relatively restrained when he writes: "For the peasantry of the Swedish Baltic Provinces, these were years of martyrdom (1705-06). Much of Estonia and Livonia was systematically devastated by the Tsar's forces."⁶ Some modest buildings were erected by the new regime as early as 1704 but more elaborate construction did not begin until 1718.

Peter, the impetuous visionary, coarse, contradictory and brilliant, was the author of "the greatest international achievement of the age of absolutism...the creation of the baroque and neo-classical city of St. Petersburg."⁷ In Tallinn he did not impose his presence by establishing himself or his "closest collaborator,"⁸ A.D. Menshikov, on the acropolis at Toompea: he did something much more appropriate for an absolute monarch in the early eighteenth century--he followed the example of Louis XIV.

Peter had made an extensive trip to Europe in 1697, and the so-called "Great Embassy" was to be one of the most influential experiences of his life. Although he did not visit France until a later journey in 1717, he, like every other European ruler was influenced by the style and splendor of the court of Louis XIV at Versailles. The Palace by Jules Hardouin Mansart (enlarged, 1678) and the ground and gardens laid out by Andre Le Nôtre (begun 1667) were far more than examples of human vanity; they proclaimed the ordered, controlled and centralized world of the absolute monarch, and they provoked imitation.⁹ Louis had chosen a location outside the city of Paris, and there, even "nature itself was transformed into a setting for a royal residence."¹⁰ And Peter, near St. Petersburg, built his "Versailles au bord de la mer," Strelna,¹¹ and near Tallinn, Kadrioru Loss (The Palace of Catherine's Dale, sometimes also called Katharinenthal.)

However, the construction of a palace outside Tallinn was preceded by the erection of various smaller structures in Narva and in Tallinn. After the destruction and conquest of Narva in 1704,¹² several craftsmen's houses in the city were converted into houses for the Tsar. Interior walls were demolished in order to create halls of grander proportions and often elaborate ceiling paintings were added. The most noticeable surviving example is Peter's house on Rütli Street (Fig. 30) where a portico capped with a broken

pediment was added to the exterior and a small tower was crowned by an onion-shaped cupola, elements that proclaimed the special status now accorded this rather modest building. In Tallinn, a triumphal arch was erected on Raekoja Plats (Town Hall Square) in 1711 to celebrate Peter's conquest of the city.¹³ In 1714, the Tsar expropriated some land on Lasnamäe where he built a small house (Fig. 31) complete with stables, sauna and garden. (This house seems to have been similar in its floor plan, elevation, fenestration, and high hipped roof to the first house (Fig. 32) that Peter had built on the banks of the Neva in 1703.)¹⁴ Four years later, a larger tract was expropriated nearby and work was begun on a summer palace for the Tsar's wife, Catherine.

The Kadriorg complex (Fig. 33) was the first palace and park ensemble in Estonia,¹⁵ and subsequently exerted a profound influence on the manor houses of the Baltic barons. The formal gardens were symmetrically arranged and all elements of the grounds--pools, flowerbeds, hedges, statues had but one purpose--to present the main building in the most dramatic light possible. Initially, the park was elaborately decorated with fountains and sculptures.¹⁶ Following Franco-Italian examples, the park was divided into two by the palace and its wings. Almost half of the smaller upper garden was covered by a pool of baroque contours; in the centre were "islands" from which rose a mighty spray of water. The lower garden, consisting of regularly arranged

footpaths, lawn, and flowerbeds, was flanked by canals on either side which received their water, by way of the upper pool, from Lake Ülemiste.¹⁷ A central allée provided the axis for the complex and also a location from which to best view the dramatic composition.

Plants and trees,¹⁸ including chestnuts and fruit trees were ordered from other estates and even from foreign lands. Peter took great interest in his garden, which was evidently quite successful. In a letter to Catherine, written in Tallinn in July, 1719, only one year since he had laid out the grounds with Michetti, he wrote:

The new garden is very fine and the trees on the seaside or north very well planted, but on the south must be changed...All the earthwork is done in the garden. To tell the truth, it will be a marvel when finished.¹⁹

Four years later he was still full of enthusiasm:

The garden planted only two years ago has grown beyond belief, for the only big trees which you saw have in some places stretched their branches across the walk, and Aunty's tree, the stem of which was like a middle finger without the nail, has taken splendidly. The chestnuts all have fine crowns. The house is being plastered outside, but is ready within, and in one word we have hardly any where such a regular house. I send you some strawberries, which ripened before our arrival, as well as cherries. I am quite astonished that things are so early here,²⁰ when it is in the same latitude as Petersburg.

The complex of buildings (Figs. 29, 34, 35, 36) at Kadriorg represent in Estonia a simplified version of the

palace type fully developed in France and widely found in Europe. The main structure is connected to the wings and made one unit by a series of terraces. Facing the upper garden, the building is two stories high; on the lower garden side it has three stories. The plan is symmetrical and the centralized composition is emphasized by an extension of the middle part of the building which contains the triple entrance. The projecting central part is topped by a somewhat fanciful broken pediment. Windows, pedimented on the first floor, are grouped in pairs separated by pilasters which are capped by composite capitals festooned with fruits. A balustrade runs the length of the building above the ground floor level.

On the first floor above the vestibule is the Hall of Honor (Fig. 37), the only room in the palace to retain its original form.²¹ Its height encompasses two stories of the building. Pilasters with Corinthian capitals divide the lower walls into panels outlined in low relief. On the side walls on the upper level are two cartouches in plaster, decorated with the large initials of Peter on one side and Catherine (E-Ekaterina) on the other. The cartouches are flanked by two allegorical figures of fame and further enhanced by a variety of images of imperial power such as crowns and laurel leaves. On the ceiling, richly detailed stucco surround a painting with a mythological theme. Two baroque fireplaces decorated with garlands, vases, volutes

and busts were used to heat the room.

Michetti did not stay in Tallinn to see his work completed. Beginning in 1720, the St. Petersburg architect Mihhail Zemtsov²² took over the supervision of the construction of the palace. However, it is not altogether clear what part he played in the execution of the project. Michetti's stay in the employ of Peter the Great was brief (1718-1725); nevertheless, he, along with other pupils²³ of the Roman architect Carlo Fontano (1638-1714), "played a major role in exporting what might be called an international style of late baroque design to northern Europe."²⁴

Although Kadriorg has been described as a "modest, even confused essay in the late Baroque,"²⁵ as a European palace-garden complex it is, in its geneology if not its execution, in outstanding company. Michetti had been a prominent pupil of the papal architect Carlo Fontano, who, in turn, had worked under Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598-1680). When Michetti arrived in Russia he worked on the palaces of Strelna and Pedrodvorets with the French architect Jean Le Blond (1679-1719) who had been appointed architect-general to the Tsar in 1710. Le Blond²⁶ had been a pupil of both Andre Le Nôtre (1613-1700), "le premier jardinier du Roi" under Louis XIV and Jules Hardouin Mansart (1679-1719), Louis' official architect.

In terms of social function, Kadriorg was a baroque palace. Peter the Great, "Emperor and Autocrat of all Russia," was a grand monarch of the seventeenth century mold. He had opened his "window to the west" and sought to follow the example of the grandest European ruler of them all, Louis XIV, "Le Roi Soleil." In fact, Peter out-did Louis. Louis had created the palace-park-village complex at Versailles outside Paris where "Nature subdued by the hand of Man" served "the greatness of the King."²⁷ This was Louis' "substitute universe", which is the essence of baroque.²⁸ Peter created on the marshy banks of the Neva River, far from the grim reminders of Moscow, a new and glorious city of bridges, broad avenues, and imposing buildings. And when he acquired the new territory of Estonia, it was entirely consistent for him not to occupy the heights of Toompea, the acropolis from which the area had been ruled since 1219. Instead, he built a small palace in a well-ordered park some miles from Tallinn. Louis, when he had walked through the gardens of Versailles, had to have a way cleared for him through the crowds so "the monarch could put his royal dignity on show."²⁹ And Peter in Kadriorg sent drummers to town to announce that the gardens were open to all,³⁰ so that he too could have an audience.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Kologrivov's description of Michetti: "He knows mechanics well, and building materials, and art. By the way, he is a fine architect and painter, especially in perspective." I.E. Grabar, Istoriia Russkogo Iskusstva, 13 vols. (Moscow: Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1961), 5:110.

² The land was not plowed for ten years--of 38,000 holdings of arable land in Estonia, only 733 were under cultivation in 1714. J. Hampden Jackson, Estonia (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.), p. 66.

³ Ibid., p. 65.

⁴ "Ajaluugu hindab üleminekut suure naaberrriigiga koosseisu positiivselt." ("History evaluates the transition of becoming part of the large neighboring state positively.") Andres Tolts and Tonis Laanemaa, eds., Tallinn: Toompea Linnus ja Loss (Tallinn: Kirjastus Kunst, 1978), p. 7.

⁵ Jackson, pp. 64-66.

⁶ M.S. Anderson, Peter the Great (London: Historical Association, 1969), p. 54.

⁷ Germain Bazin, The Baroque (London: Thames & Hudson, 1968), p. 26.

⁸ Anderson, p. 166. Menshikov was appointed Governor-General of Ingria, Karelia and Estonia in 1709.

⁹ Some examples are Schönbrunn outside Vienna, Nymphenburg and Schleissheim in Bavaria, and the Royal Palace in Stockholm.

¹⁰ Bazin, p. 29.

¹¹ A contemporary traveller's account provided the following description in 1722:

A German Mile from thence lies Strelna-Muise, another Garden and Palace newly raised by the Czar. His Majesty at first had but a wooden House there; but as he was extremely delighted with the Rivulet Strelna, which there falls into the Sea, he resolved to make a Royal Seat and Garden of it, that might vie with that of Versailles.

Friedrich Christian Weber, The Present State of Russia (1722; rpt. London: Frank Cass and Co., 1968), p. 351.

¹² Weber, p. 166, offers the following account of his trip through Narva in 1718:

When I passed through Narva, I found that Town still in the same pitiful State in which I saw it last Year, except that seventy odd Families were since returned thither from their Captivity in the Kingdoms of Casan and Astracan. Those poor People were in the most miserable Circumstances, scarcely had they Bread, much less Money, to rebuild their ruinous Houses, or to fall into some way of Trade again.

¹³ H. Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1965), p. 243.

¹⁴ For further illustrations and description, see K. Yogorova, Leningrad (Leningrad: n.p., 1975), pp. 6, 8, 26, and Plates 2 and 3.

¹⁵ John Leighly, "The Towns of Medieval Livonia," University of California Publications in Geography, 6 (1932-1949):286-287, states:

Culturally, Livonia has always been a province, and so has tended to follow, with some delay, the changing norms of esthetic judgement at the centres of European culture.

Estonia was, in a way, a colony twice removed. In Italy, the Villa d'Este and its gardens date from the 1560's; in France the Chateau Vaux-le-Vicomte from the 1650's; even in Sweden, Charlottenburg, where "a synthesis of a square, a palace, and its garden was made for the first time in Scandinavia" was built in 1672. Thomas Paulsson, Scandinavian Architecture (Newton, Massachusetts: Charles T. Branford & Co., 1959), p. 142.

¹⁶ The fountains and sculptures were later moved to Peterhof outside St. Petersburg. Arman et al., p. 250.

- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 L. Jay Oliva, ed., Peter the Great (Englewood, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970), p. 70.
- 20 Ibid., p. 71.
- 21 Other areas were damaged by a fire between 1725 and 1750. Arman et al., p. 253.
- 22 Zemtsov (1686-1743) became well known in 1722 for his palace and garden designs. In 1725, he built a festive pavilion for the wedding of the Tsar's daughter, Anna. The façade of this wooden structure, no longer in existence, was similar to that of Kadriorg. Grabar, p. 125.
- 23 Among them were Fischer Von Erlach and Hildebrandt in Austria, Gibbs in England, and Pöppelmann in Germany. Penguin Dictionary of Architecture, 2nd ed. (1972), s.v. Carlo Fontano.
- 24 MacMillan Encyclopedia of Architects 3 (1982), p. 182, s.v. Carlo Fontano, by Helmut Hager.
- 25 George Heard Hamilton, The Art and Architecture of Russia, 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1975), p. 187.
- 26 MacMillan Encyclopedia of Architects 2 (1982), p. 626, s.v. Jean Leblond, by Kathleen Russo.
- 27 Nikolaus Pevsner, An Outline of European Architecture, 7th ed. (London: Penguin Books, 1963), p. 331.
- 28 Bazin, p. 11.
- 29 Ibid., pp. 37-38.
- 30 Robert K. Massie, Peter the Great (New York: Ballantine Books, 1980), p. 829.

CHAPTER VII

ESTATES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Strong architectural statements are made by institutions when they are under attack, and the eighteenth century was a period of increased building activity. Although Peter the Great had protected the Baltic nobility, and his successors, Anna Ivanovna¹ and Elizabeth Petrovna did little to disturb the status quo, the privileged position of the nobles became increasingly threatened. The worsening economic conditions of the peasants² and the ever greater strictures placed on their liberty³ ultimately worked to the detriment of the estates: the gap between landlord and serf widened even further, the peasant became more hostile⁴ and uncooperative, and population growth slowed almost to a standstill.⁵ As well, some liberal-minded men like Eisen, Jannau, and Merkel,⁶ began to raise uncomfortable questions in their writings about the economic and cultural state of the peasants in Estonia and Livonia, while J.G. Herder, in the spirit of Rousseau, included in his Volkslieder Estonian songs reflecting the hardships suffered by the peasant.⁷ These threats to the existing social structure needed to be countered by a dramatic statement, and this was made by the baroque estate-complex.

With the building of Kadrioru Loss outside Tallinn, Peter the Great provided a model for many of the great manor

houses that were to follow in the eighteenth century. Manor houses in the seventeenth century had generally been small log or stone buildings, usually one storey high, with a central entrance; they were divided into two parts by the vestibule and the kitchen: on one side was the apartment of the estate owner, on the other were the housekeeping rooms and the servants' quarters.⁸ After the upheaval of the Great Northern War (1700-1721), architectural activity was slow; Estonia and Livonia had weathered great disasters and it took some time before the countryside was once more under cultivation, and the cities repopled and rebuilt. However, in the 1730's building activity became generally more intensive,⁹ and by mid-century a great variety of building types evolved, all based on the symmetrical palace plan evident in Kadriorg. An interesting example is the Sagadi estate (Fig. 38), which is no longer in existence, but which we know from plans and drawings in the Estonian State Museum Archives.

Oral tradition ascribes the design of the Sagadi manor to Bartolommeo Rastrelli¹⁰ (1700-71), architect to the Empress Elizabeth Petrovna in St. Petersburg. However, the structure was more likely designed by a local architect, Wall, whose name is on the building plans.¹¹ The building, dating from 1750-1751, was a typical eighteenth century Estonian manor house in its symmetrical floor plan, its central vestibule, and its large hall on the upper level.

The façade was characterized by a centrally placed double staircase and, at roof level, a triangular pediment decorated with low-relief stucco ornamentation. Around the windows on the exterior was asymmetrical stucco decoration similar to some interior and exterior stucco work found in Tallinn.¹² An interesting feature of Sagadi is its säteri roof.¹³ A manor house type with a more or less accentuated middle part and a säteri roof spread all over Sweden in the eighteenth century¹⁴ and seems to have been a symbol associated with the perpetuation of the landed family.¹⁵ Despite the fact that Estonia ceased being part of the Swedish Empire in 1721, it is entirely possible that the owner of Sagadi had connections to the Swedish nobility and wished to make this kind of architectural statement.¹⁶

Another aspect of Kadriorg that was adopted by the estate owners was the idea of a complex, a comprehensive plan where the manor, outbuildings, and park were designed as one harmonious ensemble.¹⁷ Many estates have disappeared, like Sagadi, or survived in much altered form, but two from the period that remain as existing examples are Palmse Mõis (1753) and Hiiu Suuremõis (1755).

The plan of Palmse (Fig. 39) dates from 1753 and shows a main building carefully set as the focal point of a regularly planned park. The park itself contained ponds, terraces, labyrinths, rows of bushes, and long allées of trees, all to provide dramatic vantage points from which to

view the finished creation. Pavilions ranged from birchbark huts to antique temples: an 1867 engraving (Fig. 40) shows a romantic view of a grassy knoll, leafy trees, and a pond in the foreground; the manor house, half-hidden, is in the background. Beside the pond is a small round antique temple with Doric columns, strongly reminiscent in both setting and execution (though not in size) of Charles Cameron's Temple of Friendship at Pavlovsk¹⁸ (1780) built for the son of Catherine the Great.

The symmetrical plan¹⁹ of the main building (Fig. 41), probably built around 1775,²⁰ recalls Palladio's villa designs. There are baroque touches in the double staircase leading to the central doorway flanked by rusticated pilasters. A centrally placed window projects from the roof and is crowned by a curved pediment and decorated with volutes. The façade is divided into three parts: the two slightly projecting sections on either side of the entrance are topped by triangular pediments. Doric pilasters of a giant order separate the rows of windows.

If, as in Palladio's words, "a country house is a little city,"²¹ Palmse estate was a good example. Thirty-six versts²² of roadways connected the manor and the out-buildings. The barns, the grain- and threshing-sheds, the storage huts, the sauna, the beer-kitchen, the viina-kööök,²³ the lime-kiln, the wind-mill, as well as accommodation for the estate overseers and houses for the gardener and

carpenter, and for the miller, provide some indication as to the extent of the activity of the estate.

Hiiuma Suuremõis²⁴ (Grossenhof) (Figs. 42 and 43) was built between 1753 and 1760 on the island of Hiiumaa,²⁵ with wings added in 1772. It is more imposing in scale than Palmse (as befits its name) and has some noteworthy characteristics: the main door is decorated by elaborate wood-carving in the baroque manner, and the central vestibule contains an example of one of the major elements of an eighteenth century baroque residence, a monumental staircase. No two ceilings in the house are decorated in the same way. The central axis is strongly emphasized by a triangular pediment, a large terrace, and an imposing semi-circular driveway. A row of mansart windows give the appearance of a fourth storey, but it is illusory; the house has only three floors. The roof is a säteri²⁶ roof, similar in elevation to Svartsjö,²⁷ (Fig. 44) in the Swedish province of Uppland, designed for King Frederick I. Initially, the park that provided the setting for this manor house had been designed in the stylized baroque manner, but in the nineteenth century it was restructured along more naturalistic lines into an "English garden," and was an integral part of one of the most elaborate estate-complexes in Estonia.

These eighteenth century complexes were architectural statements by the nobility made in support of the rigidly hierarchical class-structured society in which they were the

privileged class, and which they wanted to perpetuate. The Baltic nobles had never been entirely comfortable under Swedish rule.²⁸ Despite the fact that many of them achieved prominence,²⁹ the wish of the Swedish king, Gustavus Adolphus, to improve the lot of the indigenous people had made the Balts uneasy. In 1627, after the acquisition of most of Estonia and the establishment of relative peace in the region, Gustavus Adolphus appointed a commission to investigate circumstances in Livonia and Estonia. The Baltic provinces, once one passed through the great ports, were "retarded and barbarous to a degree which (initially at least) shocked Swedish observers."³⁰ The land had been devastated by wars; the church, degraded and ignorant, conducted its business in a language the native people could not understand; the nobility treated its peasants brutally. The commission met with resistance from the local nobles, and the classic arguments³¹ of colonial masters were heard: outsiders were ignorant of local circumstances; peasants were lazy and shiftless, and incapable of being educated.³² The Swedes did make some improvements, especially in the areas of justice and education, but it was not until the introduction of the policy of reduktion that the nobles felt truly threatened. Led by Johan Reinhold Patkul,³³ the Baltic nobles sent a delegation to Sweden to plead their case and maintain the status quo. Patkul, imprisoned for his efforts,³⁴ later became a general in the

service of Peter the Great; his example was an indication that many Balts would be more comfortable under another regime.

The baroque style persisted in Estonia until late in the eighteenth century, for it was a style that suited the Baltic landlords eminently. They were not enemies of the autocratic Tsar in St. Petersburg³⁵; they had succeeded in convincing Peter the Great that their former privileges be embodied in the Treaty of Nystad (1721),³⁶ and they were content to remain part of the Russian Empire as long as their own class rights were not infringed upon. The case of the well-to-do peasant, John the Miller,³⁷ who went so far as to lay his complaint at the feet of Empress Anna Invanovna herself in St. Petersburg resulted in the "Declaration of Rosen" made to the Livonian Diet in 1739:

'First: the Dominion of the nobles was established at the first conquest of the country. Since that period the peasants have always been part and parcel of the Demesne as homines proprii. In virtue of this status it follows that they can be made objects of bequests, acts of alienation and of session by sale.

'Second: the Dominion of the nobles is not confined to the person of the peasants, but also extends to his goods, which are accessory to his person. The right of the nobles to the goods of the peasants has never been restricted and the nobles can dispose of these goods as of their own property.

'Third: the nobility has power to augment or diminish the share of the peasants' goods which may be retained by him.

'Fourth: the nobility formerly had the right of life and death over the peasant, but voluntarily renounced this right to the State, retaining only the power of correction and discipline, including

corporal punishment, a retention on which the peasants themselves insisted.'³⁸

As a result, the rigid class structure of the Baltic colony was reinforced and the nobility seemed more entrenched than ever. In the latter part of the century, some of the properties that had been appropriated by the Swedish crown during the reduktion policy were returned to the Baltic nobility.³⁹ It is not surprising that the ruling families identified with the model provided by the Tsar, and built their own estates in imitation of his modest "Estonian Versailles."⁴⁰

FOOTNOTES

¹ During Anne's reign (1730-40), her court was dominated by a clique of Baltic Germans. William Craft Brumfield, Gold in Azure (Boston: David R. Godine, 1983), p. 250.

² Evald Uustalu, The History of the Estonian People (London: Boreas, 1942), p. 198; M. Ojamaa and A. and T. Varmas, Eesti Ajalugu (Stockholm: Eesti Raamat, 1946), pp. 182-183.

³ The sale of slaves was accepted practice. William Tooke in his View of the Russian Empire during the Reign of Catherine II and to the Close of the Eighteenth Century (London: 1800; rpt. New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1970), p. 355, offered this information about the Estonians:

They and their children are sometimes sold, or bartered against other things, horses, dogs, tobacco-pipe heads, in which the gentry here are very curious, as far as a hundred rubles being often given for one. A man here will not fetch so much money as a negro in the West-Indies: one buys a fellow here for thirty to fifty rubles; if he understand any business.

Uustalu, p. 99, states that the price for a single man was 30-40 rubles; for a girl, 10 rubles; for a child, 4 rubles.

⁴ There were occasional revolts: in 1757, a rebellion of Livonian peasants was quickly put down by the Russian army. Clarence A. Manning, The Forgotten Republics (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1970), p. 97.

Tooke, pp. 365-366, has left us the following account:

They (the Estonian 'boors') have risen frequently in rebellion against their masters... Some years ago great numbers assembled, with the most blood-thirsty intentions, under a leader, who taught them from the scriptures that all slavery was abolished by the rule of the gospel; and reduced by false rumours, artfully spread among them, a number of Lettonians were very

lately incited to commit great outrages. Some have been known to wish for hostile invasions of their country in order that they might mingle with the enemy and satisfy their vengeance.

⁵ Uustalu, pp. 97-100.

⁶ Emmanuel Nodel, Estonia, Nation on the Anvil (New York: Bookman Associates, 1963), pp. 16, 17. See also Ojamaa and Varmas, p. 184; and J. Hampden Jackson, Estonia (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1941), pp. 70-71.

Some of these men were:

Johann Georg Eisen Von Schwartzenberg (1717-1779), a clergyman who wrote Description of Serfdom by a Livonian Patriot (circa 1751).

Heinrich von Jannau (1753-1821), a German-speaking Estonian who wrote Sitten und Zeit, ein Memorial an Liev und Estland (Riga, 1781).

Garlieb Merkel (1769-1850), a German pastor's son who wrote Die Letten Vofzuglich in Liefland am Ende des Philosophischen Jahrhunderts (published in Leipzig in 1800).

⁷ J.G. Herder's Volkslieder was published in Leipzig in 1778. It included a number of Estonian songs translated into German. Part of one reads as follows:

Klage uber die Tyrannen der Leibeignen

Tochter, ich flieh' nicht die Arbeit,
Fliehe nicht von Jaans Lande;
Vor dem bösen Deutschen flieh' ich;
Vor dem schrecklich bösen Herren.

Arme Bauren, an dem Pfosten
Werden blutig sie gestrichen,
Arme Bauren in den Eisen.
Manner rasselten in Ketten,
Weiber hopften vor den Thüren, ...

(Complaint about the tyrants from those in serfdom)

Daughter, I do not flee from the work,
I do not flee from Jaan's land;
I flee from the wicked Germans;
From the dreadful wicked masters.

Poor peasants, on the posts,
Were beaten bloody,
Poor peasants in irons,
Men clanked in chains,
Women jumping in front of doors ...)

J.G. Herder, Herder's Volkslieder, ed. Carl Redlich (Berlin: Wiedmannsche Buchhandlung, 1885), p. 239.

⁸ H. Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1965), p. 271.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Arman et al., p. 274, makes reference to this "oral tradition." It was most unlikely that the Baltic nobility could hire such prominent architects.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² This type of work is found in the façade of a dwelling at Uus Tänav No. 15 (built 1751), and also on the ceiling of a dwelling on Raamatukogu Tänav No. 6 (built in the mid-eighteenth century). Ibid., p. 256.

¹³ A säteri roof is a "peculiarly Scandinavian and especially Swedish roof-form...which has two slopes usually interrupted by a short vertical portion." Thomas Paulsson, Scandinavian Architecture (Newton, Massachusetts: Charles T. Branford Co., 1959), p. 135.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 158-160.

¹⁵ Bjorn Wahlin in Säteritaket, Ursprung och forekomst (Uppsala: Institutionen for konstvetenskap, 1979), has investigated this phenomenon thoroughly, and believes that the säteri roof spread not only through Sweden itself but also throughout its empire (p. 3). He goes on to say: "Säteritaket spelade en vasentlig roll i denna adelns strävan att i sina byggnader ge uttryck for sin makt" (p. 8). (Translation: "The säteri roof played an important role in the nobles' efforts to use their buildings as expressions of their power.")

16 There were close connections between the Swedish and Baltic nobility; during the Swedish period, seven counts and twenty-nine barons from the Baltic provinces had been appointed to the Riddarhus, out of a total of 157 appointments. Michael Roberts, ed., Sweden's Age of Greatness, 1632-1718 (London: MacMillan, 1973), pp. 76-77.

There are also many references to Baltic ties to the Swedish nobility and Swedish royalty in Eric Thomson's Schlosser und Herrensitze im Baltikum (Frankfurt Am Main: Wolfgang Weidlich, 1959).

17 Like Vaux-le-Vicomte, Versailles, etc.

18 Brumfield, p. 296.

19 The house was enlarged and wings were added in the nineteenth century. Arman et al., p. 276.

20 Thomson, p. 46.

21 Andrea Palladio, The Four Books of Architecture (Isaac Ware: 1738; reprint ed. New York: Dover), p. 47.

22 Arman et al., p. 276. A verst is a Russian unit of distance equal to 0.6629 of a mile.

23 "Viin" refers to any kind of distilled alcoholic beverage; "köök" means kitchen. "Viina-köök" was a building that housed a still.

24 Arman et al., pp. 276-279, provides a description.

25 Although many Swedish nobles had become large landowners in Estonia during the Swedish era, a belt of Swedish colonization grew along the coastline and on the islands of Hiiumaa and Rago, so that already by 1630, it was calculated that 17 percent of the peasants of Estonia were immigrants, Swedish, Finnish or Russian. Michael Roberts, The Swedish Imperial Experience (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 86-87.

26 The Swedish connection is significant in the history of the ownership of this estate. Thomson, p. 28, gives us the following summary:

GROSSENHOF

...Im Mittelalter war das Gut ein Wirtschaftshof des Deutschen Ordens und gehörte im Jahre 1586 Hans Wartmann. Es wurde im Jahre 1603 dem Rittmeister Christoph Stackelberg verlehnt. König Gustaf Adolf überliess es pachtweise auf drei Jahre dem Grafen de la Gardie. Dieser kaufte es 1624 und hinterliess es seinem Sohn, dem Generalgouverneur und schwedischen Feldmarschall Axel Julius Graf de la Gardie. Im Jahre 1691 zog die schwedische Regierung den Besitz ein. Aus dem Besitz der russischen Krone, der das Gut später gehörte, erhielt durch die Gunst der Kaiserin Katharina Gräfin Ebba Margarethe Stenbock, die Enkelin Axel de la Gardies, Grossenhof zurück....

(GROSSENHOF

In the Middle Ages the country seat was a functioning estate of the German Order and belonged in the year 1586 to Hans Wartmann. It was handed over in the year 1603 to the Captain of Cavalry, Christoph Stackelberg. King Gustav Adolph gave it over on lease for three years to Count de la Gardie. He bought it in 1624 and bequeathed it to his son, the Governor-General and Swedish Field-Marshal Alex Julius, Count de la Gardie. In the year 1691, the Swedish government seized the property. The country seat, which was later the possession of the Russian Crown, was returned to the Countess Ebba Margarethe Stenbock, the grand-daughter of Axel de la Gardie through a favor of the Empress Catherine....)

27 King Frederick I himself endorsed the plan of Svartsjö, built 1735-1739, and designed by Carl Hårleman, the associate of Nicodemus Tessin the Younger. Paulsson, p. 160.

28 It is important to note here that Sweden has never been a feudal state.

29 Roberts, Sweden's Age of Greatness, pp. 76-77.

30 Ibid., p. 8.

31 Ibid.

32 William Tooke, however, made the following sharp observation regarding the Baltic barons and their view of educating the peasants in his View of the Russian Empire during the Reign of Catherine II and to the Close of the Eighteenth Century (London: 1800; rpt. New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1970), p. 353.

Very few lords will allow their boors to learn to write; fearing perhaps they may abuse that talent: they might be tempted to forge a passport or letters of emancipation. Some therefore teach themselves to write, without any help from others; and even under the total want of that art, they can keep, in a most surprising manner, long accounts of a hundred various matters, on sticks or tallies.

33 Patkul was among the signatories of the petition to King Charles XI protesting the limitations placed on the rights of the Baltic nobility. Although he worked for both Augustus II of Poland and Tsar Peter the Great during the Great Northern War, his motive was revenge on Sweden. Frans S. Bengtson, The Life of Charles XII (London: MacMillan, 1960), p. 165.

34 Jackson, p. 63.

35 Gerhard Johann Löwenwolde, the father of two courtiers in the 1730 service elite in Russia, was the first Livonian nobleman to take the oath of loyalty to Peter the Great upon the entry of Russian forces into Riga in 1710. Of the 179 officials who held one of the top four ranks in this so-called generalitet in January, 1730, 54 were foreigners of diverse nationalities; of these 9 were Balts. Brenda Meehan-Walters, Autocracy and Aristocracy of the Russian Service Elite of 1730 (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1982), pp. 24-26.

36 C.H. Von Manstein, Contemporary Memoirs of Russia, 1727-1744 (first edition, London: 1770) London: Frank Cass & Co., 1968, pp. 46-48.

See also Uustalu, p. 95; and Jackson, p. 68.

37 A discussion of this case can be found in Uustalu, pp. 95-96.

38 Jackson, p. 69.

39 Ojamaa and Varmas, p. 190. See also Note 17.

40 Towards the end of the eighteenth century, another category of buildings developed outside Tallinn, the so-called suve-mõisad or summer estates, owned by rich city dwellers. More modest in scale than the estates that have been described, they also identified with Kadriorg, which is evident even in their names: Charlottenthal, Marienthal, Löwenruh. Arman et al., p. 304.

CHAPTER VIII

KIVISILD (STONE BRIDGE), TARTU

In the late eighteenth century, the first stone bridge in Livonia (Fig. 45) was built over the Emajõgi. A granite plaque, in Latin and in German, was mounted on the bridge. The Latin inscription read as follow:

SISTE HIC IMPETUS FLUMEN
 CATHARINA II
 IUBET
 CUIUS MUNIFICENTIA
 HAEC MOLES
 IN COMMODIUM PUBLICUM
 EXTRUCTA LIVONIAE QUEPRIMO
 PONTE LAPIDEO ADORNATA
 MDCCLXXXIII¹

Catherine the Great was not only Empress of Russia and its colonies, but she also apparently had the power to control the forces of nature.

Bridges are a category of public works, and public works have long been, in every nation and civilization, an occasion for rulers to proclaim their power. Ancient Rome provides some well-known examples--the aqueducts, like the famous Pont du Gard, built not only to carry water, but also to "testify to the remarkable qualities of Western man's

mightiest social-political edifice."² In Estonia, a fine instance of this type of architecture is the Kivisild (Stone Bridge), for it proclaims the philosophy of Catherine the Great and her government.

In her Nakaz or "Instructions to the Commission for the Composition of a Plan on a New Code of Laws" (1767), Catherine had given a comprehensive defense of absolute monarchy:

The sovereign is Absolute, for no other than absolute Powers vested in one Person, can be suitable to the Extent of so vast an Empire...Any other than absolute Government would not only be detrimental, but in the End, destructive to Russia. Another Reason is, that it is better to obey the Laws under the direction of one Master, than to be subject to the Wills of many...What is the Object of absolute Government? Certainly, not to deprive the People of their natural Liberty, but to direct their conduct in such a manner that the greatest good may be derived from all their Operations...The Intentions and End of Absolute Government is the Glory of ³the Citizens, of the State, and of the Sovereign.

But the Nakaz was, in fact, an attempt to base imperial authority on philosophic principles rather than religious sanction or hereditary right. Catherine never felt truly secure as Empress; she had no hereditary right to the throne of Russia,⁴ and religious sanction would be equally difficult to arrange, so her wish to base her position as Empress of Russia on philosophic principles is entirely understandable.

Catherine (1729-1796), the German princess, had ascended the throne of Imperial Russia in 1762 under questionable circumstances. Born in Stettin, she had been brought to St. Petersburg at the age of fifteen by her mother, at the request of the Grand Marshal at the court of Grand Duke Peter Ulrich, heir to the Empress Elizabeth. She married Peter in 1745, but her relations with her weak, egotistical, and unbalanced husband were not harmonious; even during the last years of Elizabeth's reign (1741-62), there was no doubt that Catherine had private conversations touching upon her own ambitions to become sovereign of Russia. After Peter became Tsar in 1762, he soon alienated influential members of the court and in the army. Quickly, a small circle among the Guards officers rallied to Catherine's cause: Peter was forced to abdicate and shortly thereafter suffered a mysterious death. Catherine became Empress.⁵

Catherine was an intelligent and well-read woman. The eighteenth century was the Age of Enlightenment, and her Nakaz clearly reflects her years of reading the philosophes, especially Montesquieu's Esprit des Lois and Beccaria's Crime and Punishment.⁶ Throughout her life she carried on a lively correspondence with the greatest thinkers of the day, such as Voltaire, Diderot and d'Alembert. It has been said that she was a dilettante in almost all she did,⁷ and that her interest in cultivating the leading intellectuals of

Europe was in getting them to act as propagandists for her Imperial regime. This may be so, for she was a political genius, and she used a great variety of means to secure her position on the Russian throne, a position she held for thirty-four years.

Although she became one of the great patrons of the European Enlightenment, she identified herself clearly with Russian interests, and saw herself following in the footsteps of Peter the Great. And it would seem "that no other Russian ruler, with the exception of Peter the Great, was more addicted to the pursuit of architecture as a manifestation of progress and imperial glory."⁸ At the beginning of her reign, she appointed a commission to plan a systematic rebuilding of Moscow and St. Petersburg, and she also encouraged it to draw plans for the building or renovating of some 416 other cities.⁹ Many of her plans were impractical, and others were never acted upon. In the cities that were built, the emphasis was on a prescribed pattern of roads, squares and façades, and often concentrated on style rather than substance. In a way, Catherine herself was the author of "Potemkin villages",¹⁰ for behind the surface was the miserable mass of peasantry, living in abject serfdom. Nevertheless, "thousands of provincial figures - including many who were neither aristocratic nor literate - participated in building the new cities; and architecture proved in many ways as important as literature in spreading the new

ideal of rational order and classical style."¹¹

For Catherine, building was a passion. In 1779, she wrote in a letter to the philosophe Baron Friedrich Melchior Von Grimm:

Our storm of construction now rages more than ever before, and it is unlikely that an earthquake could destroy as many buildings as we are erecting. Construction is a sort of devilry, devouring a pile of money; and the more you build, the more you want to build. It's simply a disease, something like a drinking fit--or, perhaps, just a habit.¹²

Her "storm of construction" manifested itself in a simpler style than the frivolous rococo that had been the choice of her aunt, the Empress Elizabeth. Elizabeth's life, "a never-ending masquerade",¹³ was expressed in the buildings she commissioned. For Catherine, however, neo-classicism was more fitting for her notion of "Rational architecture", and it helped reinforce her perception of herself as a modern, enlightened ruler, conversant with the ideas of the day, and in tune with the up-to-date tastes of Europe.

Catherine's neo-classicism varied considerably: the early period was characterized by a style of transition; the late 1760's and the 1770's retained elements of the baroque in plan or elevation, but incorporated many more classical details¹⁴; the last phase was marked by a purer classicism based on the revival of Palladio¹⁵ and the study of antique architecture.¹⁶ And although the function of the structure and the architect's interpretation were important variables,

the new sense of restraint was always in evidence.

Catherine's empire was vast, and the centers of her new cities were dominated by political rather than religious buildings. Broad promenades and sprawling squares provided space for military reviews and colorful ceremonies, and gave the ruling aristocracy an imposing sense of grandeur. When a large fire destroyed much of the Livonian town of Tartu in 1775, this provided an opportunity to rebuild the colonial town, which, though not a new city, would nevertheless benefit from Catherine's imperial dream.¹⁷

The most important building projects slated for reconstruction were the bridge over the Emajõgi and the Raekoda (Town Hall). The Town Hall (1778-84), fronting on a spacious square, was, especially in its exterior, a more elaborate version of the Palladian style already seen in the city hall of Narva.¹⁸ However, the Kivisild¹⁹ (Stone Bridge) to be built over the legendary Emajõgi, "the Mother of Rivers", the largest river in Estonia, was a new type of architectural statement.

The bridge was a direct project of the government: the technical problems were solved by the Russian hydro-technical planner, Fjodor Baur,²⁰ and in its overall concept, the bridge echoed the experience of the banks of the Neva and the Winter Canal. Local experts also took part in the building of the bridge: at various stages of planning and execution, the architect J.H.B. Walter, the engineer

J.C. Siegfrieden, and the stone-mason, Johann Zaklowsky were involved. Preliminary work for the bridge began in 1775, and the acquisition of materials and stone preparation lasted for a period of six years. A forced labor force of soldiers, peasants and prisoners, comprising sixty to eighty men, was employed in the preparation of more than three thousand hand-hewn stone blocks. Later, fifty skilled workers who had been employed building the harbor and canals at St. Petersburg were brought in. For Tartu, a provincial town remote from the center of the Empire, the stone bridge was a monumental project.²¹

The bridge consisted of two curved vaults anchored in the river on two thick piers: the central, unvaulted span between the piers was movable to allow large boats to pass through. The vaults and face walls were built of large, rectangular stones with plain surfaces. The bridge was dominated by two walls raised above the piers as triumphal arches, each containing three arched openings: the central one for horse-drawn vehicles, the smaller ones on either side for pedestrians. The plane surfaces of the triumphal arches were embellished only by low-relief pilasters on both sides of the smaller openings, while the heavy cornices were decorated with vases reminiscent of Attic forms. The arched openings allowed views of Tartu (Figs. 46 and 47), including that of the square and the Town Hall, to be framed by this most appropriate of imperial images. The inscription on a

granite plaque, in Latin and in German, glorified the role of Catherine as Empress and benefactress. While the Latin script connected her with the former imperial power of Rome, the German spoke directly to her Livonian subjects who were of significance and whom she had to impress, for Catherine depended upon the cooperation of the German-speaking nobles to keep this western part of her empire intact.²² There was no written message for the mass of indigenous people who might use the bridge, or congregate at its base for market (Fig. 48).

Although scholars have not agreed about the exact origin of the triumphal arch, all do agree that it was a Roman custom influenced by the conventions of Hellenistic art, and that it was part of the Roman Emperor cult.²³ The bridge, of course, has long been a symbol of conquest and empire. The Emperor Trajan, for example, had a bridge built in the Roman provinces at Alcantara. The middle pier is topped by a triumphal arch bearing the inscription: PONTUM PERPETUI MANSURUM IN SAECULA.²⁴ Whether Catherine knew of Trajan's bridge at Alcantara is not known. However, there is no question that she was familiar with Roman architectural forms; with her skillful use of ceremony, she knew that the arch was part of a public means of "honoring a divine ruler, whose coming as Victor and Saviour brought a heavenly distinction to the city and a joy to the populace."²⁵ Her choice of constructing, over the most important river in

Livonia, a lasting stone bridge embellished by triumphal arches, was entirely calculated.

Two years after her ascension to the throne of Russia, Catherine had made a journey to Estonia and Livonia. She left St. Petersburg on June 24, 1764, and spent approximately one month on a triumphal progress through the Baltic provinces. No special accommodation arrangements needed to be made for the royal party, because the Baltic aristocracy competed for the honor of receiving her in their comfortable manor houses. Catherine was the consummate politician: her official speeches were always made in Russian, and she attended Russian Orthodox religious ceremonies in Riga and in Tallinn. She was careful always to appear as the Empress of Russia, not the German-born princess on the Russian throne.²⁶

Catherine wanted to increase the revenues from Estonia and Livonia, and she wished to undermine the autonomy of these provinces. She believed that they "should, in the gentlest manner, be brought to the point when they become Russian and stop looking like wolves to the woods."²⁷ She had also heard of the deplorable conditions²⁸ in which the peasants lived through the work of Johan Georg Eisen Von Schwartzenberg (1717-1779), a pastor in South Estonia, who had written Description of Serfdom by a Livonian Patriot.²⁹ Following her own visit, she commissioned General George Brown,³⁰ whom she had appointed Governor-General of Livonia

in 1762, to investigate further. Her recommendations, tendered to the Livonian nobles in 1765, covered a variety of reforms, including the recognition of a peasant's right to own movable property.³¹ After vehement protestations, the barons acquiesced, but in reality the reforms were worth nothing to the Estonians, because the new regulations were so easily circumvented or ignored. At the end of the century, Estonians and Latvians were still being sold like slaves; "an advertisement in the Rigascher Anzeiger of January 15, 1788, announced: 'Four families of serfs are to be sold cheap: buyers should apply to the Government Officer, 51 Schloss-strasse.'"³² But the expectation of royal support had led to peasant uprisings in Livonia in 1765, and in Estonia in 1784; these were put down with backing from the Russian army.³³

Despite the interest she professed in social reforms, and her correspondence with some of the most enlightened men of her day, in her choice of a monument for Livonia, Catherine revealed herself as a true autocrat. She could have chosen to build in Tartu an unadorned, gently arched structure like the Upper Swan Bridge over the Lebyazhy Canal in St. Petersburg; instead she chose the triumphal arch.³⁴ The preference for the classical style was to reflect the rationalism of the Enlightenment. Catherine was faced with "the dilemma of the reforming despot"³⁵: theoretically, she welcomed a free exchange of ideas and the betterment of the

human condition³⁶; in practice, she wished to reaffirm her position as the absolute sovereign of the Russian Empire. Her choice in building this monument to herself in the provinces reveals her alliance, in spirit, with the greatest empire in the history of the western world.

Catherine was fully aware of the ways in which the power of architecture could be used to strengthen her position. Though her preference ran to neo-classicism, she did not hesitate to use the dramatic impact of the baroque when it suited her purpose. To clothe her reign in the mantle of Petrine tradition, Catherine had commissioned the French sculptor, Etienne-Maurice Falconet³⁷ (1716-91), to create a monument to the memory of Peter I of Russia. An English observer, present at the unveiling of the model in 1770, wrote a letter from St. Petersburg: "The most skillful and ingenious statuary in Europe, is employed here at present in executing an equestrian statue of Peter the Great."³⁸

The allegorical statue³⁹ did not depict Peter as a Roman Emperor, a Marcus Aurelius on a docile horse.⁴⁰ Instead, we have the Tsar, over life size, on a rearing steed, conveying grandeur and dynamic force. The sculpture, mounted on a massive boulder, "itself a curiosity",⁴¹ for it had been brought from the Finnish province of Karelia,⁴² was unveiled in a colorful ceremony on the Senate Square in St. Petersburg on August 7, 1782. The inscription was

direct: PETRO PRIMO, CATARINA SECUNDA. "This first and last truly Baroque monument of French art in Russia became a symbol of Peter's city",⁴³ and Catherine had established her lineage.

In St. Petersburg, Catherine had reaffirmed her position as the successor to the heroic Peter by using the baroque appeal to the emotions; in Livonia she emphasized her imperial role by means of rational classicism. But "'classical' and baroque are not opposites. More reason enters into the composition of the one, more fantasy into the composition of the other; but both are facets of a lost world of make-believe."⁴⁴ Catherine built with a passion, but the world she created was make-believe; the very philosophers she had courted had undermined the hierarchical state she wished to preserve. And she was not totally unaware that she was under siege: at the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, she ordered destroyed the bust of Voltaire she had placed in the Cameron Gallery.⁴⁵

FOOTNOTES

¹ H. Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1965), p. 308. Also Ernst Hermann, Das Baltikum im 120 Bildern (Hannover-Dören: Harro v. Hirschheydt, 1969), p. 93.

Translation: River, contain your flow, commands Catherine II, through whose generosity this work has been built for the benefit of the land, and enhanced Livonia with its first stone bridge. 1783.

² Joseph Gies, Bridges and Men (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1963), p. 14.

³ Paul Dukes, ed., Catherine the Great's Instruction (Nakaz) to the Legislative Commission, 1767 (Newtonville: Oriental Research Partners, 1977), pp. 43-44.

⁴ Catherine was born in Stettin, Pomerania in 1729 as Sophie Fredericka Augusta of Anhalt-Zerbst. She came from a princely though impoverished family. At the age of 15, in response to an invitation from the court of Empress Elizabeth Petrovna (facilitated by Frederick II of Prussia), she journeyed to St. Petersburg with her mother in January, 1744. Her betrothal to Grand Duke Peter, nephew of the Empress and grandson of Peter the Great, was announced on July 29, 1744, and marriage followed in 1745. Henri Troyat, Catherine the Great, trans. Joan Pinkham (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1980), pp. 9-11, p. 50.

⁵ For more detailed accounts of Catherine's life up to 1762, see Troyat, pp. 1-173; Isabel de Madariaga, Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1981), pp. 1-17; Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, A History of Russia, 3rd. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 281-283.

⁶ Dukes. Introduction, pp. 9-33.

⁷ L.J. Oliva, ed., Catherine the Great (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971), p. 1.

⁸ William Craft Brumfield, Gold in Azure (Boston: David R. Godine, 1983), p. 276.

⁹ James Billington, The Icon and the Axe (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), p. 276.

10 Gregory Potemkin, one of Catherine the Great's lovers, but also "the foremost statesman of the reign" (Riasanovksy, p. 284), made a great effort to develop the newly-won Crimea. The display which he prepared for Catherine's journey to the region in 1787 gave rise to the expression "Potemkin villages"--i.e., staged pieces of décor which passed from a distance for real houses and villages. Riasanovsky, p. 294; Troyat, p. 318.

11 Billington, p. 228.

12 Brumfield, p. 275, quoting Catherine the Great's correspondence.

13 George Heard Hamilton, The Art and Architecture of Russia (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1954), p. 185.

14 The outstanding architects during this period were Velten, Rinaldi, and Bazhenov. Ibid.

15 Lvov's Russian edition of Palladio's Quattro Libri appeared in 1772. Isobel Rae, Charles Cameron (London: Elek Books, 1971), p. 37. Also Hamilton, p. 185.

16 The outstanding architects during this period were Quarenghi, Cameron, and Starov. Ibid.

17 Arman et al., p. 290.

18 Ibid., pp. 290-292; pp. 308-311.

19 Ibid., pp. 307-308. Arman et al. provides a description of the Kivisild and its construction.

20 Ibid., p. 307.

21 Most of the prisoners involved were men who had taken part in the Pugachev rebellion (1773-74) and were in prison in Paldiski. Ibid.

22 Since before the time of Peter the Great, many of the professionals and civil servants needed to run the Russian state had been foreigners. Robert Massie, Peter the Great (New York: Ballantine Books, 1981), pp. 110-112. The weakness of the Russian education system, though improved by Peter the Great, Empress Elizabeth, and Catherine the Great (Billington, pp. 213-214), and the subsequent shortage of qualified people (De Madariaga, pp. 358 and 817) had led to this dependence on foreigners. The Baltic provinces had been well administered by the Baltic-German nobles (J. Hampden Jackson, Estonia [London: George Allen & Unwin, 1941], p. 67) and it was in Catherine's interest to maintain a

reasonably harmonious relationship in order to have an efficiently administered territory.

²³ E. Baldwin Smith, Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), p. 22.

²⁴ H.J. Hopkins, A Span of Bridges (New York: Praeger, 1970), pp. 33-34.

Translation: I have built a bridge that shall remain forever.

²⁵ Smith, p. 30.

²⁶ References to this journey are found in De Madariaga, p. 62; Clarence A. Manning, The Forgotten Republics (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1952), p. 97; and Gina Kaus, Catherine, the Portrait of an Empress, trans. June Head (New York: The Literary Guild, 1935), pp. 285-286.

²⁷ De Madariaga, p. 61, quoting Catherine.

²⁸ De Madariaga, p. 603, makes the following comment about the condition of the serfs:

It is very difficult to find an objective portrayal of the condition of the serfs in Livonia. Nationalist prejudice has distorted the accounts of the eighteenth-century officials and publicists, nineteenth-century Russian and German historians, and Soviet historians. Russians stress the misery of the peasantry under their German masters; Germans point to what they regarded as the far lower standard of living of the Russian serfs.

One should add that Estonian and Latvian emigré sources from outside the U.S.S.R. have added yet another perspective.

²⁹ Jackson, p. 70.

³⁰ General George Brown was an Irish Jacobite who had entered Russian service in 1730. Catherine appointed him Governor-General of Livonia in 1762, of Livonia and Estonia in 1775. He died, still holding office, in 1792 at the age of 94. De Madariaga, p. 358; Manning, p. 97.

³¹ Jackson, p. 71.

32 Ibid., p. 72.

33 Ibid.

34 The triumphal arch motif was used in other architectural works commissioned by Catherine, e.g., the New Holland Arch, built by Jean Baptiste Vallé de la Mothe in the 1780's. Brumfield, p. 282.

35 Billington, p. 219.

36 It is perhaps relevant to mention here that although almost all of the sixty-odd separate works of Voltaire translated into Russian during the last third of the eighteenth century appeared during Catherine's reign (Billington, p. 221), she was never very fond of the works of Rousseau and forbade, long before the Pugachev rebellion, the circulation of many of his books, including Emile. Ibid., p. 231.

37 Diderot, who admired the works of Falconet, probably recommended the sculptor to the Empress. Hamilton, p. 233.

38 William Richardson, Anecdotes of the Russian Empire (1784; rpt. London: Frank Cass), p. 177.

39 Ibid., pp. 177, 178. Richardson has left us the following description:

The design in his work is partly allegorical. The pedestal is to represent a rock, and the horse appears with great spirit and exertion in the act of ascending it. This is to indicate the difficulties surmounted by Peter in his great labour of reforming the Russians. An enormous snake, by which Envy is typified, appears, though still lifting its head, to be trampled upon by the hind-feet of the horse...The snake, however, serves a more convenient purpose; and is very useful in supporting or in fixing the horse's tail.

Peter is in the attitude of stretching out one of his arms. He is thus intended to express parental affection for his people: and when we are told that this is the artists' intention, we are satisfied that he has done what he purposed. The expression of the countenance is happy and characteristic: you see in it affection and

wisdom; not, however, without some lineaments of that ferocity which served as a foil to Peter's amazing merit.

40 It is interesting to note that the statue of Marcus Aurelius was probably initially set on a triumphal arch. Herbert Keutner, Sculpture, Renaissance to Rococo (London: Michael Joseph, 1969), p. 31.

41 Richardson, p. 179.

42 The transport of the boulder itself was considered a marvel of engineering (Hamilton, p. 289), and no doubt contributed to the general impression created by the work.

43 Hamilton, p. 233.

44 Germain Bazin, The Baroque (London: Thames & Hudson, 1968), p. 12.

45 Bernard Meyers and Trevin Coplestone, eds., Art Treasures in Russia (London: McGraw-Hill & Hamlyn, 1970), p. 134.

CHAPTER IX
UNIVERSITY OF TARTU

Part 1

The main building of the University of Tartu, with its massive neo-classical portico (Fig. 49) still stands as mute testimony to the ideals of the young Tsar, Alexander I, whose rule in 1801 began with such promise. To him, and to many in his time, the Greek temple symbolized liberty, a liberty less encumbered by associations of imperium than Roman monuments like the triumphal arch. It was in Greece, after all, where the city state had flourished, where free men had spoken freely, where democracy was born. Like his illustrious predecessors, Alexander used public works to proclaim his authority, and the construction of a university, a temple of learning in the Greek style, was in total harmony with his youthful idealism.¹

Tartu has a venerable history as the site of the first university in Estonia (and the oldest university in the U.S.S.R.). The city had suffered much in wars during the last half of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. During the Swedish period it was rebuilt as an administrative centre, and was, for a time (1629-1640), the location of the Governor-General's residence. Johann Skytte, former tutor to King Gustavus Adolphus and a widely travelled, far-seeing statesman,² had become Governor-General of Karelia, Ingermania and Livonia in 1629; in 1630,

in quick succession, he opened the Supreme Court and established a Secondary School in Tartu.³ Another secondary school or gymnasium was founded in Tallinn in 1631. In 1632, Gustavus Adolphus, the king who had revitalized the University of Uppsala,⁴ and by whose efforts "for the first time in Swedish history, education became a powerful agent of social mobility,"⁵ signed the charter for the university as the Academia Dorpatensis in his camp in Nürnberg. Its name was subsequently changed to Academia Gustaviana in October, 1632, and its seal showed Gustavus Adolphus holding a bare sword in one hand and an open book in the other.

Skytte was faced with the prospect of setting up the administrative machinery for the new Swedish lands, and it was for the civil service that Swedes and the native population was to be educated. The subjects offered at the gymnasium already made an impressive list: divinity, law, medicine, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, French, Latvian, Estonian, mathematics and art; and there were to be even higher standards at the university. The availability of courses in Estonian and Latvian served a two-fold purpose: it enabled the Swedish administrators and soldiers to learn the language of the land, and it made it possible for native children to attend.⁶ During its inaugural meeting on October 15, 1632, attended by members of the Supreme Court, by the Baltic knights, and by city councillors from all important towns,⁷ Skytte's words must have had a disquieting

effect on the powerful German landowners. Skytte emphasized that the University was not only for nobles and burghers, but also for peasants, and he asked the nobles to acknowledge that fact when he added:

Wollte Gott, dass die Ritterschaft solches erkannten und recht sich drin schickten, alsdann würde nach der grossen Verwüstung eine neue Wiederaufbauung, nach der barbarischen Grobheit ein neues liebliches Licht aller Tugenden, und nach dem Fluche Gottes Segen in dieser Prowinz⁸ häufig wieder angehen und darin verspüret werden.

The original site of the university had close connections to its present location. Initially, rooms were acquired on the second floor of a stone building (Fig. 50) formerly occupied by a Jesuit gymnasium, on a spot very close to the western wing of today's main building. The four rooms (Fig. 51) were put to use as the library, a meeting room and two lecture halls. Later, facilities in the Maarja church were used, and in 1642, accommodation was found opposite the Jaani church.⁹

The subsequent history of the Academia Gustaviana somewhat disappointed its initial high hopes. Although the development of Estonian and Latvian as literary languages was doubtless stimulated,¹⁰ the university suffered from inadequate endowment from the start. Also, the prevailing social order effectively prevented the education of indigenous peasant sons. Most of the students were Swedish, though Germans and Finns were also in attendance;¹¹ the

Baltic nobility, however, preferred to send their sons to Germany for higher education. Whether any Estonians studied there during the seventeenth century remains unclear: students not of the nobility lacked surnames, and their first names in enrolment lists would have been Latinized and followed by the name of their place of origin. It is highly unlikely that members of peasant families or even Estonian town-dwellers were able to enter the university.

The seventeenth century university had four faculties: philosophy, theology, medicine and law. During its life as the Academia Gustaviana¹² (1632-1656), the institution provided higher education for 1,016 students. When Tartu fell under Russian rule as a result of the invasion of 1656, the university was moved to Tallinn. In 1661, Tartu was returned to the Swedes, but it was not until 1690 that the institution was reconstituted as the Academia Gustavo-Carolina¹³ in honor of King Charles XI of Sweden. By the end of the century, a new and vigorous ruler was on the Russian throne and fear once again plagued the school. Despite the difficulties created by the after-effects of the devastating famine of 1695-1697,¹⁴ the university moved to a safer location, this time to Pärnu where it continued to function until 1710. During its life as the Academia Gustavo-Carolina (1690-1710), it had 586 students, mostly German pastors' and burghers' sons.¹⁵ In 1710, as a result

of the fighting during the Great Northern War, the university ceased to function.

The treaty of Nystad (1721) made Estonia and Livonia part of the Russian Empire. The privileges of the Baltic nobility were restored and reaffirmed, while the conditions of the peasants deteriorated. The German landowners were content working with the Tsar as long as their class rights were secure. During the eighteenth century, a period of relative political stability, several Estonian cities as well as the Livonian nobility made repeated attempts to reopen the university.¹⁶

It was finally perhaps the threat presented by the French Revolution that led to its reestablishment. On April 9, 1798, a ukase had been proclaimed that forbade Russian students to study abroad, and those who were already in Europe were ordered to return. This action was intended to curb the importation of revolutionary ideas prevalent on the continent with which the students might become infected. In the same ukase, Tsar Paul I allowed the nobility of Courland, Livonia and Estonia to establish a local university at an agreed-upon location. Tartu and Mitau were proposed as sites; the former was approved by the Tsar on May 4, 1799. The facility was to be open to the nobility of all the Russian Empire and especially to the Baltic nobility, while foreigners could also study there. The university was to have a Protestant orientation and was to

be under the control of the Baltic nobles. The language of instruction would be German.¹⁷

Upon becoming Tsar, Alexander I, by his ukase on April 12, 1801, reaffirmed Tartu as the location of the university.¹⁸ At the inaugural ceremonies held at the temporary facility of Bock House on Ülikooli (University) Street on April 21, 1802, Baron G.A. Von Mannteuffel emphasized the contributions of the Baltic nobility to the establishment of the university and warned of the dangers of study abroad.¹⁹ On the following day, the professors and students²⁰ had a festive gathering and a different tone was immediately evident. G.F. Parrot (1767-1852), a Frenchman and one of the leading figures during the formative years of the Universitas Dorpatensis was a child of the Enlightenment, and had doubtless read both Voltaire and Rousseau. In his statement to the students he urged them to recognize the contribution of the peasants to the wealth of the country and thus to the establishment of the university.²¹

A philosophical battle ensued: while the professors stated their support for the accessibility of higher education for all social classes, the nobility believed the institution should support the interests of the ruling class. Tsar Alexander happened to be travelling through Tartu in the spring of 1802;²² he stopped to visit the university in its temporary quarters where he was

ceremoniously received. After Baron Mannteuffel had delivered his official welcome, the ingenuous Parrot, in an impassioned address in French, articulated his ideas for the university and called on the Tsar as an enlightened monarch to support them. Alexander, who upon his accession had gathered around him a circle of idealistic friends, admirers of the English constitution and of revolutionary France, listened to Parrot's entreaties. By the end of the year,²³ the university had been granted greater autonomy, a more solid economic base, and freedom from the Baltic nobles' control. Parrot's more radical pleas on behalf of the peasantry, however, were not accommodated.

The university, aside from using Bock House, utilized rooms scattered throughout Tartu. The quarters were far from satisfactory, and on June 8, 1803, a five-member building commission under the chairmanship of Johann Wilhelm Krause (1757-1828), Professor of Economics, Technology and Civil Buildings, was constituted to design new facilities.²⁴

Plans for the university had been commissioned from Russia as early as 1800, but the scheme conceived by Giacomo Quarenghi (1744-1817),²⁶ the Italian-born architect who had designed the Academy of Sciences (Fig. 52) in St. Petersburg in 1786 as well as many other imposing neo-classical buildings, was apparently too grand in scale. (It must be remembered that Tartu was a provincial town of a few thousand people, distant from the grandeur of the Russian

capital.) However, it is possible that Quarenghi's plans provided inspiration for Krause.

The newly re-founded university had to be built in the neo-classical style to conform to the ideals of the young Tsar who had to approve the plans. Alexander had spent his formative years²⁷ as a pupil of his Swiss tutor Frederic Laharpe,²⁸ who had been hired by Catherine the Great to instruct her two grandsons. Laharpe had introduced his pupil to Demosthenes, Plutarch, Tacitus, Rousseau and the Encyclopedistes,²⁹ and had instilled in his charge an admiration for the qualities of simplicity, liberty, virtue and self-respect. Catherine herself had read to Alexander and his brother Constantine the first French constitution, and she had "told them to learn it by heart (but to tell no one)."³⁰ Alexander had to reconcile the teachings of Laharpe and the expectations of his brilliant, domineering, contradictory grandmother and his erratic martinet of a father. The result was a tormented conscience and a vacillating will. On one hand he felt himself to be a man of ordinary capacities, unequal to the role of Tsar³¹ (at the age of nineteen he was so dismayed by the injustice and corruption in Russia that he contemplated flight to Switzerland);³² on the other, he doubted that he could ever leave Russia, and should he rule, would work towards making his country free.³³

When the irrational Paul I was murdered by a group of conspirators on March 23, 1800, Alexander was near

prostration with despair. Nevertheless, it was not long after that he ascended the throne. Promising to rule "according to the laws and the spirit"³⁴ of Catherine the Great, he subsequently showed himself to be her true heir in his diplomacy and his avoidance of terror. A skillful politician, he was a master of public relations, especially with regard to European opinion. He displayed the trappings of liberal intention, and in the early part of his rule even acted upon his ideals,³⁵ but always within carefully prescribed limitations.³⁶

The proposal to revive the university in Tartu and Parrot's appeals coincided with Alexander's desire to act as an enlightened and liberal ruler.³⁷ Plans for the main building by Krause were completed in 1805, and the cornerstone laid on September 15. Among those present were Parrot, now the rector of the university, and Professor Krause. Speaking on behalf of the students was Karl Wiljams, the first Latvian peasant's son to attend the institution.³⁸

The main building (Fig. 53) is the most impressive of all neo-classical structures in Tartu.³⁹ The exterior was completed in 1809, while the final touches to the interior were made in 1811. It is a rigidly symmetrical three-storied structure characterized by a massive pedimented temple-front portico with six Doric columns. The tympanum was originally decorated by a bas-relief design of the Emperor's coat of arms. The back of the building differs from the front only

in that the columns have been replaced by pilasters. Although eighteenth century architectural tradition is evident in the relatively high roof, the emphasis is on horizontality. The flat stone wall surfaces have been broken by the rusticated ground floor and the small, rectangular panels of low-relief sculpture between the second- and third-floor windows.

The interior was as symmetrically planned as the exterior, the most striking feature being the two-storey auditorium (Fig. 54). Fluted pilasters divided the walls into panels, while Ionic columns arranged in a rectangle⁴⁰ supported the mezzanine floor along four walls. The room was further made festive by the azure balustrade and the podium carved with antique motifs. This central chamber, this cella in the new temple of learning, was the place where the elaborate ceremonies of inauguration and graduation took place.⁴¹

Soon, however, Alexander's neo-classicism no longer reflected the liberal philosophy of an idealistic Crown Prince. The proliferation of porticoes and pediments became the result of imperial edict, and were the instrument of an insecure autocrat, determined to impose his will throughout his Empire. Architects were given the task of designing approved neo-classical façades to be used on all new private buildings; these façades were also to be imposed on existing houses,⁴² despite their frequently unsuitable proportions.

The temples of knowledge, the universities so bravely founded, suffered from purges resulting from the Tsar's increasing apprehension and xenophobia.⁴³ The Tsar remained "torn between hopes of reform and fears of revolution throughout his life."⁴⁴ These hopes and fears were mirrored in his architectural policies. The "Greek" architecture he favored was associated with democracy and individual liberty, yet his imposition of it was paternalistic and despotic. The Universitas Dorpatensis was the heir to strong German traditions of university autonomy and as a result managed to maintain much of its standards by tactful means, but other institutions were much less successful.

Part 2

The university as a temple of learning, offering new salvation through knowledge, received new impetus with the addition of the dissecting theatre and the library.

In his architectural plans for the University of Tartu, Professor Krause had looked to both Greek and Roman antique models for inspiration. While in the university's Main Building he recalled the Greek temple, for the Anatoomikum or dissecting theatre, he went back to the example of the domed Pantheon. The dome had two thousand years before become the symbol for world religions;⁴⁵ in the nineteenth century the circular domed building, with its ancient origins and pre-historic associations of "divinity and

authority⁴⁶ became the appropriate structure for the new religion of science. The dissecting theatre was a feature of the university of the modern era: the study of anatomy from corpses had historically been banned as sacrilege--when the church had begun to tolerate it, it became the duty of the university to teach it.⁴⁷ Science (or knowledge) was displacing the old religions and becoming the new road to salvation. The domed structure was satisfying not only symbolically; it also provided for a practical seating arrangement, allowing students to witness dissections from raised tiers of seats all around.⁴⁸

Krause's project⁴⁹ consisted of a round, domed building with two symmetrical, curved wings (Fig. 55). Initially, only the Rotunda (Fig. 56) was built (1803-1805); it was characterized by four symmetrically placed pedimented projections, and its amphitheatre was illuminated by daylight passing through the windows in the lantern that topped the dome.

Meanwhile, the tireless Parrot along with a Professor Morgenstern made a novel suggestion: for housing the university's collection of books, they recommended the reconstruction of Tartu's venerable Toomkirik, once the seat of the Bishop. With the acceptance of their proposal, Tartu ended up with one of the most unusual libraries⁵⁰ in northern Europe⁵¹ (Fig. 57). During the opening ceremonies on August 6, 1806, Parrot made a dramatic and revealing

speech:

Today this building is the temple of literature, filled with a treasury of knowledge from all peoples...This structure was erected in the dark past. Hordes of restless German knights sacked the land. Self-seeking priests followed to secure the booty. What fortresses...were unable to accomplish, the temple had to complete. The present institution...proclaims peace and freedom of thought...all disciplines are open to researchers, and the single aim...of the new priests of the enlightenment is to increase their accessibility to all.⁵²

Like the aspirations of Skytte almost two hundred years earlier, Parrot's boldly articulated dreams were also unfulfilled. In Estonia, the peasants were still largely serfs, and serfs were not allowed to graduate from university.⁵³ During the period between 1802 and 1927, from 2,394 students registered at the Universitas Dorpatensis only twenty-eight were farmers' sons.⁵⁴ Tsar Alexander I's liberal aspirations bore little fruit. In Russia, his large-scale efforts to upgrade education had little foundation to build upon, and stultifying traditions hindered change and progress. Though he experimented with liberalism in the provinces by freeing the serfs in Estonia in 1816 and in Livonia in 1819, he made the peasant population more dependent on the landlords for a living than before. While the peasants could no longer be bought or sold, they had also lost all hereditary claims or tenure to the small plots of land that they may have tilled for generations on the estates. The landlords had surrendered their rights to the person of the peasant, but

they reserved their unlimited rights to the land.

Alexander, as Crown Prince, had been an idealist with the noblest intentions. The neo-classical architecture he favored for the University of Tartu was associated with individual liberty and democracy, and those beliefs also manifested themselves during his early reign in political decisions. Yet, as Tsar, he became increasingly paternalistic and despotic. The turning point during his reign was the Great Patriotic War, the burning of Moscow (1812) and his pursuit of Napoleon's troops to Paris (1813). The Emperor became uninterested in liberal reform, and believed the security of the Empire and Throne rested on strict adherence to absolutist principles.⁵⁵ Not only did he want "to make Petersburg more beautiful than any of the European capitals he had visited,"⁵⁶ he wished to enforce a rigidly classical style all over the Russian Empire. To this length he established a commission under whose control whole cities would change their appearance to conform to imperial taste. Collections of façade drawings were issued between 1809 and 1812; they contained 287 façade types executed by St. Petersburg architects W. Jest, L. Rusca and V. Stassov, and were to be used as models.⁵⁷ The Tsar's "façade politics"⁵⁸ saw model façade types used in Russia as early as 1809; in Estonia, the effects of his policies were felt in the second and third decade of the century.

The neo-classical period left its marks on all Estonian cities during the first half of the nineteenth century. Sometimes classical elements were added to existing buildings, sometimes entirely new structures were erected. It was not an era that encouraged individualism. Although the period left more of an imprint on the cityscape of Tartu, it is interesting to note that the city architect of Tallinn between 1808 and 1814 was Carl Ludwig Engel,⁵⁹ the German architect who, more than any man, put Alexander's imperial stamp on Helsinki, the new capital of the Russian Grand Duchy of Finland. Little is known of Engel's activities in Tallinn, though he is thought to have been involved in the design of a nobleman's dwelling on Kohtu Street, one that has marked similarities with the University of Tartu's main building.⁶⁰

The imperial taste found great favor with the landed gentry. Despite Alexander's reforms, the authority of the Baltic German nobles had not diminished.⁶¹ Powerful in the Baltic states, influential in St. Petersburg, it is not surprising that they willingly conformed to the dictates of the Tsar. Consequently the basic principles of classicism were most evident in estate architecture which enjoyed a notable flowering after the Great Patriotic War. Elaborate manor houses of unprecedented scale in Estonia were built, among them such grandiose mansions as Hõreda (1812) and Riisipere (1821)(Fig. 58), and the elaborate grounds that

surrounded them were carefully landscaped "English" gardens that looked "natural" but were not.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Prince Adam Czartoryski, a member of an old Lithuanian noble family, wrote of a conversation with Alexander in 1796:

...he (Alexander) did not in any way share the ideas and the doctrines of the Cabinet and the Court;...he was far from approving the policy and conduct of his grandmother, whose policies he condemned...he detested despotism everywhere, no matter in which way it was exercised;...he loved liberty, to which all men had a right;...he had taken the strongest interest in the French Revolution, and that while condemning its terrible excesses, he wished the French Republic success and rejoined at its establishment.

Adam Czartoryski, Memoirs, ed. Adam Gielgud (1888; rpt. Orono, Maine: Academic International, 1968), 1:110-111.

² Skytte had been in England in 1604-1606 and in 1610 (where he was knighted by James I) and to Turkey. While his work was chiefly that of a statesman, he did promote the study of comparative philology at Tartu. F.W. Pick, "Tartu, The History of an Estonian University," American Slavic and East European Review (November 1946):156.

³ The Supreme Court opened on September 7, 1630 and the Secondary School on October 13, 1630. Pick, p. 151.

⁴ Michael Roberts, Gustavus Adolphus and the Rise of Sweden (London: English Universities Press, 1973), p. 94.

⁵ Ibid., p. 95.

⁶ The gymnasium, the forerunner of the University, provided for a Community of fifty poor scholars. The university continued the educational policy of the gymnasium. Michael Roberts, Gustavus Adolphus, A History of Sweden, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green & Company, 1953), 1:478-479.

⁷ Roberts provides a description of "the last great achievement of Gustav Adolf's reign in the field of education," i.e., the founding of the University in Sweden's Baltic provinces. Ibid., pp. 478-479. The founding of the

university is also described in H. Piirimäe, Tartu Ülikooli Ajalugu, 1632-1798 (Tallinn: Valgus, 1982), 1:40-42.

⁸ Roberts, Gustavus Adolphus, A History of Sweden, 2 vols., 1:479.

Translation:

(If God so wills it, the Nobility should recognize this fact and acknowledge it, then would come after the great devastation, a new rebuilding; after the barbarian coarseness a new, lovely light of all virtues; and after the curse of God, a benediction on this province, again abundant and therein praised.)

⁹ Information regarding the early location of University rooms can be found in Piirimäe, pp. 47-48.

¹⁰ Religious writing in Estonian dates from the sixteenth century; a north Estonian grammar from 1637, and a south Estonian grammar from 1648. M. Ojamaa and A. and T. Varmas, Eesti Ajalugu (Stockholm: Eesti Raamat, 1946), p. 423.

¹¹ In the description of his journeys to "Muscovy and Persia", published in 1656, Adam Olearius mentioned his visit to the university in Tartu in 1633, noted the names of its professors, and described the student body: "Die Zahl aber den Studenten was zu unser Zeit noch gar geringe/in dem 10. Schweden und etliche wenig Finnen sich daselbst befunden." (The number of students in our time was about ten. We found some Swedes and a few Finns.) Adam Olearius, Vermehrte Neue Beschreibung Der Muscowitischen vnd Persischen Reyse. 1656. (1656: Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1971), p. 9.

¹² A detailed description of the location, structure, faculty and students of the Academia Gustaviana can be found in Piirimäe, pp. 46-67.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 80-113. The activities of the Academia Gustavo-Carolina are described in detail.

¹⁴ It is thought that approximately twenty percent or 70,000 to 75,000 of the Estonian population of 350,000 died during this period. During the same period, approximately 100,000 to 130,000 people died in Finland and 80,000 to 100,000 in Sweden. Piirimäe, 117.

- 15 Ibid., p. 94.
- 16 Raimo Pullat, ed., Tartu Ajalugu (Tallinn: Kirjastus Eesti Raamat, 1980), p. 134.
- 17 Karl Siilivask, ed., Tartu Ülikooli Ajalugu, Volume 2 (Tallinn: Kirjastus Eesti Raamat, 1982), p. 33.
- 18 Ibid., p. 36.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 The university initially had nine professors and nineteen students. Ibid.
- 21 Parrot's statement, in part:

Teie mõistate, et teie toitjatel on õigus palju enamale kui ainult viletsale elujärjele, et neil on täielik õigus nõuda teie tänulikkust, teie lugupidamisest, meie tänulikkust, meie lugupidamisest.

(You must understand, that those who feed you have the right to much more than just a miserable existence, and that they have every right to demand your thanks and your admiration, our thanks and our admiration.)

Ibid.

- 22 Alexander was on his way to Memel to meet with King Frederick William III and Queen Louise of Prussia on May 29, 1802. Henri Troyat, Alexander of Russia (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1982), p. 77.
- 23 After several subsequent meetings with Parrot in Leningrad. Siilivask, p. 37.
- 24 Ibid., p. 49.
- 25 H. Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1965), p. 343.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 From the ages of six to sixteen. Allen McConnell, Tsar Alexander I (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1970), p. 5.

28 When Alexander was in Paris in 1814, he visited Mme Laharpe, who spoke to him of the enthusiasm with which his virtues inspired the Parisians. Alexander is said to have replied: "If I possess any qualities that please, to whom do I owe them? If there had been no Laharpe, there would have been no Alexander." H.E. Lloyd, Alexander I (London: Treuttel and Würtz, 1826), p. xix.

29 Troyat, p. 8.

30 McConnell, p. 4.

31 Ibid., p. 7.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid., p. 8.

34 Lloyd, p. 30.

35 Alexander took pride in his accomplishment of granting a constitution to the Ionian Islands off the coast of north-western Greece which provided for elected representatives from various classes of society (though not from the peasant class). McConnell, p. 40.

36 Alexander's attitude towards serfdom provides an interesting example. His circle of young friends who made up the Secret Committee all abhorred serfdom. Although Alexander agreed with them in theory, he did little to better the condition of serfs in Russia. And the pleas of Parrot on behalf of the peasants also fell on deaf ears.

37 The Universitas Dorpatensis was not the only university of which Alexander was the patron. He also established three new universities at Kazan (1804), Kharkov (1805), and St. Petersburg (1819), and he endowed them generously. McConnell, p. 42.

38 Siilivask, p. 20.

39 It is interesting to note here how the Finnish experience followed the Estonian one. Finland had become Russian territory in 1809; in 1812 the seat of local government was moved from Turku to Helsinki. Carl Ludwig Engel, the German architect, was invited to come to Helsinki from St. Petersburg (where he was in 1815) and take architectural control of the new capital. The new plan, on orders of Tsar Alexander I, was to have "the object of exhibiting the magnanimity and the civilizing intentions of the new regime." J.M. Richards, A Guide to Finnish Architecture (London: Hugh Evelyn, 1966), p. 49.

Engel spent the remainder of his life in Finland and became its leading architect: his best-known buildings, all in the neo-classical style, are the Senate House (1818-1822), the Main Building, University of Helsinki (1828-1832), the University Library (1836-1845), and the Lutheran Cathedral (1830-1840).

40 Like a Greek temple.

41 Descriptions and illustrations of both the exterior and interior of the university's main building are found in Arman et al., pp. 341-343.

42 Ibid., p. 339.

43 McConnell, p. 157.

44 Ibid., p. 149.

45 E. Baldwin Smith, The Dome (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), pp. 6-7.

46 Alan Gowans, Learning to See (Bowling Green: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1981), p. 123.

47 Germain Bazin, The Baroque (London: Thames & Hudson, 1968), p. 324.

48 Several European universities along with Tartu have retained their old dissecting theatres. Among these are the universities of Uppsala, Paris, and Barcelona. Ibid.

49 Arman et al., p. 343.

50 The choir of the Toomkirik, dating from the fourteenth century, was reconstructed to house the library. Siilivask, p. 49.

51 There is a Canadian parallel, however: Université de Québec à Montreal has installed a library in Bourgeau's St. Jacques Church.

52 Täna on see hoone kirjanduse tempel, täidetud teaduse varaga kõigist inimteadmise harudest...Tumedas minevikus püstitati see koda. Saksa rüütelite rahutud hordid vallutasid selle maa. Kasuahned preestrid järgnesid neile, et kindlustada vallutust. Seda, mida kindlused...ei suutnud, seda pidid templid lõppule viima...Praegune asutus...kuulutab rahu ja mõtlemisvabadust...kõik teadusalad on avatud

uurijaile ja utel valgustuspreestritel on ainsaks...sihiks see, kuidas kergendada liigipääsu nende juurde.

Siilivask (p. 50) is quoting from E. Vigel, Tartu Ülikooli Teadusliku Raamatukogu asutamine ja areng aastail 1802-1839 (Tartu: TRU Toimetised, 1962), pp. 8, 12.

53 Siilivask, p. 61.

54 There was an instance of a peasant's son called Philipp Jürgenson who was enrolled in the university's faculty of philosophy without the written permission of his landlord. When he was ready to graduate, his status as serf did not allow him to receive a diploma. After a long period of bureaucratic delays, the situation finally resolved itself when all Livonian serfs were freed in 1819. Ibid.

55 George Heard Hamilton, The Art and Architecture of Russia (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1954), p. 211.

56 Quoted by Hamilton, p. 204; source F.F. Vigel, Zapiski I (Moscow 1864-5), p. 180; also Brumfield, p. 298.

57 Helmi Üprus, Tallinn 1825 (Tallinn: Kirjastus Kunst, 1965), p. 8.

58 Arman et al., p. 87. The Estonian expression used is "fassaadi poliitika".

59 Ibid., p. 336; also MacMillan Encyclopedia of Architects 2, s.v. "Carl Ludwig Engel," by J.M. Richards.

60 Arman et al., pp. 335-336.

61 The influential presence in Russia of the German baronial overseers from the Baltic provinces led to the following incident: Tsar Alexander I wanted to honor an aristocrat and asked him to choose a new rank. The man asked to be redesignated "a German". James H. Billington, The Icon and the Axe (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), p. 307, based on I. Golovin, La Russie Sous Nicholas Ier, 1845, p. 131.

CHAPTER X
KÖRTS (ROADSIDE INN)

The beginning of the nineteenth century in Estonia saw the evolution of a building type that was characterized by an unusual combination of architectural elements. Erected along major thoroughfares connecting the larger towns, the Estonian kõrts or roadside inn (Fig. 59) was a unique fusion of the traditional farmhouse and the neo-classical manor. Built by indigenous workmen, financed by wealthy landowners, the kõrts retained its kinship with the humble rehielamu while presenting a distinguished façade to the traveller. Its colonnade of white pillars and its impressive size served to proclaim its relationship to the lordly manor, and also made it a visual metaphor of evolving capitalism in Estonia.

A fundamental change in economic factors governing the livelihood of the estate owners led to the proliferation of roadside inns during this era. The turn of the century had seen a weakening in the price of grain¹ which had been a staple Estonian crop for many centuries. The landlords needed new sources of income to finance their operations; they consequently diversified and began to raise sheep and grow potatoes in large quantities. They also began to distill "corn brandy"² on their estates on a larger scale than before; this they marketed successfully to the

peasants, and also sold to St. Petersburg. Trade with the Russian city increased; the roads became busier with travellers, and the establishment of a network of inns along the maantees or highways fulfilled a variety of practical need for proprietor and customer alike.

Village pubs had existed prior to the development of this new building type; they served as gathering places for the inhabitants of the loosely knit Estonian villages and were usually housed in dwellings. The new roadhouses continued to serve this social purpose, but in addition, provided accommodation for the traveller and for his horses as well.

The roadside kõrts was easily identifiable by a feature that was immediately visible from a distance, a row of columns³ on that side of the building which faced the highway. (It is interesting to note that in some instances where the inn had been built at a cross-roads,⁴ the building was "L"-shaped with a pillared "façade" facing both of the intersecting roads (Fig. 60).) The row of pillars usually ran the length of the central part of the building containing the kõrtsituba or "pub-room" and the saksakambrid⁵ or "sleeping-rooms". Modest inns might have a row of four unadorned wooden posts, while more sumptuous hostelries had a row of up to ten "Doric" columns complete with capital and base. The outside wall of the central part of the building was recessed, and the row of pillars allowed

for the creation of a kind of covered porch.

While the most obvious characteristic borrowed from the manor houses was no doubt this façade of pseudo-classical origin, the roadside kõrts also resembled the estate mansion in its symmetrical horizontality and its impressive scale. Some inns, for example, the one at Viitna, were over sixty meters long, equal in length to one of the most impressive of nineteenth century manor houses, Riisipere Mõis (Fig. 58).

However, despite the borrowings from the grand estates, the kõrts was more closely related to the basic Estonian farmhouse than to any other building type. Utility had dictated the basic components of the rehielamu, and many of these were incorporated in the roadside inn (Fig. 61). The centrally located massive stone chimney, the high hipped roof, the small windows,⁶ and the covered porch all spoke of a kinship with the farmhouse. Even the large enclosed spaces were repeated: while one wing of the rehielamu contained the rehealune or threshing-barn, the wings of the kõrts contained spacious stables. Usually an inn would have two separate areas⁷ for quartering horses, one at either end of the building: the larger one would accommodate the peasant and his team, the smaller one would shelter the horses belonging to the upper-class traveller (who himself would sleep in the saksa-kamber).

Although the körts had taken much from the indigenous Estonian farmhouse type, it had pretensions of grandeur as indicated by its unusual size and its unique façade. It was a venture into capitalism by the landed class; new enterprises needed to be started as traditional sources of income were being weakened. In its entrepreneurial aspect the roadside inn is related to the bruk,⁸ the little industrial village that developed on the estate of the landed class in the mining or timber districts of eighteenth-century Sweden. On the other hand, the körts, its humble origins dressed up with a brave face to the world of travellers, also has a North American parallel: the modest store, tavern, or hotel of the western frontier, graced by the ubiquitous false front, that too tried to entice the passerby to part with his money.

FOOTNOTES

¹ M. Ojamaa and A. and T. Varmas, Eesti Ajalugu (Stockholm: Eesti Raamat, 1946), p. 199.

² The "corn brandy" was actually a type of vodka. Evald Uustalu, The History of the Estonian People (London: Boreas, 1952), p. 115. Potatoes later replaced the use of grain for this purpose.

³ In some instances, the façade consisted of a row of round arches, e.g. Igavere Kõrts. Bernard Kangro and Valev Uibopuu, eds., Meie Maa, Kesk-Eesti (Lund: Eesti Kirjanike Kooperatiiv, 1957), p. 131.

⁴ Examples of the "L"-shaped inn were found at Koeru and Simuna. H. Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1965), p. 374.

⁵ Saksa-kambrid literally means "Germans' chambers". The word saks was used by the Estonian peasant when referring to a German. Emmanuel Nodel, Estonia: Nation on the Anvil (New York: Bookman Associates, 1963), p. 98. In twentieth-century Estonian, the word is still colloquially and somewhat ironically used to denote a person of higher social status.

⁶ As the century wore on, the windows increased in size.

⁷ Some inns had stables at only one end of the building, e.g. Audru Kõrts. Arman et al., p. 377.

⁸ Thomas Paulsson, Scandinavian Architecture (Newton, Massachusetts: Charles T. Branford Co., 1959), p. 174.

CHAPTER XI

THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CATHEDRAL OF ALEXANDER NEVSKI, TALLINN

High above the old city, dominating the skyline of modern Tallinn, and indeed disturbing it, stands the Russian Orthodox Cathedral of Alexander Nevski (Fig. 62). The impression that it gives of domination is, in truth, deliberate: in the appeal of the building committee we read that it "was not to be envisaged as a house of God but as a demonstration of Russian power to be seen from the land and from the sea."¹ The church was in fact a product of the same wave of Pan-Slavism that put the Uspenski Cathedral on the waterfront in Helsinki, and the Church of the Saviour of the Blood² in what hitherto had been Russia's face to the world, St. Petersburg.

Built "on the finest site in Tallinn,"³ its mass of red brick masonry embellished with elaborate yellow plaster mouldings and topped by five green onion-shaped cupolas,⁴ the Alexander Nevski Cathedral is unmistakably the visual metaphor of an increasingly possessive Russian presence. Although the Church (first the Catholic, then the Lutheran) had been used as a tool of colonization in Estonia since the thirteenth century, the use of the Russian Orthodox Church as a vehicle of subjugation had its origins in the 1840's.

The nineteenth century had been an era of significant social change. Alexander I had technically freed the

Estonian and Livonian serfs in 1816 and 1819, but in actual fact there was little immediate improvement in the peasants' living conditions. Dispossessed of the land that he had held on long lease or hereditary tenure, the talupoeg lost in security what he had gained in freedom and continued to hunger for land of his own. In the late 1830's rumors⁵ began to circulate that the Tsar would distribute "a soul's acre" of land in Central Russia to any peasant of Orthodox faith. Peasants trudged to Riga by the hundreds and demanded to be put on the list for land; the authorities were frightened by the idea of a general exodus, and when peasants offered resistance to the military at Pühajarv in September, 1841, the Russians used force. Hundreds were arrested, many were killed, others were tried and sent to Siberia.⁶

However, this experience did not change the conviction of the peasants in the ultimate help of the Russian government and Russian Church. And indeed, the Russians changed their position and began to proselytize actively under Bishop Philarete of Riga. As a result, between 1845 and 1848 thousands of Estonian peasants joined the Russian Orthodox Church. However, the talupoeg continued to work on land that he did not own; in fact, it took more than twenty years (1847-1868) to change from the manorial to the rental system in Estonia and northern Livonia. To escape the conditions in the countryside, many actually emigrated to southern Russia, while others moved into towns and were

absorbed into the rapidly expanding industrial labour force.⁷

The spirit of irredentist nationalism, so characteristic of the middle years of the nineteenth century, affected Estonia also, and led to an interest in the Estonian language,⁸ customs, and folk literature.⁹ Educational opportunities improved slowly, the first newspapers written in Estonian appeared, and the great singing festival of 1869 all contributed to the growth of patriotism.¹⁰

Inevitably, there was a Russian reaction, since nationalism had been growing in Russia too: in Estonia, it resulted in a sharp change in the policy of the Russians toward the Baltic provinces. Since 1710, they had dealt gently with the Baltic German ruling class for two reasons: there was no educated class in Russia that could assume the civil service duties in Estonia and Livonia, and there had been no strong feelings of Russian nationalism. But by 1880, these checks had been removed: the reforms of Nicholas I and Alexander II had led to the formation of a Russian administrative class, the chinovniki, and the Pan-Slav movement had become a dominant force in St. Petersburg.¹¹

One of the chief figures in Pan-Slavism was Constantin Pobedonostsev, a noted jurist, former tutor to Alexander III and now Procurator of the Holy Synod. He believed that the Russian Empire should be built on a triple base of Russian culture, Orthodox religion and tsarist autocracy.¹² When

Alexander II was assassinated and Alexander III ascended the throne, Pobedonostsev's beliefs were put into action. N.A. Manassein, a Russian Senator, was sent as an emissary to the Baltic provinces: in his 1884 report to the Tsar, he concluded that the political power of the German Baltic nobility had left the peasants of Estonia and Latvia practically helpless.¹³ The hopes that the Manassein report raised among the peasants were quickly dashed when Alexander III used the findings as reason for abolishing local autonomy in Estonia and Livonia. Perhaps the Tsar was already aware that the growing nationalism among Estonians and Latvians could present as great a threat to the Russian state as the entrenched power of the Baltic-German elite.

The changes came quickly. In 1885, all schools were placed under the Russian Ministry of Education; two years later Russian was made the language of instruction.¹⁴ In 1893, the university in Tartu was closed and reopened as the Universitas Yurievensis; all lectures except those in the faculty of theology had to be delivered in Russian.¹⁵ Russian civil servants were imported as well to ensure that all governmental transactions took place in the Russian language.¹⁶

The Russian Orthodox Church became an increasingly important tool in the energetic russification process. Despite some success at proselytizing in the 1840's, the proportion of Orthodox church members among Estonians

remained small, and Lutheranism, now promoted more vigorously by the Baltic Germans, continued to gain adherents. In the Livonian province, where more peasants had joined the Orthodox Church during the earlier period, harsh measures¹⁷ were taken against them if they were discovered bringing up their children as Protestants; in the Estonian province, subtler means of social pressure and economic reward were used. The new Governor-General in Estonia, Count Schachovsky, gained large funds for the building of churches and schools, and succeeded in founding eighteen new Orthodox communities between 1893 and 1903; among his accomplishments was the laying of the cornerstone of the Russian Orthodox Cathedral in Tallinn.

Designed by a Professor Preobrazhensky, and built between 1894 and 1900, the Alexander Nevski Cathedral is decidedly Russian in appearance. It was one of the few buildings in Estonia built in the Russian Byzantine style,¹⁸ and there is no doubt that it was erected as a "Symbol der Zarenmacht."¹⁹ Since its incorporation in the the Russian Empire in 1721, the architecture of Estonia had been strongly affected, in many ways determined, by the philosophy and policy of the ruler in Russia. But prior to the latter part of the nineteenth century, the styles favored had been variants of the baroque. The grandest and most dogmatic architectural monuments are erected when the power structures they represent are most seriously under attack.²⁰

And so, although some attempt at creating a national style had been evident in the erection of the colossal Church of the Redeemer in Moscow, begun in 1839, it was not until the second half of Alexander II's reign that reactionary Pan-Slavism became the official ideology of tsarist Russia.²¹ During this period, the neo-classical capital of the Russian Duchy of Finland, Helsinki, received its Russian imprint with the erection of the Uspenski Orthodox Cathedral by A.N. Gornostajeff (1868).²² Nationalist tendencies became increasingly evident under the rule of Alexander III, and the capital of Estonia, Tallinn, was also given a distinctly Russian stamp.

The Alexander Nevski Cathedral is unlike any other structure in Tallinn. The skyline of the city, to this day, is dominated by its acropolis, historically, the high-walled enclave of feudal privilege containing the medieval fortress of Toompea, the Toomkirik, and the solid, pastel-hued houses of the nobility. All these structures were erected to establish and entrench the privileged German minority that had, since the fourteenth century, administered this Baltic province as a personal fief. On Toompea Hill, above the steep, angled roofs of the houses and the long, horizontal lines of the castle walls, one sees rising the bulbous thrust of the five cupolas of the Russian Orthodox Cathedral (Fig. 63). In its colors, red, green, and yellow, in its building material, brick, and above all, in its

architectural mass of round towers, ogee arches, and cluster of domes around a massive cupola, the structure proclaims its distinct heritage. When one also takes into account its location on Toompea Hill, and remembers that the only other church on the acropolis is the fourteenth century Toomkirik, one realizes the strength of the architectural statement. Like the Church of the Saviour on the Blood (also known as the Church of the Resurrection)(1883-1907) in Leningrad, the Cathedral of Alexander Nevski in Tallinn is "an unusually arrogant instance of Slavophilism."²³

There is little doubt that the general conviction that led to the construction of the Alexander Nevski Cathedral was the same that had led to the building of the Church of the Saviour of the Blood (Fig. 64). Although the latter was built on the spot where Tsar Alexander II had been assassinated in 1881, and was dedicated to his memory, its larger purpose was to strengthen the ties that bound nineteenth century Russia to its colorful, glorious past. Its arrangement of domes around a central pyramidal tower is strongly reminiscent of the architecture of St. Basil's Cathedral (1555-1560) in Moscow, built by Tsar Ivan the Terrible²⁴ to celebrate his conquest of the Kazan in 1552.²⁵ This victory opened to Russia the way to advance across the Urals and into Siberia, and was an integral step in the establishment of the Russian Empire. The Russian Orthodox Cathedral in Tallinn was named after Alexander Nevski, the hero of

another, even earlier, legendary battle. For it was Alexander Nevski, Prince of Novgorod, who had stopped the advance of the Teutonic Knights in their "Drang nach Osten" by defeating them in a crushing battle on the ice of Lake Peipsi in 1242. This battle came to be known in Russian historical tradition as "the massacre on the ice"²⁶ and has long been celebrated in song and story.²⁷

Both churches struck architecturally jarring notes in their respective cities: the Church of the Saviour on the Blood disturbing "the classical serenity of St. Petersburg,"²⁸ and Alexander Nevski upsetting the medieval harmony of the old walled city of Tallinn. Both are architectural monuments that impress their Russian-ness upon their surroundings, that evoke memories of a heroic past, rooted in colorful legends, religious fervor, and the Russians' own sense of manifest destiny.

The purpose for building the Russian Orthodox Cathedral of Alexander Nevski on the high slopes of Toompea is abundantly clear:²⁹ it was to leave a visible, forceful stamp on the colony, indicating to all that it was and would remain a Russian fief.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Arthur Vööbus, Studies in the History of the Estonian People, 4 vols. (Stockholm: Estonian Theological Society in Exile, 1974) 3:247, quotes from the work of K. Tiisik, Istoriia Revelskago Preobrashenskago Sobora (Reval, 1896), p. 228.

² Also known as the Church of the Resurrection of Christ, designed by A. A. Parland.

³ J. Hampden Jackson, Estonia (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1941), p. 112.

⁴ It is curious to note that this church served as inspiration for a picture by the Canadian artist David Milne (1882-1953) who, in 1942, painted a work entitled Snow on Bethlehem. The painting was one of three Canadian works used as designs for Christmas stamps in 1984. Milne explained that he saw a newspaper picture of a church in Tallinn while he was executing his painting, and he was inspired by its architecture. (Denis Masse, La Philatélie, La Presse, 3 novembre 1984). Milne's work is obviously a fantasy, "mais c'était un peintre, un fantaisiste, qui ne se laissait pas intimider par la stricte observance de la réalité." (Masse, La Philatélie, La Presse, 1er décembre, 1984.)

⁵ Emmanuel Nodel, Estonia: Nation on the Anvil (New York: Bookman Associates, 1963), pp. 42-43; Jackson, p. 94; Evald Uustalu, The History of the Estonian People (London: Boreas, 1952), p. 108.

⁶ Jackson, p. 94.

⁷ The ancient guilds with their exclusive apprenticeship regulations were abolished in 1866, along with the ban preventing Estonians from officially living inside city walls. Ibid., p. 100.

⁸ Initially, it was a group of German clergymen who became interested in the Estonian language; this led to the founding of the Estonian Learned Society, subsequently an influential force in the nationalism movement. Nodel, p. 57; Uustalu, p. 121.

⁹ Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald, an Estonian peasant's son who had Germanized his original name Widri Roin Ristmets, was one of the few Estonian students at the University of Tartu. Though he became a country doctor, he is best remembered for gathering Estonian narrative folksongs, tying them together into a coherent whole, and

thus creating the Estonian epic, Kalevipoeg. Jackson, pp. 101-102; Nodel, pp. 61-65; Uustalu, p. 121.

¹⁰ J.W. Jannsen started the first Estonian newspaper, Pärnu Postimees, and went on to launch the first Estonian singing festival to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of liberation from serfdom. The gathering of nearly 900 people was probably the largest assembly of Estonians to have met for a peaceful purpose. Jackson, p. 106.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 110-111.

¹² Ibid., p. 110; M. Ojamaa and A. and T. Varmas, Eesti Ajalugu (Stockholm: Eesti Raamat, 1946), p. 251; Edward C. Thaden, Russification in the Baltic Provinces and Finland, 1855-1914 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 67; James A. Billington, The Icon and the Axe (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), p. 395.

¹³ Uustalu, p. 136; Nodel, pp. 115-116; Ojamaa and Varmas, p. 252.

¹⁴ Even in private schools, Russian had to be used. The forced process of russification resulted in the deterioration of education rather than in its improvement, for many schools were forced to close because there were not enough teachers who could use the language. Nodel, p. 116.

¹⁵ The character of the university changed dramatically: in 1880, there were 790 students of Baltic origin enrolled and 295 students from Russia; by 1900, Baltic students number 445 and Russian, 1,335. Bernard Kangro and Valev Uibopuu, eds., Meie Maa, Kesk-Eesti (Lund: Eesti Kirjanike Kooperatiiv, 1957), p. 175.

The composition of the faculty was altered even more significantly: in 1889, 8.7% of the professors were Russian or Ukrainian and 86.9% were German; by 1915, 72.8% were Russian or Ukrainian and 17% were German. Karl Siilivask, Tartu Ülikooli Ajalugu, 1798-1918 (Tallinn: Kirjastus Eesti Raamat, 1982), 2:272.

¹⁶ The only kind of organization tolerated by the Russians was the temperance movement. As a result, the Karskuse Sõber (Friend of Temperance) spread all over the country, and under the guise of fighting alcoholism, kept the nationalist Estonian spirit alive by organizing social and cultural events. Villem Reiman, an Estonian graduate of the University of Tartu (1887) was the heart of this organization. He had also been a member of the Eesti Üliõpilaste Selts (Estonian Student Society), which played a role in the national awakening. Nodel, pp. 113-114; Uustalu,

pp. 142-143; 145-146.

17 They were punished by prison sentences and their children were handed over to Orthodox families to be raised. Uustalu, p. 137; Jackson, p. 113.

18 The one area of Estonia where Russian architectural influence is strong is the westernmost province of Petseri on the Russian border.

19 E. Rácz and G. Bereczki, Estland (Leipzig: Koehler and Amelang, 1977), p. 63;

Zur Zeit des starken russischen Einflusses um die Jahrhundertwende (1894-1900) wurde auf dem Domberg als Symbol der Zarenmacht die Alexander-Newski Kathedrale erbaut. Umfang und Anlage der Kathedrale bestimmen einen bedeutenden Teil des Stadtbildes, in dem der byzantinische Stil der Zweibelturme einen Vollig fremden Eindruck erweckt.

(During the time of strong Russian influence around the turn of the century [1894-1900] the Alexander Nevski Cathedral was built on Toompea as a symbol of the might of the Tsar. The extent and layout of the Cathedral determine a significant portion of the city's panorama in that the onion domes in the Byzantine style make an entirely foreign impression.)

20 Estonia was seething with unrest during the decade preceding the 1905 revolution. Consequently, the strike on January 9, 1905, in St. Petersburg spilled quickly into the Baltic States. In Estonia, violence continued sporadically throughout the year; Germans were terrorized and killed by Estonians, their grand manor houses were burned and their granaries and agricultural equipment destroyed. Ultimately, the uprisings were quelled by the combined forces of the Russian army, the police, and the volunteers from the Baltic German nobility. However, there was a great change in the aspirations of the Ritterschaft: they realized that their age-old role as the ruling cultural and economic elite was ended, and by requesting reforms of the Russians, they wished to save what they could of their former position of privilege. Nodel, pp. 135-159.

21 Billington, p. 396.

22 J.M. Richards, Eight Hundred Years of Finnish Architecture (London: David & Charles, 1978), pp. 80, 82-83.

23 George Heard Hamilton, The Art and Architecture of Russia (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1954), p. 257.

24 It was the reign of predecessor, Ivan III, from 1462-1505 that has been considered as the appanage period and the beginning of a new age in Russian history, that of Muscovite Russia. Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, A History of Russia (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 113.

25 Hamilton, p. 131.

26 Riasanovsky, p. 87.

27 Obvious examples are Serge Prokofiev's Cantata, Alexander Nevsky (1938) and Eisenstein's celebrated film of the same name.

28 Hamilton, p. 257.

29 During the period of Estonian independence (1918-1941) there was a movement among ultranationalists to tear the building down. (Rácz and Bereczki, p. 63). This was never done, in part, perhaps, because the President of the Republic, Konstantin Päts, was a member of the Russian Orthodox Church and his brother was an Orthodox priest. (It is interesting to note that during this period the Poles tore down the Russian Cathedral in Warsaw as the symbol of a hated past. Jackson, p. 171.)

CHAPTER XII

RANNAHOTELL (BEACH HOTEL), PÄRNU

On the white sandy beach of the Gulf of Pärnu, where the summer water temperatures can rise to 26 degrees Celsius, and the summer nights never truly darken, the government of the young republic of Estonia built a modern resort facility, the Rannahotell (Beach Hotel)(Fig. 65). Constructed in 1937, its stated purpose was to help establish the old port city of Pärnu as a kurort and vacation spot, not only for Estonians, but also for vacationers from all over northern Europe.¹ However, the fact that the government chose to build a hotel, as well as the structure's contemporary design and superb utilization of site, indicates a broader purpose.

After centuries of oppression, the leaders of the new republic wished to have their country take its place among other modern industrialized nations of the western world.² They wished to provide employment and to attract people from beyond Estonia's borders not only to strengthen the economy but also to show that the country was now part of the twentieth century. They wished to establish an egalitarian society in which hereditary privilege did not exist and where minority rights were respected,³ they wished to improve the lives of its citizens by providing them with educational, cultural and leisure facilities. In short, one could say that they wished to create an ideal world.

It is not surprising that, after seven centuries of foreign rule, Estonian leaders should have had such bold aspirations when independence finally came. The period of national awakening during the nineteenth and early twentieth century had been slow and painful,⁴ full of setbacks and disappointments.⁵ The first political victory of the native bourgeoisie in 1904⁶ was followed by a period of violent upheaval: riots by Estonians against Baltic Germans,⁷ repressions by Tsarist troops,⁸ a provisional government and autonomy in 1917, but German occupation in 1918. This was succeeded by the invasion of the Red Army in 1918, the subsequent Estonian Vabadussõda (War of Liberation)⁹ and finally, in 1920, a formal recognition by Russia of Estonian sovereignty and a renunciation of all claims to Estonian territory "voluntarily and for ever."¹⁰

The birth of a nation is never an easy process, and Estonia in its evolution toward a modern democratic state, encountered its share of difficulties. The instability caused by twenty coalition governments between 1919 and 1933, an attempted coup by the Estonian Communist Party in 1924, and a growing threat from the ultra-right in 1933 led to the "authoritarian democracy"¹¹ of Konstantin Päts and his benign, paternalistic rule which lasted until 1940.

Despite the growing pains, political instability, and great economic difficulties faced by Estonian leaders, there is evidence that, from the time of the birth of the

republic, the aim of these leaders was to make the country a better place for the mass of its citizens. In a land where almost all indigenous people had been peasants, where, until 1868, the manorial system had flourished, and where nearly everyone was still, at most, one generation removed from the land, agrarian reform had to be a priority.¹² Also, since a healthy economic future depended on developing an export market to western Europe, industrial policies were aimed at creating new industries based on local raw materials. These efforts met with limited success, although the creation of an oil shale industry in Estonia turned out to be the republic's most significant industrial achievement.¹³

Social and cultural programs were also aimed at bettering general living conditions: great improvements were made in the area of social welfare, in medical care, and in education. Schooling at all levels was extended and improved, and the University of Tartu, evacuated to Russia in 1916, was re-opened on December 1, 1919.¹⁴ A cultural fund set up in 1925 helped artists, writers, musicians, and actors work in their chosen fields by indirectly supplementing their income.

But it was in the Constitution of 1920 that the idealism of the early legislators was most evident: universal suffrage for everyone over twenty, proportional representation for political parties, provisions for a popular referendum, protection for the

rights of ethnic minorities,¹⁵ a fair indemnity for those who served in the Riigikogu (Parliament)--all these rights were evidence of the values entrenched in the document. The principles espoused were aimed against privilege of class, wealth, age, sex, religion, or ethnic origin.¹⁶

As often happens,, bright ideals are soon tarnished by the grubby reality of the world of men as it exists. Governments fell in quick succession, the economic situation was critical, and the need for a leader with strong powers became increasingly evident. Pãts, who became leader, and his ally, Jaan Laidoner,¹⁷ "had no liking for the harsh necessity of ruling as dictators."¹⁸ They repressed the extreme right which they feared, and continued to promote programs which in their eyes could benefit the country and the people. And despite continuing financial problems faced by the state, facilities were built for housing, for schools, and for recreation, of which the Rannahotell¹⁹ in Pãrnu is an outstanding example.

Pãrnu had been a summer resort since 1837, and by the 1930's already had many of the attractions that could draw an international clientele: aside from the natural attributes of warm water, sandy beaches, and comfortable temperatures, one could enjoy the theatre, the beach caf e, the curative mud-baths, and more than fifty kilometers of tree-lined paths. The sheltered coast of the Gulf of Pãrnu seemed an ideal place to locate an up-to-date resort, a

twentieth-century facility that would announce the emergence of Estonia as a modern European state, taking its place in the community of nations.²⁰

Designed by O. Siinmaa and A. Soans, and built in 1937, the long, low lines of the Rannahotell evoke no kinship with the past. Rather, its stark design reveals a direct relationship with the work of those architects who had "broken with the past and accepted the machine-age with all its implications."²¹ In the retrospect of the 1980's it would seem that the Rannahotell's designers picked an admirable model; nowadays Alvar Aalto is highly regarded as perhaps one of the greatest of the Moderns and it was his sanatorium at Paimio (Fig. 66) which seems to have had the greatest influence on the Rannahotell.²²

But maybe it was not only aesthetic perspicacity that influenced the choice of model; Estonia and Finland had always been close, bound by geography, history,²³ culture²⁴ and language.²⁵ Prominent Finnish architects, among them Eliel Saarinen and Armas Lindgren²⁶ had designed several important projects in Estonia since the turn of the century. Even Aalto himself prepared a design for the Tallinn Art Museum²⁷ in 1937, a low flat-roofed asymmetrical building that incorporated a courtyard, skylights, and the use of pilotis.

Aalto and other leaders of Modernism in the 1930's were all utopians of sorts, concerned with seeking a new way of

life through their architecture which emphasized technology, industrialization, and a machine aesthetic. They were the architects who were intent on creating a new world. Le Corbusier stated in La Ville Radieuse (1935) that he himself had created "the prototype of the class-less society."²⁸ And although Gropius had officially banned all political activity at the Bauhaus, there is little doubt that the institution stood for a kind of "collectivist utopianism."²⁹ The new style with its dramatic break with the past was "eminently suitable for a large anonymous clientele,"³⁰ and it is not surprising that it was adopted by Aalto for the Paimio Sanatorium.³¹

With its open plan of various wings branching off in different directions, the Paimio Sanatorium is reminiscent of Gropius' Bauhaus building at Dessau, one of the most famous prototypes of Modernism. The form of the hospital was decided by its concrete frame and structure, as well as by the provision of balconies to catch the greatest amount of northern sunlight. It was "Aalto's boldest interpretation of the 'new architecture,'"³² and the Rannahotell catches that spirit.

Prior to the Rannahotell, Siinmaa and Soans had worked on a variety of projects³³ and had already demonstrated their familiarity with contemporary trends in northern Europe. The hotel's open plan with asymmetrical wings (Fig. 67) is undoubtedly inspired by Aalto's sanatorium

(Fig. 68), as is the careful placement of balconies facing the beach, designed to take best advantage of sun and sea. The flat roofs and light color of both buildings are obvious characteristics of the International Style, as are the triple windows forming horizontal bands of glass. In his Paimio design, Aalto considered the kind of personal contact advantageous for hospital patients; in the Rannahotell spacious vestibules have been incorporated to enhance the possibility of social interaction. Had the Paimio Sanatorium been built according to its original plan of four stories,³⁴ the horizontality of both structures would be another striking common characteristic.

With the Rannahotell, Estonian Modernism opted for Rational Functionalism over its rival Romantic Nationalism³⁵ (not entirely for the good, one might say today). But monumental architecture is the creation of the establishment that governs a society. The reasons for a structure go beyond its practical function; they include a social function. The government of the reluctant dictator,³⁶ Konstantin Päts, wanted to build a better society and to proclaim Estonia independent of its many foreign rulers of the past. Most of the architectural works promoted during the period of Estonian independence were designed to serve the mass of the Estonian people. However, the Rannahotell, designed to attract a foreign as well as a local clientele, was not just a statement made to Estonians; it was a state-

ment to the international community of nations made in a new, international language: here was a new country that had broken the heavy bonds of history and proclaimed its status as a twentieth century nation. The world would see that it was progressive in its outlook, caring about its people, and striving to become a truly modern, democratic state.³⁷ Here, on the beach of Parnu on white summer nights, one could walk the sandy shore, feel the soft sea-breeze, hear the lap of warm waters, and glimpse a little bit of paradise.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Hanno Kompus, Picturesque Estonia, ed. Max Edelberg (Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzel, 1937), p. 96.

² Already in 1905, Gustav Suits, the central figure of the literary group Young Estonia, had summarized an outward-looking cultural program: "More culture! More European culture! Let us be Estonians, but let us also try to become Europeans!" Oskar Loorits, "The Renascence of the Estonian Nation," The Slavonic and East European Review, no. 33 (1954-1955), p. 42.

³ Article XXI of the Constitution of 1920 provided ethnic minorities in Estonia with "the right to set up 'autonomous institutions for the conservation and development of their national culture.'" J. Hampden Jackson, Estonia (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1941), p. 162.

⁴ Spontaneous riots had occurred against the landed gentry in the 1840's and 1850's at Pühajarve, Rapina, Vastseliina, Karula, Mahtra, etc. but they had lacked organization and leadership, and came to nothing. Loorits, p. 29.

⁵ For example, although funds to establish the first all-Estonian secondary school, the Alexander School, were collected for more than twenty years, they were ultimately used to build a Russian school instead in 1888. Jackson, p. 114; Evald Uustalu, The History of the Estonian People (London: Boreas, 1952), p. 133.

⁶ Estonians gained control of Tallinn's city council under the leadership of lawyer and newspaper editor Konstantin Päts. Jackson, p. 116; Uustalu, p. 146.

⁷ The 1905 Revolution in St. Petersburg spilled over into the Baltic States, releasing the pent-up fury of Estonians. One hundred and eighty-four manor houses were destroyed and 82 Baltic Germans killed. Georg Von Rauch, The Baltic States, trans. Gerald Onn (London: C. Hurst and Co., 1974), pp. 14-15.

⁸ Russian troops were aided by Baltic-German volunteers in quelling the disorders. Estonian farmhouses were burned, 328 Estonians were executed and many others sent to Siberia. Encyclopedia Britannica, 1962 ed., s.v. "Estonia".

⁹ For a time, more than one-half of Estonia's territory was occupied by the Red Army. The Estonian army (at its peak 86,600 men) made up of thousands of volunteers, supported by

2,000 volunteers from Finland, reinforcements from Denmark and Sweden, and naval and armament help from Great Britain, eventually succeeded in routing the Russian forces. Emmanuel Nodel, Estonia: Nation on the Anvil (New York: Bookman Associates, 1963), p. 171.

¹⁰ Quoted by Jackson, p. 146. Article II of the Peace Treaty reads as follows:

In consequence of the right of all peoples to self-determination, to the point of seceding completely from the State of which they form a part, a right proclaimed by the Socialist and Federal Russian Republic of the Soviets, Russia unreservedly recognizes the independence and autonomy of the State of Estonia, and renounces voluntarily and for ever all rights of sovereignty possessed by Russia over the Estonian people and territory.

¹¹ Rauch, p. 154.

¹² The Land Reform Act of 1919 nationalized 1,149 large (average size, 5,211 acres) mainly Baltic-German estates, and the dispossessed owners were compensated. Although there were complaints of injustice, by 1939 more than 88,000 new independent land holdings had been created. Jackson, p. 155; Uustalu, p. 210; Encyclopedia Britannica, 1962 ed., s.v. "Estonia".

¹³ Jackson, pp. 198-199.

¹⁴ Peeter Põld in the position of Curator supervised the re-opening of the university as an Estonian institution. Initial enrolment was 347; peak enrolment during the period of independence was 4,726 (1926). Bernard Kangro and Valev Uibopuu, Meie Maa, Kesk-Eesti (Lund: Eesti Kirjanike Kooperatiiv, 1957), 3:176.

¹⁵ The population of Estonia in 1922 was 1,107,508, of which approximately 87.7% were Estonians, 8.2% Russians, 1.7% Germans, and 0.7% Swedes. Jackson, p. 163.

¹⁶ Pääts' idealism is also revealed in his choice of language for an address in 1933 on the topic of disarmament: to show his impartiality, he chose to speak in Latin. (Source: The Estonians: For the Record, produced by Estofilm, Canada, 1984.)

¹⁷ General Laidoner had been commander of the Estonian Army during the War of Liberation.

¹⁸ Jackson, p. 201, quoting the Manchester Guardian.

¹⁹ Among other resort facilities built or enhanced were Haapsalu, Narvajõesu and Piritu. H. Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1965), p. 437.

²⁰ Estonia had become a member of The League of Nations in 1921. Uustalu, p. 194; Jackson, p. 146.

²¹ Nikolaus Pevsner, An Outline of European Architecture, 7th ed. (London: Pelican, 1963), p. 401.

²² Paimio was an example of rationalist architecture. Aalto soon moved beyond that phase: already in 1935 he had "admitted that 'objects which can with justification be called "rational" lacked an essential "human quality"'. " Malcolm Quantrill, Alvar Aalto (London: Secker & Warburg, 1983), p. 241. In his summary analysis of the whole of Aalto's work, Quantrill goes on to say that one of the three factors regarding authenticity in architecture as evidenced by Aalto was "an appreciative awareness of the immediate (and related) traditions within a society." Ibid., p. 246. Perhaps it is this factor, in part, upon which his reputation is based.

Giedion in his Space, Time and Architecture (first published, 1940) cited Aalto's sanatorium as one of the three great buildings of the Modern movement, the others being the Bauhaus (1926) by Gropius and the League of Nations Building (1927) by Le Corbusier. Siegfried Giedion, Space, Time and Architecture, 5th ed. enl. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), p. 629.

²³ Both Finland and Estonia had been under Swedish and later Russian domination. Konstantin Päts, under sentence of death in Estonia, had spent three years (1906-1909) in exile in Finland. In 1940, after Estonia had been occupied by the Russians and incorporated into the Soviet Union, and Päts was a virtual prisoner, he wrote what has been called his "political testament", a short, ten-point program outlining a proposal of political union with Finland. Both countries would retain control over internal affairs, but would have a joint Prime Minister, External Affairs Minister, Minister of War, and Minister of Finance. Korp! Fraternitas Estica, Konstantin Päts (Eskilstuna, 1974), p. 101.

²⁴ The inspiration for the Estonian national epic, Kalevipoeg, came from the Finnish Kalevala. Kalevipoeg was

actually first published in Finland in 1862, together with a German translation, under the auspices of the Estonian Learned Society. Nodel, p. 62.

25 Estonian and Finnish both belong to the Finno-Ugric family of languages and are very similar.

26 Saarinen had designed an impressive plan for re-organizing the centre of Tallinn, which was never implemented. Lindgren's plans for the Vanemuise Theatre in Tartu (1906) and the massive Estonia theatre complex in Tallinn (1909-1913) were both realized. Arman et al., pp. 406, 413, 417.

27 Aalto's plans were never executed. For illustration and description, see Quantrill, p. 75.

28 Le Corbusier was an admirer of Tony Garnier's concept, Un Cité Industrielle (1901-1904?). Garnier believed that his industrial city would create a community that had no need for churches, law courts, police stations or jails. Donald Drew Egbert, Social Radicalism and the Arts (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), pp. 268, 316.

29 Ibid., p. 653.

30 Pevsner, p. 404.

31 Aalto designed the Paimio Sanatorium as a result of winning a competition. Giedion (p. 628) believes that he would not have been awarded first prize for such a design as early as 1929 in another democratic country such as Switzerland or the United States. Perhaps that is because Switzerland and the United States did not have the same urgent need to distance themselves from the recent past. One must bear in mind that Finland was a part of Russia until 1918.

32 Asko Salokorpi, Modern Architecture in Finland (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970), p. 53.

33 Siinmaa had worked on the Pärnu curative mud-baths project in 1926; Soans had been involved in park planning and the building of the Tallinn Kunstihoone (Arts Building)(1934). Arman et al., pp. 436-446.

34 Quantrill, p. 52.

35 During Estonia's period of independence, two strains in architectural design were evident: a historical eclecticism and a rational functionalism. Historical eclecticism drew upon the country's cultural history, and

traditional design elements were incorporated into the new buildings necessitated by the growth of the urban population. One example of this is the single-family dwelling at No. 27 Vabaduse Puiestee, Tallinn, (1928), which incorporated into its design the room-grouping around a central hearth and the high roof of the traditional Estonian rehielamu or farmhouse. Another is the apartment dwelling at 10 Võidu Väljak, which sought to humanize a large-scale habitation by the use of architectural motifs rooted in historical tradition. Rational functionalism, however, distanced itself radically from the past and found inspiration in modern continental trends such as the International Style. The embrace of the machine age is clearly evident in A. Voorlberg's housing complex on Vaarika Street (1932) and the Kunstihoone (Arts Building) by E. Kuusik and A. Soans in 1934. Arman et al., pp. 439-458.

³⁶ The second Estonian Constitution (1934) gave Päts the power to govern without the Riigikogu (Parliament); nevertheless, he decided to convene a National Assembly to draft a new and better constitution. Uustalu, p. 206.

³⁷ The third Estonian Constitution (1938) has been described as "Democracy - with Safeguards." Jackson, p. 207. Additional information on the 1938 Constitution can be found in Nodel, p. 175, and Uustalu, pp. 207-208.

CHAPTER XIII

THE BUILDING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE ESTONIAN SSR

The signing of the Nazi-Soviet pact on August 23, 1939, decided the fate of the Baltic States,¹ and freedom, so briefly cherished, was lost. Post-war Tallinn has emerged, rebuilt, as a city of almost one-half million people. Approximately one-quarter of Estonia's population is now Russian, and perhaps it is the growing number of Russians within the Estonian SSR that poses the greatest threat yet to the culture and language of the indigenous people.² Signs of Russian Communist presence are everywhere: Lenin, the post-revolutionary ikon, is glorified in billboards and statues, and the medieval vanalinn of steep gables and church spires has been surrounded by suburbs of mammoth apartment complexes, inhuman, sterile, and faceless.

The buildings erected in Estonia since the 1950's are pervaded by an impersonal, mechanical uniformity. An example is the Building of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Estonian SSR (Fig. 69), a stark concrete and glass structure that is the embodiment of "scientific socialism", a philosophy that has come to mean that human life can be governed by the five-year plan, and that any concession to individualism is akin to treason. According to vulgar "Marxist" teachings, "men behave as they do because of their class nature, because of the fundamental economic and social

realities of their lives."³ Once these social realities have been changed, an ideal society will emerge where there will be no crime, no moral turpitude. The right kind of scientific architecture, as part of the social reality in which man lives, can hasten the arrival of the new Utopia.

After the war, an immense reconstruction program in Estonia was a basic necessity. Along with the loss of approximately one-quarter of its population,⁴ the country had been physically devastated by the ravages of war. Its major centers suffered the greatest destruction: Narva was left without a single building intact, half of Tartu was destroyed, and Tallinn, the capital, lost forty percent of its buildings.⁵ The state put most of its energies into the building of factories and the creation of collective farms, although large housing projects were also erected.⁶ Stalin was suspicious "of all artistic activity without social utility,"⁷ and 1948 saw the erection of an over-sized statue of Lenin on what was named Lenini Puiestee in Tallinn. Lenin stands on a high pedestal, surveying his empire and looking towards the old city and the Estonia theatre complex (a remnant of the tsarist era),⁸ arm outstretched like the Roman Emperor Augustus.⁹

Stalin indeed saw Moscow as the "Third Rome";¹⁰ he, as a former seminarian,¹¹ had known how to lead the Russian people back to "the most primitive aspect of the original tsarist mystique: the idea that the batiushka, the father-

deliverer in the Kremlin, would rescue his suffering children...and lead them into the promised land."¹² The architecture that had been favored by Stalin does not seem functional in the usual sense of the word, but its powers of persuasion were great: as Russian churches disappeared, temples to the new religion grew to megalomaniac proportions. That the classical arts of Rome were adapted to serve a new empire is evident in buildings such as the Marx-Engels Institute (Fig. 70) in Tbilissi, Georgia, Stalin's birthplace, where above a colonnade of massive Corinthian columns a sculptured frieze depicts the various phases of socialist rebuilding in the Caucasus. Low-relief sculptured panels on either side of the colonnade illustrate the revolutionary activities of Stalin himself.¹³

The Lenin statue in Tallinn, erected in 1948, is typical of the heavy-handed socialist realist art favored by the Soviet authorities to this day. In architecture, however, there was a great visual transformation after Stalin's death in 1953. In 1954, Khrushchev had denounced the Soviet architects' preoccupation with ornament;¹⁴ in 1956 he declared that technology is independent of ideology, and that the Soviet Union should study the best of modern scientific building techniques, whatever their source.¹⁵ But he did not turn to completely foreign sources for inspiration: constructivism, based on scientific principles of rationalism, utility and economy, had been promoted by

Bolshevik leaders in the 1920's.¹⁶

The philosophy of the constructivists¹⁷ was consistent with the belief in "scientific socialism". The constructivists held that the architect must become engineer and workman first; architecture had to be stripped of everything that was not rational and not useful; the elements of a structure should be manufactured on a quantity basis by machinery. Architecture had to become a new art expressing the collective will of the masses; using the products of Soviet industry, steel, concrete, glass and wood, it would "educate and inspire the people to bigger and greater achievements in social progress."¹⁸

The constructivists had much in common with, and indeed, were closely related to, the great proponents of the International Style, Walter Gropius and Le Corbusier.¹⁹ These influential architects were not Marxists,²⁰ but their ideas had been warmly received in Soviet Russia,²¹ and many of their architectural principles were not dissimilar to those held by Marxists. They were socially and internationally minded, and unlike Aalto after his early rationalist period, they took no account of the vernacular architectural traditions within a society.²² They believed in the deliverance offered by the machine, and they held that architecture was a tool to build a utopia based in science and reason.

Although constructivism fell into disfavor as being too independent and too western,²³ and "the wide discrepancy between its alleged utilitarianism and its unbridled flights of fantasy"²⁴ became too marked,²⁵ it had been one of the contributing elements of the International Style.²⁶

The Central Committee in Tallinn is an example of the kind of modern, technological architecture Khrushchev wanted.²⁷ It is clearly allied to the International Style in its use of concrete, frameless strip windows, flat roof, and suggestion of a first floor raised from the ground. The use of pre-cast concrete panels shows that it is a relentless product of machine-age mass production. There is nothing in the external design of the building itself that reveals its function; however, the site, an unusually broad, flower-lined avenue, offers an impressive perspective, and the anachronistic statue in front delivers a message that is all too clear.

Buildings of this type can be found throughout the Soviet Union from Tallinn to Alma Ata to Nahodka. They are used as party headquarters, office buildings, factories, apartment complexes. They are rational, serviceable,²⁸ inhuman and anonymous. The massive suburb of Mustamäe, near Tallinn (Fig. 71) of which the Soviets are so proud, houses more than 100,000 people;²⁹ this kind of warehousing should not be necessary in a country with a hospitable terrain, whose area is comparable to that of Switzerland, but whose

population is less than one-quarter that of the Swiss.³⁰ The faceless highrises of Mustamāe are not much different from the Central Committee Building: it is a triumph of homogenization that a "palace of the people" looks like an apartment house. And the Soviets are "proud of having a house as serviceable as a typewriter."³¹

Just as Lenin is used "as an ikon to cement national unity,"³² the uniform design of contemporary buildings throughout the eight million square mile expanse of the U.S.S.R. also attempts to impose upon the empire a monolithic stamp. The state in which the non-Russian ethnic minorities are increasing faster than the Russians,³³ and indeed make up more than fifty percent of the Soviet population, constantly feels itself under siege. Centralized planning, a censored press, restrictions on travel, closed borders, and the ubiquitous secret police are employed to control the not always docile population. The message of egalitarianism, of a classless society, superficially conveyed by the contemporary architecture of Soviet Russia, is as hypocritical as the neo-classicism of Tsar Alexander I, which was used to proclaim democratic ideals and personal liberty.

The Soviet regime, particularly since 1945, "has treated the Baltic States not only as Soviet provinces but, also as part of Russian living space."³⁴ The buildings erected since the 1950's embody the spirit of "scientific

socialism" which has attempted to erode the national character of the indigenous peoples of the region. There is nothing in the new technological architecture to cherish, to hold dear; there is no "life-enhancing charm."³⁵ No concessions have been made to the culture, the traditions, the individual nature of the peoples who have lived on the western shores of the Baltic Sea since pre-Christian times. One can only hope that despite almost one thousand years of colonial status, Estonians can still endure, persevere, and survive. The history of Estonia which we have here traced in architecture, from the peasant's rehielamu and the country church of Valjala to the Alexander Nevski Cathedral and the Central Committee Palace, suggests that they will.

FOOTNOTES

¹ A secret clause of this treaty assigned eastern Poland, Finland, Latvia and Estonia to the Soviet sphere of influence. On September 28, a supplementary clause extended the Soviet orbit to include Lithuania. Encyclopedia Britannica, 1962 ed., s.v. "Estonia".

² In 1970, Estonia had a population of 1,356,100, of whom 335,000 were ethnic Russians. While the Russian segment of the population continues to increase, the authorities have not facilitated the immigration of Karelians and Mordvians, two other Soviet Finno-Ugric peoples. Tõnu Parming and Elmar Järvesoo, eds., A Case Study of a Soviet Republic: The Estonian SSR (Boulder: Westview Press, 1978), pp. 35, 41.

³ Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, A History of Russia (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 523.

⁴ In 1939, Estonia's population was 1,134,000, a level not reached again until 1952. After the Nazi-Soviet Pact, 13,000 of the 16,400 Germans living in Estonia were repatriated. In 1941, the Soviet authorities began the evacuation of 7,800 Swedish Estonians, remnants of the Swedish period (1583-1720). By war's end, 100,000 ethnic Estonians had fled to the west as political refugees. Approximately 145,000 Estonians perished in Estonia or in the Soviet Union as a result of Soviet oppression. As late as 1949, during the farm collectivization period, 80,000 Estonians were deported to Russia. Parming, pp. 23-41. Also Walter Kolarz, Russia and her Colonies (n.p.: Archon Books, 1967), p. 110.

⁵ H. Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1965), p. 461.

⁶ Kolarz, p. 15.

⁷ James H. Billington, The Icon and the Axe (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), p. 535.

⁸ Originally built by Finnish architect A. Lindgren (1909-1913); reconstructed after World War II by A. Kotli (1947-1950). Arman et al., p. 415.

⁹ Lenin's pose is strikingly similar to that of the statue of Augustus of Prima Porta, c. 20 B.C., now in the Vatican Museum.

¹⁰ After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, Moscow was sometimes referred to as the "Third Rome". This image originated with Philotheus of the Eleazer Monastery in Pskov; the earliest surviving statement is in a letter of 1511 to Tsar Vasily III. Billington, p. 58. The idea continued to be revived periodically until the twentieth century when "the Third Rome had been revived in the form of the Third International." Billington, p. 538.

¹¹ Stalin had studied at the Russian Orthodox seminary in Tbilissi from 1894 to 1899.

¹² Billington, p. 539.

¹³ Arthur Joyce, Russian Architecture: Trends in Nationalism and Modernism (New York: Philosophical Library, 1948), plate LXXX.

¹⁴ Donald Drew Egbert, Social Radicalism and the Arts (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), pp. 538-539.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 706-707.

¹⁶ Konstantin Melnikov's USSR Pavilion at the 1925 Exposition of Decorative and Industrial Arts in Paris was the first constructivist building actually built. Dennis Sharp, A Visual History of 20th Century Architecture (Norwich: Heinemann, Secker & Warburg, 1972), p. 79.

¹⁷ Its principal exponents were Vladimir Tatlin, El Lissitsky and Professor Ladovsky. Joyce, p. 125.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 126.

¹⁹ Gropius had hired Moholy-Nagy as a teacher in 1923. Moholy-Nagy knew the Russian constructivist Lissitsky and played a major role in introducing constructivism to the Bauhaus. Egbert, p. 672. Lissitsky, during 1922-1923, edited a constructivist magazine called Veshch, Gegenstand, Objet, among whose contributors was Le Corbusier. Ibid., p. 655.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 664.

²¹ Le Corbusier had designed the office building for the Ministry of Light Industries in Moscow in 1934. Ibid., Plate LXXXV.

²² Malcolm Quantrill, Alvar Aalto (London: Secker & Warburg, 1983), pp. 243-247, discusses the relationship of Aalto to the Finnish vernacular tradition.

²³ Egbert, p. 486.

24 Voyce, p. 127.

25 Billington, p. 486. Vladimir Tatlin, a constructivist and one of the leaders of the artistic avant-garde in Russia in the 1920's, spent most of his last 30 years designing a new glider called a Letatlin, a fusion of the Russian word "to fly" and his own name.

26 Egbert, p. 486.

27 After Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin, the Bauhaus in Dessau was rehabilitated by the East German Government, and the structure itself, which had been drastically altered by the Nazis, was declared a national monument. Egbert, p. 707.

28 The Russian highrises are intended to be serviceable, but they generally suffer from poor workmanship and shoddy maintenance, characteristics which are described by Estonians as typical of "vene v rk", i.e., "Russian stuff". This expression is referred to by both Parming, p. 56, and Priit Vesilind, "Estonia," National Geographic, April 1980, p. 496.

29 According to Vesilind, p. 494, many people scorn the new government housing; he quotes one woman as saying: "I wouldn't go to Mustam e. The streets are too wide; everything looks alike. It's just a place to sleep." There is little possibility, however, that the fate of Mustam e will be the fate of Pruitt-Igoe, the massive government housing project in St. Louis, Missouri, designed by Minoru Yamasaki, architect of the World Trade Center. Pruitt-Igoe proved to be so unsuccessful that eventually the city blew up three central blocks of the project. Tom Wolfe, From Bauhaus to Our House (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1981), pp. 80-82. The North American dream is still a house of one's own; with visible evidence of the accessibility of that dream all around, people will not be happy in mass accommodation that takes no account of the social inter-relationships of man.

30 In terms of population density, three countries of comparable area make for an interesting comparison:

Estonia	pop.	1,405,000 (1973)	area - 45,100 sq. km.
Switzerland	pop.	6,384,300 (1982)	area - 41,293 sq. km.
The Nether-lands	pop.	14,285,829 (1982)	area - 41,160 sq. km.

Encyclopedia Britannica, 1982 ed.

31 Le Corbusier, Towards a New Architecture (New York: Praeger, 1946), p. 223.

32 Victoria Times-Colonist headline, February 3, 1985.

33 Kolarz, p. 303.

34 Ibid., 109.

35 Quantrill, p. 242. Aalto believed that "technology and economy must always be combined with a life-enhancing charm."

APPENDIX A
ILLUSTRATIONS

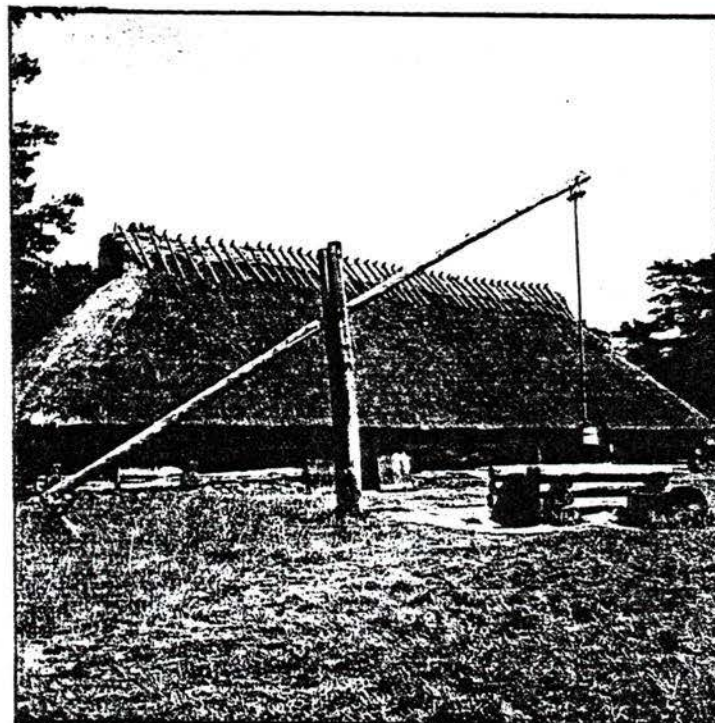


Fig. 1. Rehielamu belonging to Sassi-Jaan.
(Laurinson, Eesti Riiklik Vabaõhumuseum, p. 5.)



Fig. 2. Threshing shelter.
(Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu, p. 26.)

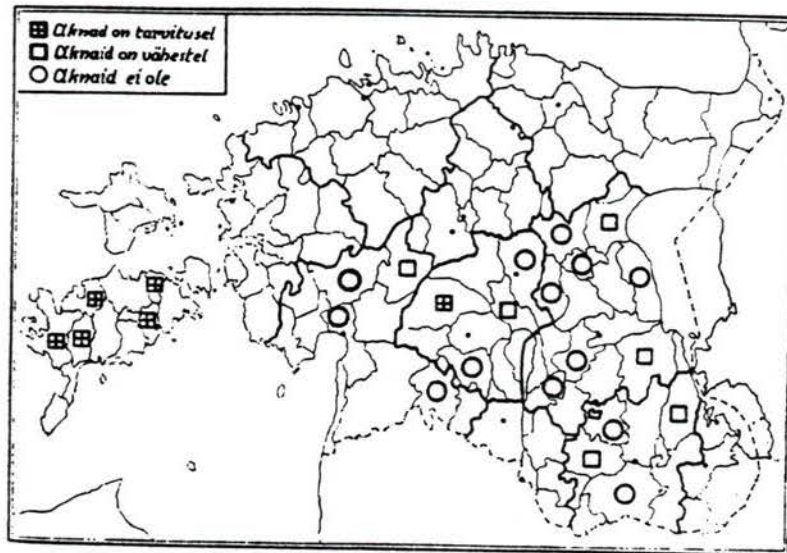


Fig. 3. Distribution of farm dwellings with windows in South Estonia and Saaremaa. Late eighteenth century.

⊠ areas where windows are in use; ◻ areas where only a few houses have windows; ○ areas where there are no windows.

(Ränk, *Old Estonia, the People and Culture*, p. 71).

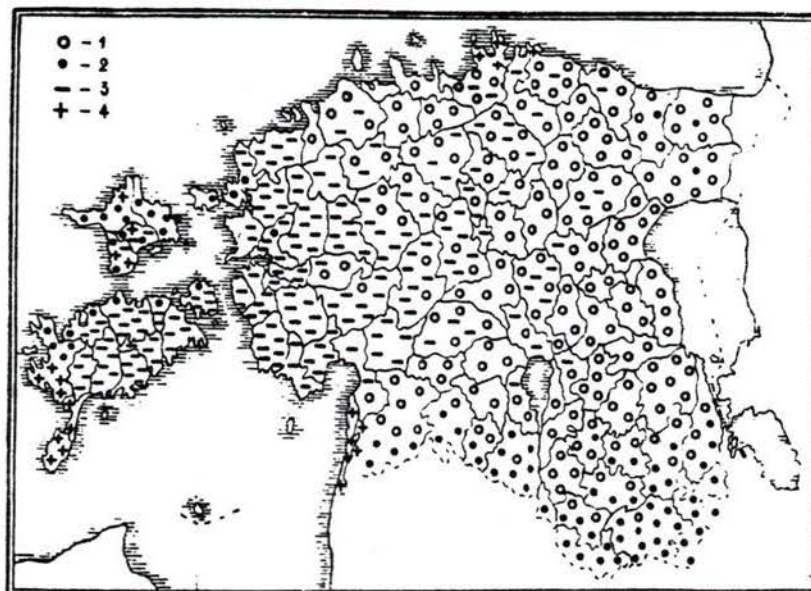


Fig. 4. Distribution of *rehielamu* types in Estonia.

1 - northern; 2 - southern; 3 - western;
4 - varying types.

(Armen et al., *Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu*, p. 389.)

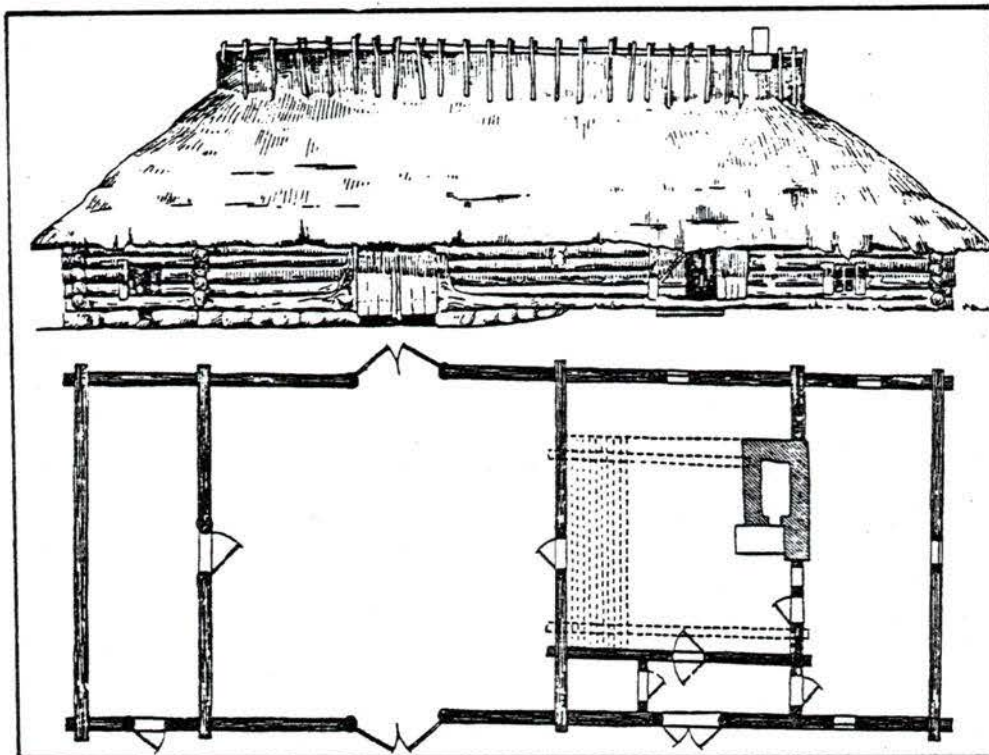


Fig. 5. Sassi-Jaan's Rehielamu. Façade and Floor Plan.
(Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu, p. 392.)

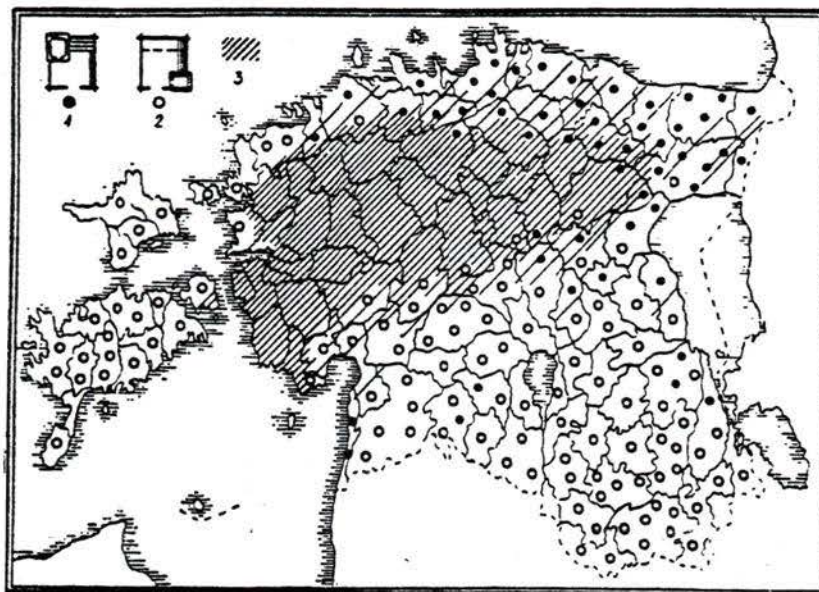


Fig. 6. Variety of sauna-types in Estonia.

● - northern type; ○ - southern type;

▨ saunas not used, washing ritual carried out in rehetuba.

(Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu, p. 391.)

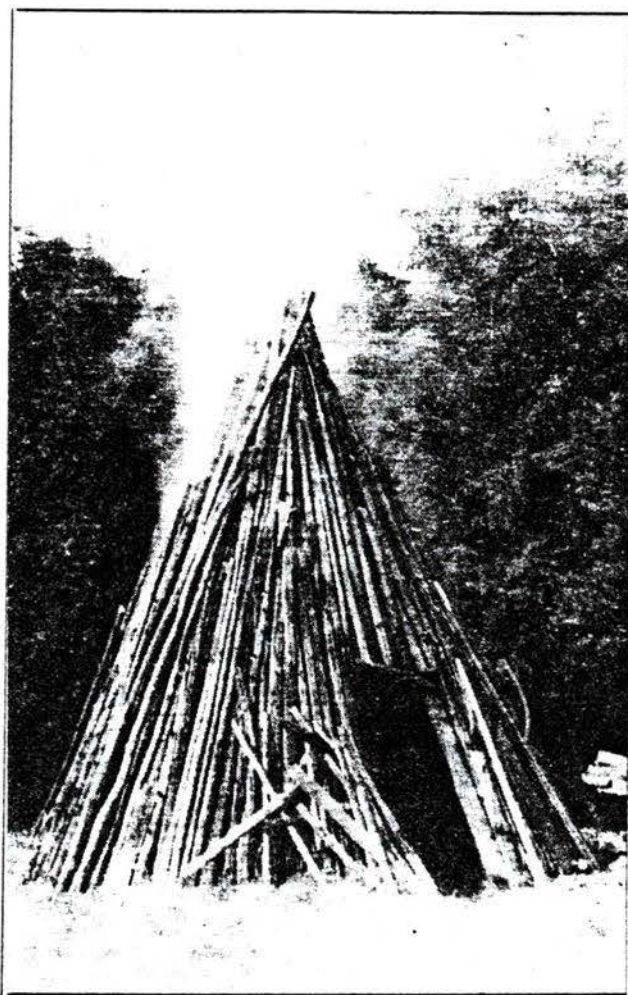


Fig. 7. Suveköök (summer kitchen).
(Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri
Ajalugu, p. 395.)

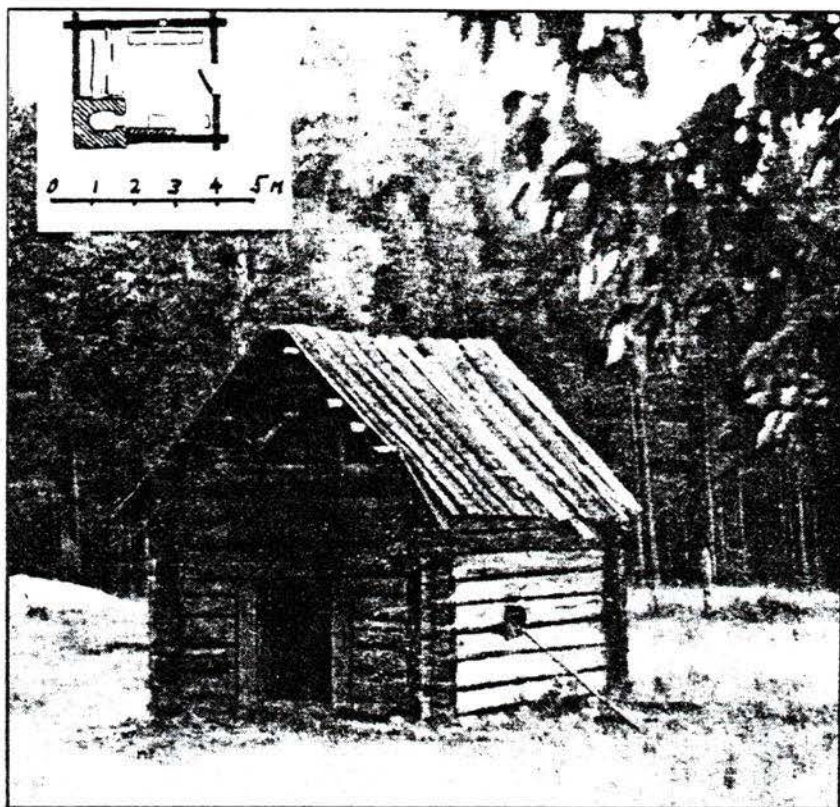


Fig. 8. Typical 1-room sauna including floor plan.
(Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu, p. 395.)

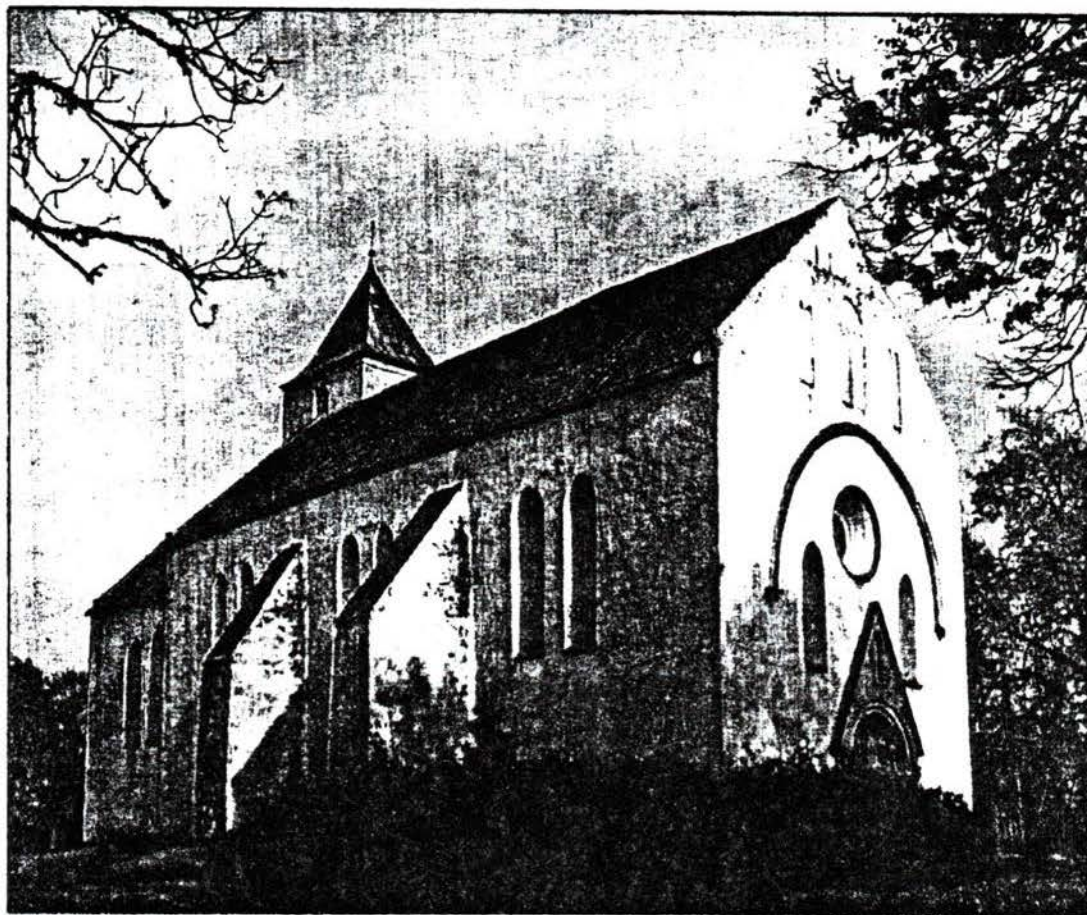


Fig. 9. View of Valjala Church, Saaremaa, from the north-west. Thirteenth century.
(Solomokova et al., Eesti Kunsti Ajalugu 1, Fig. 17.)

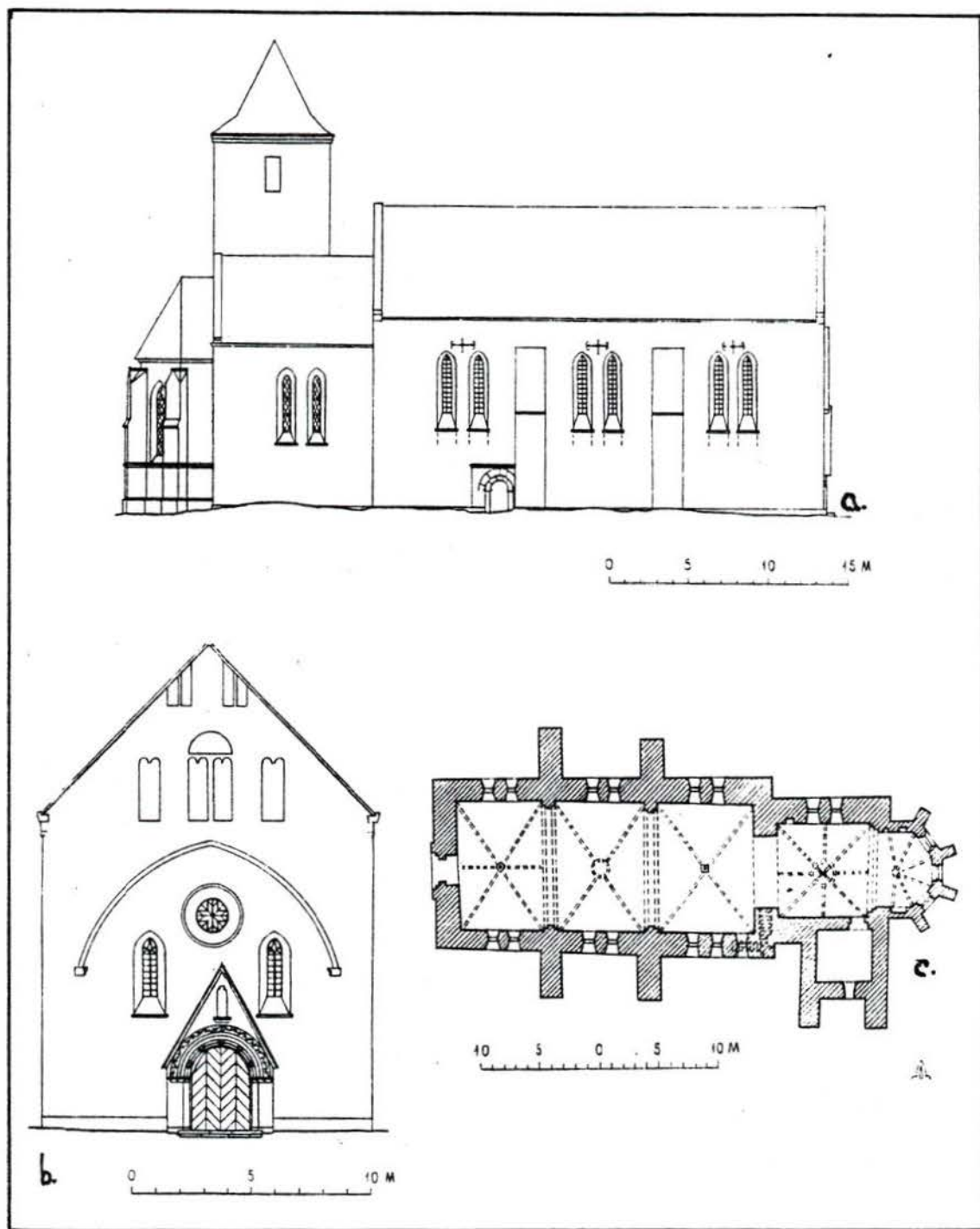


Fig. 10. Valjala Church. (a) North side; (b) West side; (c) Floor plan.
 (Armen et al., *Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu*, p. 92.)

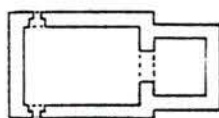
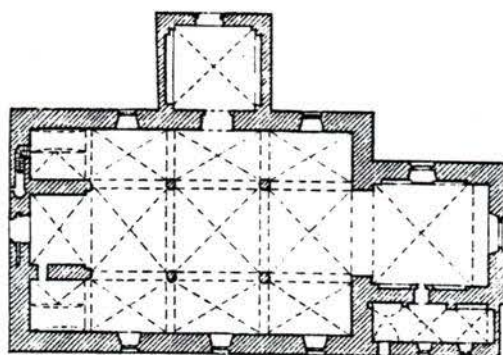


Fig. 11. Gudrum Church, Denmark. Floor plan.
(Paulsson, Scandinavian Architecture, p. 65.)



12

5 0 5 10 M

Fig. 12. Ambla Church, Estonia. Floor plan.
(Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu, p. 109.)



Fig. 13. Dalhem Church, Visby. Floor plan.
(Paulsson, Scandinavian Architecture, p. 70.)



Fig. 14. The Toomkirik. Thirteenth to fifteenth century, Tallinn.
(Author's photo.)

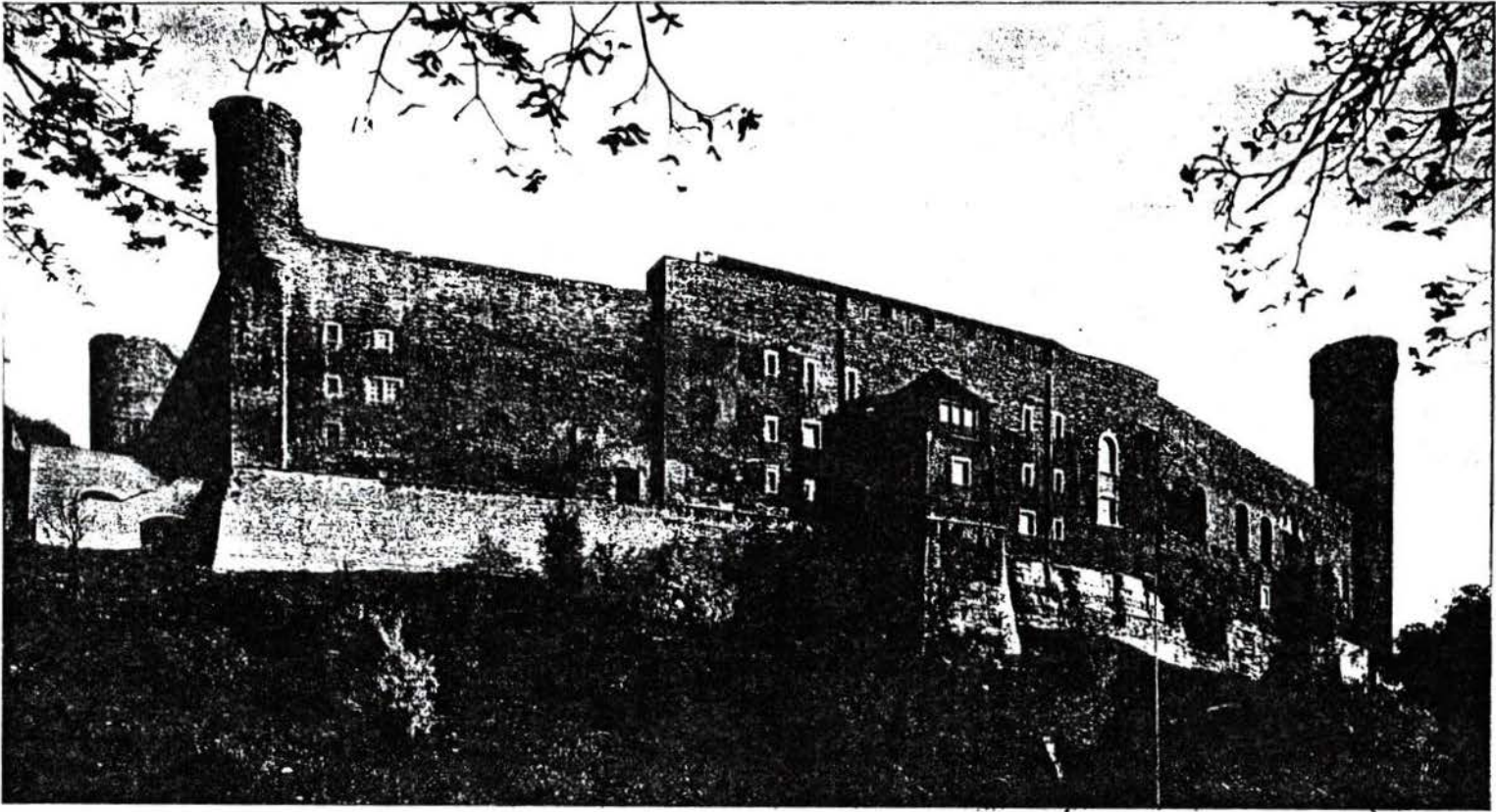


Fig. 15. The Fortress of Toompea, Tallinn. Fourteenth century.
(Tolts and Laanemaa, Tallinn, Toompea Linnus ja Loss, Fig. 8.)

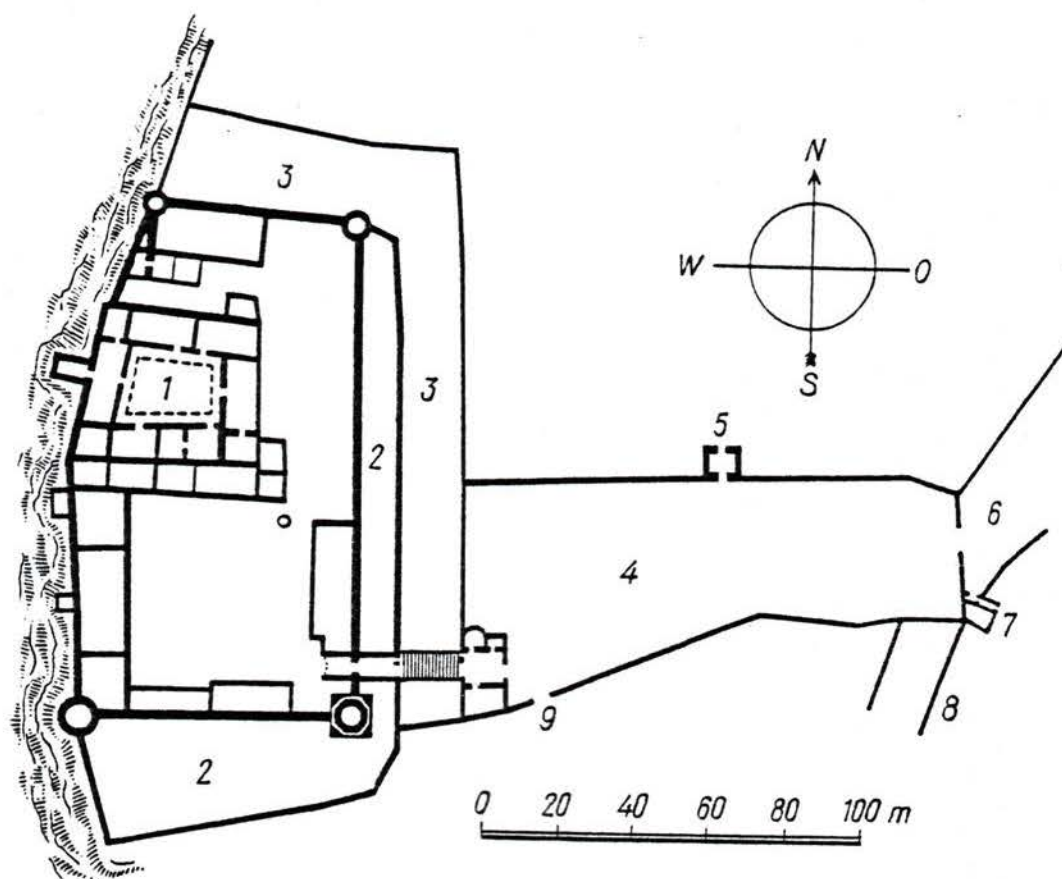


Fig. 16. Toompea. Plan of conventual house and fortress. Second half of fourteenth century.
 (Toits and Laanemaa, Tallinn, Toompea Linnus ja Loss, p. 36.)

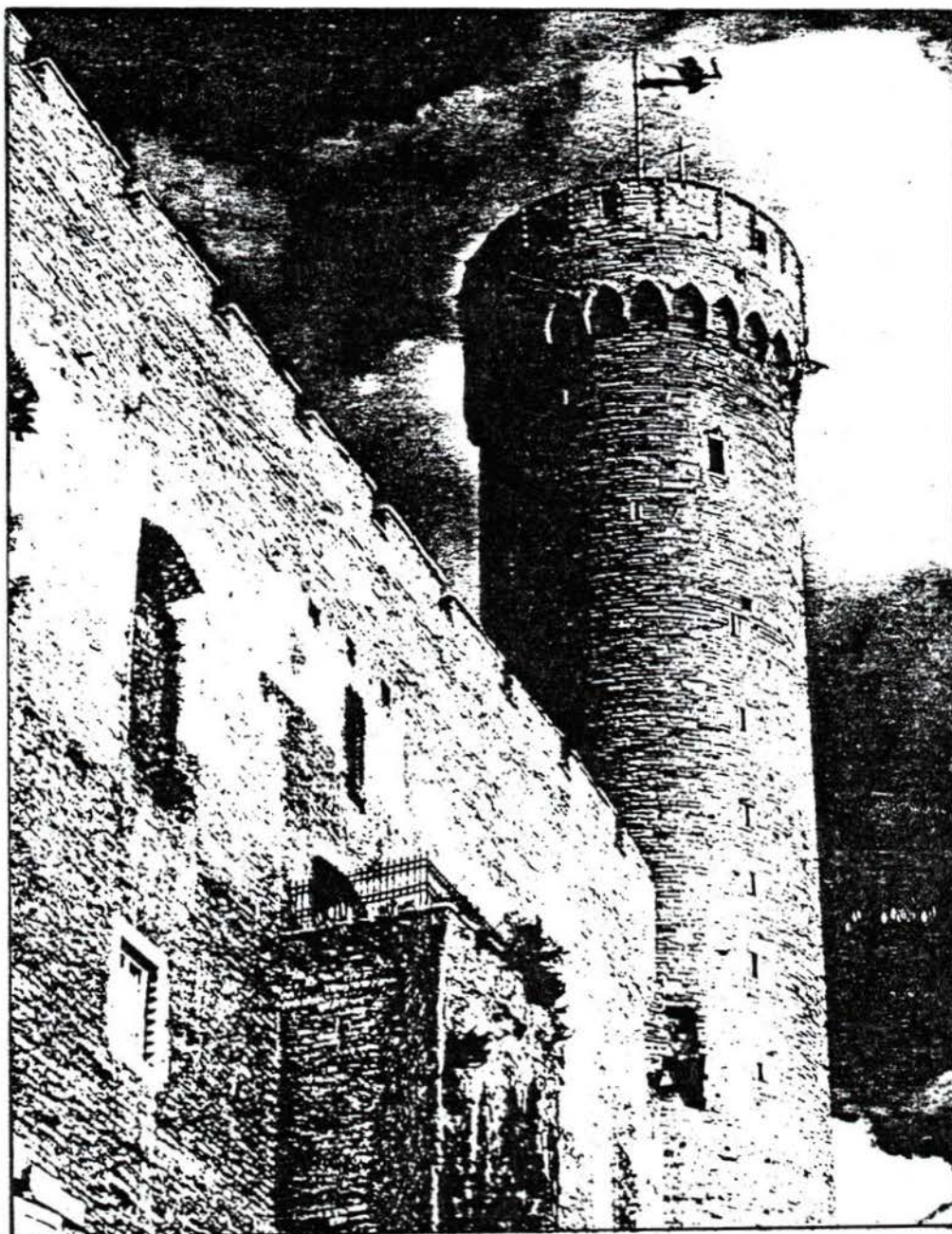


Fig. 17. Pikk Hermann. Fourteenth - fifteenth century.
(Saar, Mesikäpp, Reinsalu, Vana Tallinn, p. 9.)

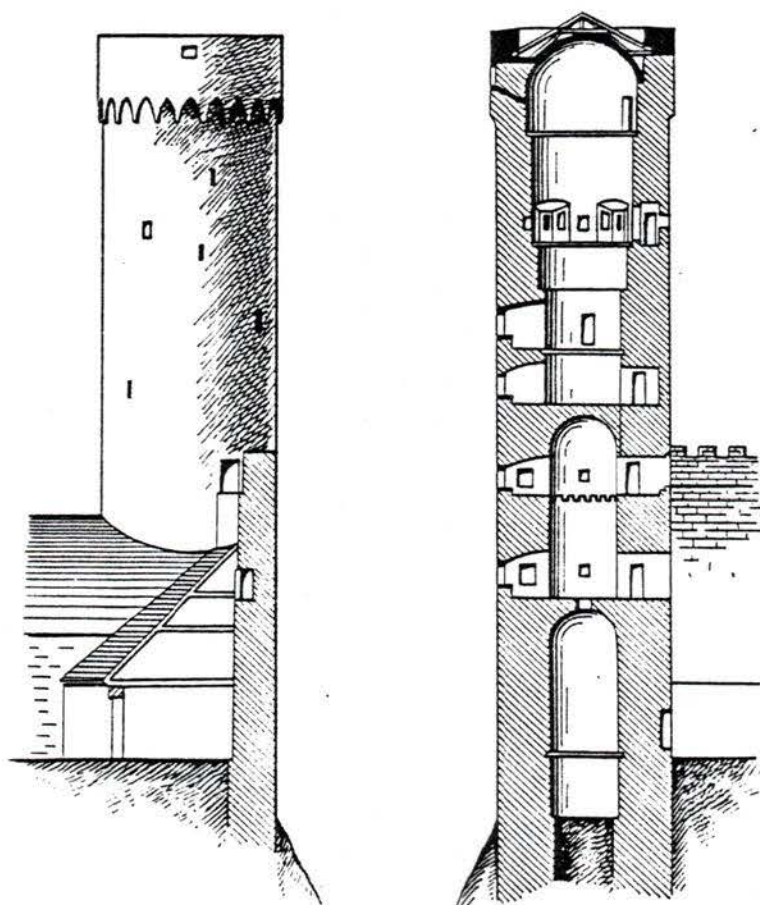


Fig. 18. Pikk Hermann. Drawing and cross-section.
(Tolts and Laanemaa, Tallinn, Toompea Linnus ja Loss, p. 36.)

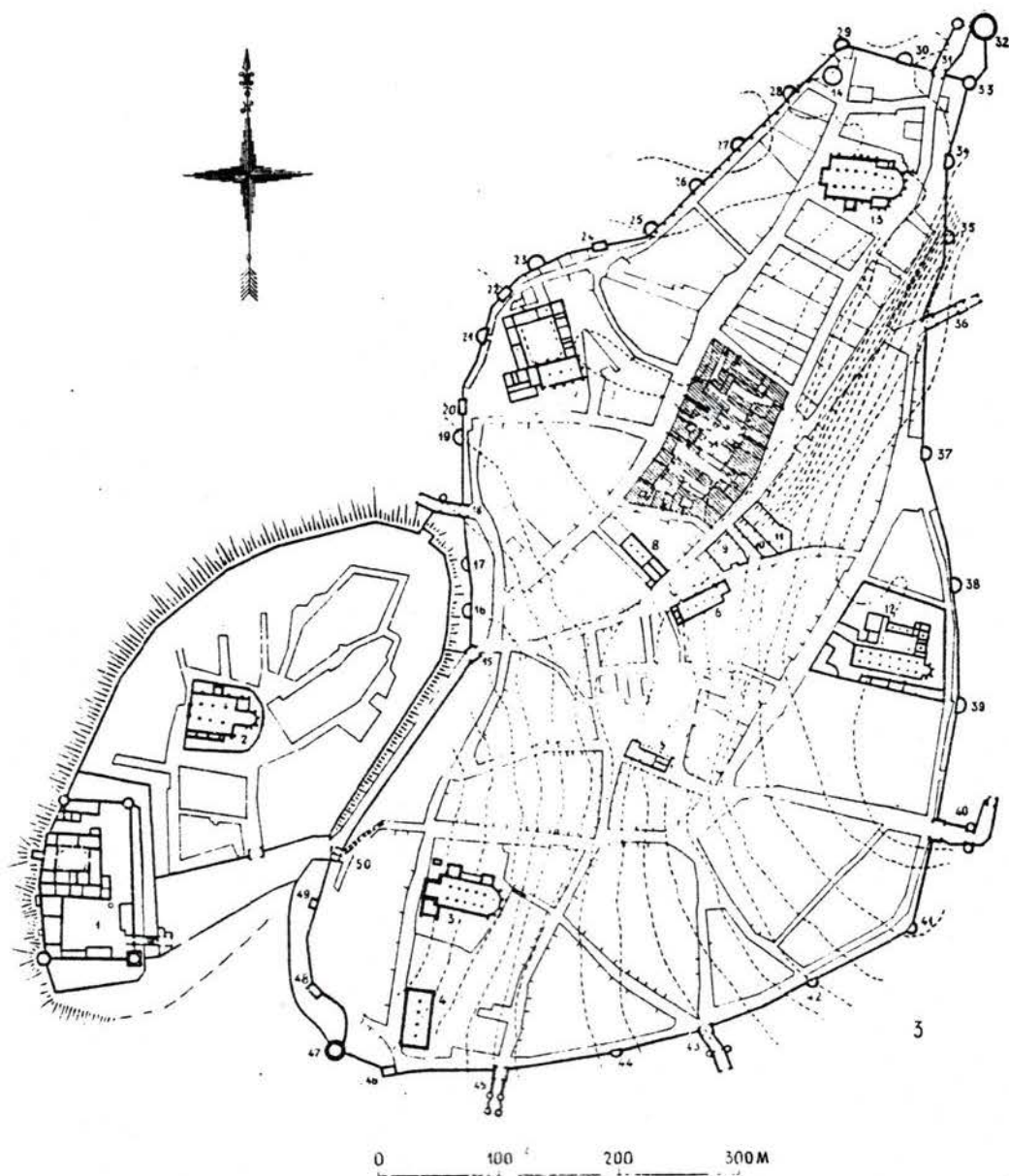


Fig. 19. Plan of Tallinn towards the end of the feudal period. The "acropolis" containing Toompea Castle (1) and the Toomkirik (2) is connected to the Lower Town by Lühike Jalg (50) and Pikk Jalg (15).
(Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu, p. 45.)



Fig. 20. Raekoda (Town Hall), Tallinn. 1402 to 1404. Spire from the seventeenth century.
(Pangsepp, Nõukoode Eesti.)

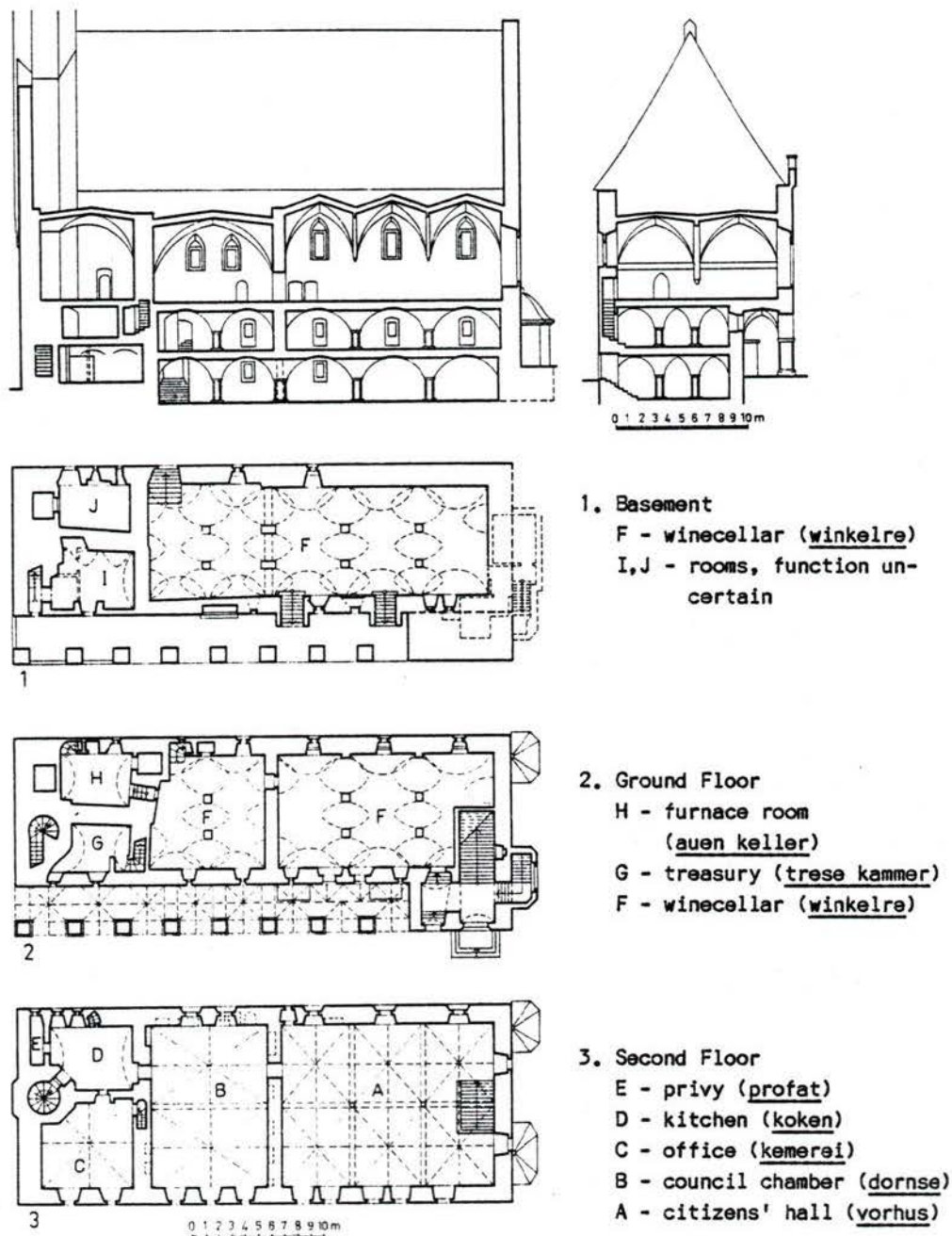


Fig. 21. Raekoda (Town Hall), Tallinn. Cross-sections and floor plans.

Basement (1); Ground Floor (2); Second Floor (3).

(Kangroopool, Tallinna Raekoda, p. 26.)

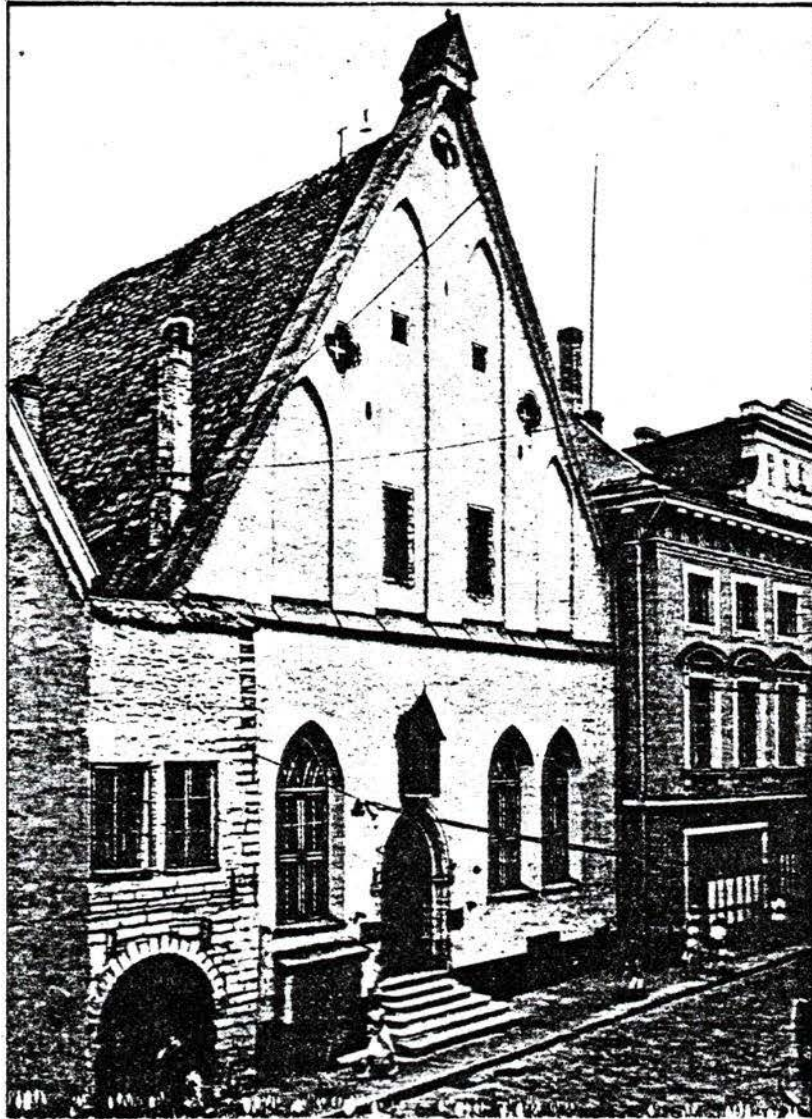


Fig. 22. The Great Guild, Tallinn. 1407 to 1417.
(Solomokova et al., Eesti Kunsti Ajalugu 1, Fig. 124.)

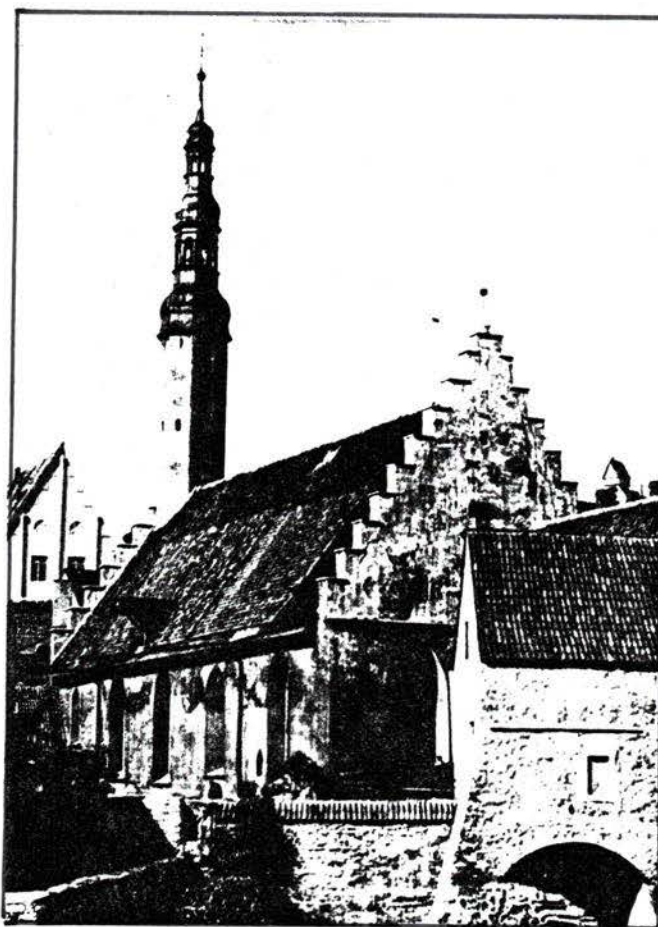


Fig. 23. Pühavaimu Kirik (Church of the Holy Ghost), Tallinn. Fourteenth century. (Kangroo and Bruns, Tallinn Sajandeis, Fig. 16.)

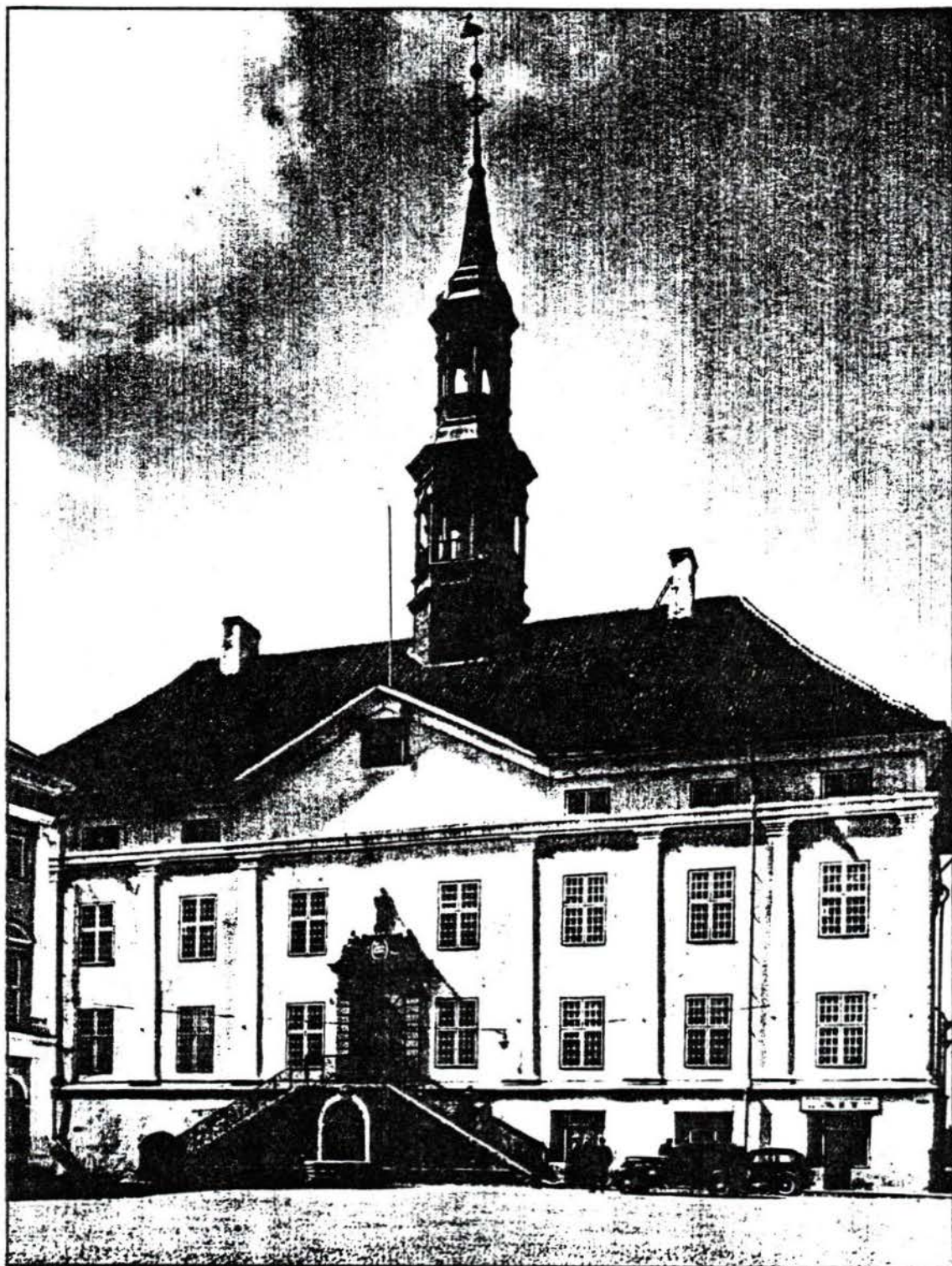


Fig. 24. Raekoda (Town Hall), Narva. 1665-1671. Tower from 1727.
(Soom, Vana Narva, p. 76.)



Fig. 25. Börshihoone (Bourse), Narva. 1695-1704.
(Solomokova et al., Eesti Kunsti Ajalugu 1, p. 223.)

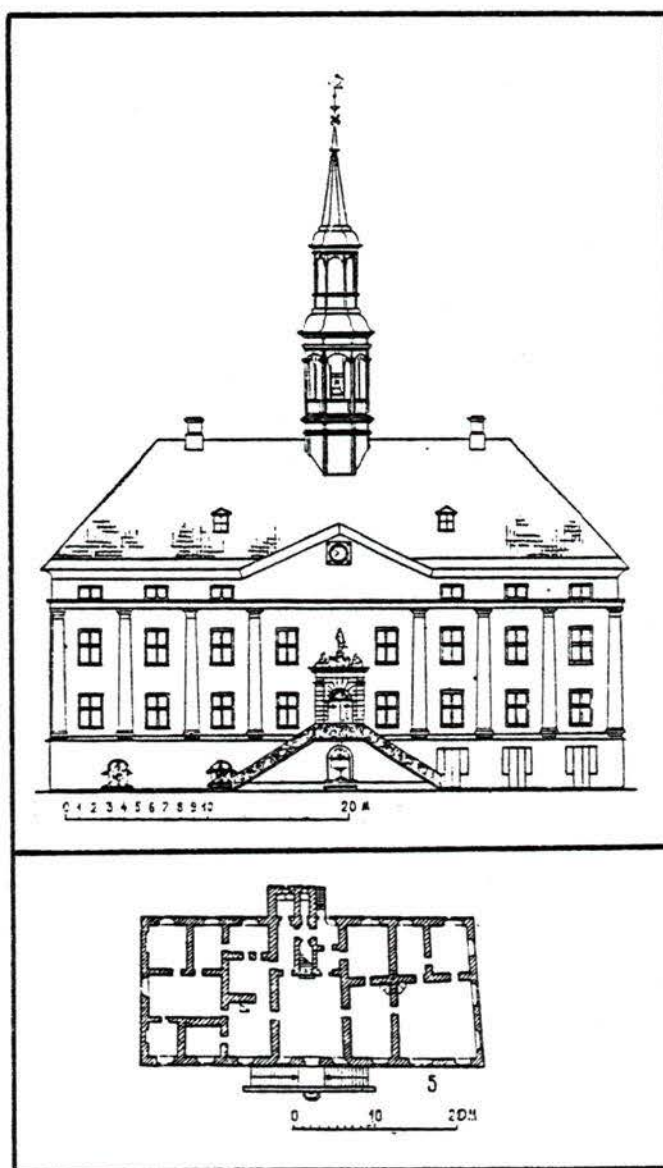


Fig. 26. Raekoda, Narva. Façade and floor plan.
(Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri
Ajalugu, p. 225.)

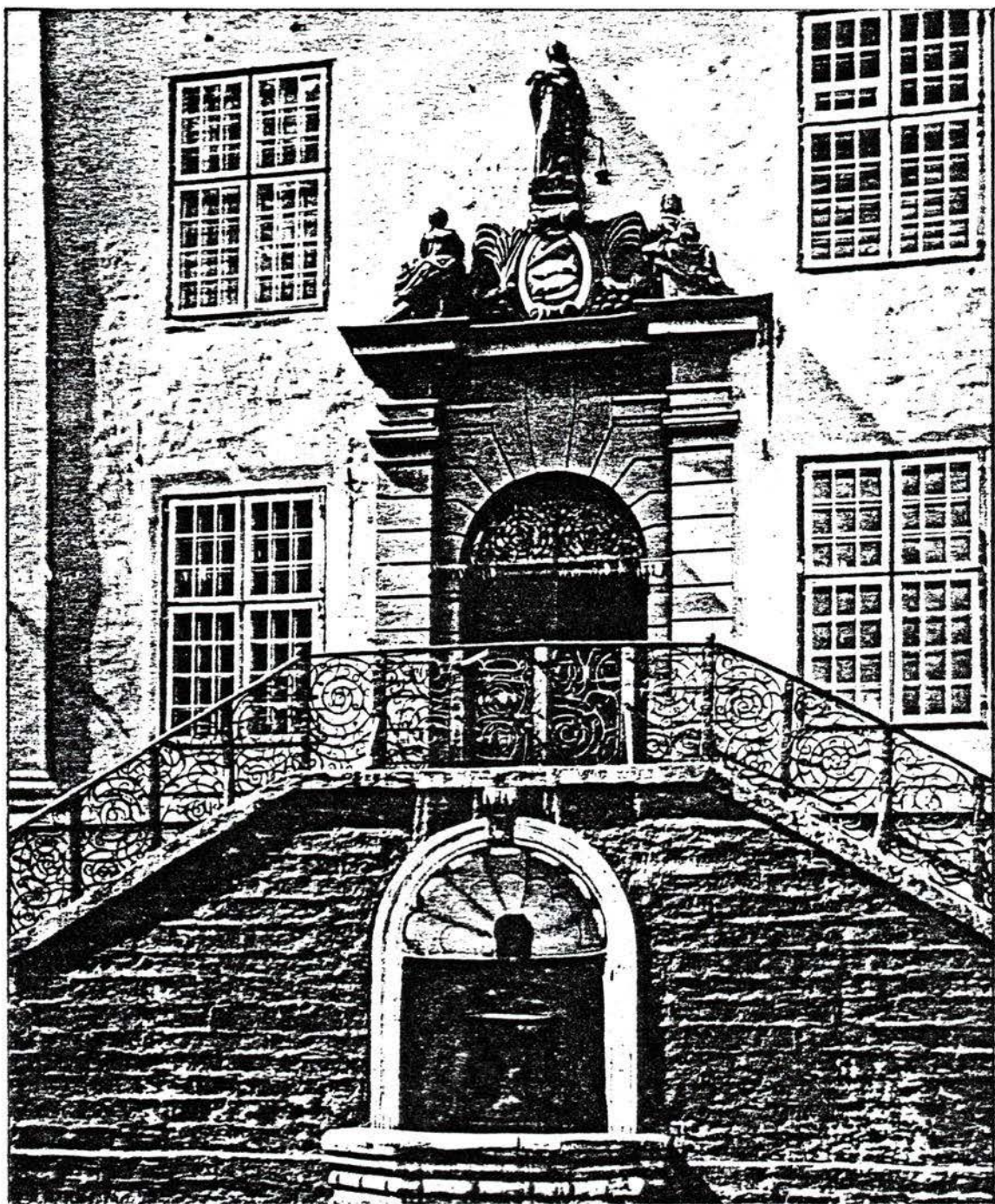


Fig. 27. Raekoda, Narva. Main entrance.
(Soom, Vana Narva, p. 78.)

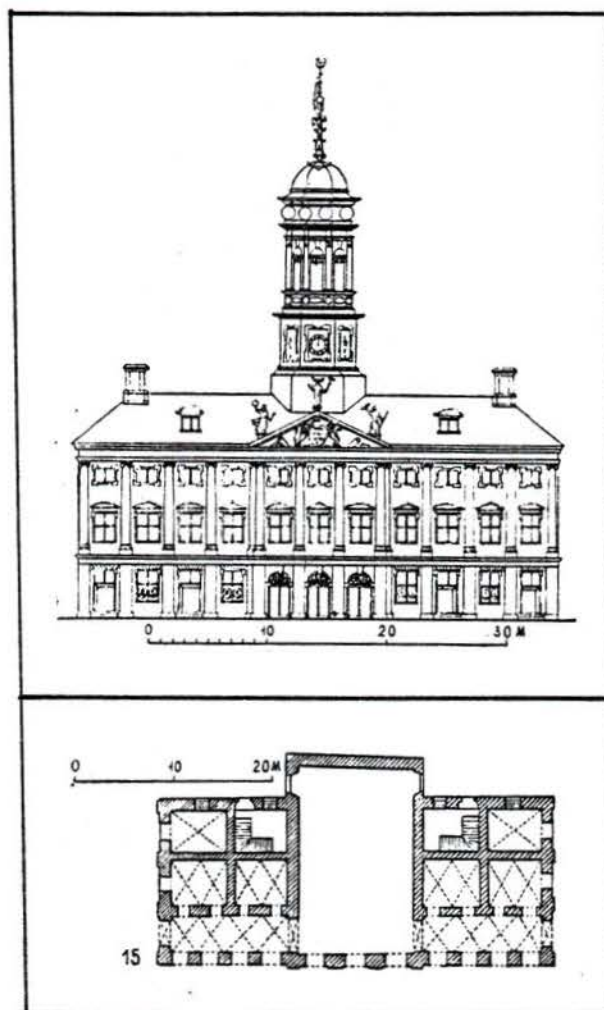


Fig. 28. Börshihoone. Façade and floor plan.
(Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri
Ajalugu, p. 225.)

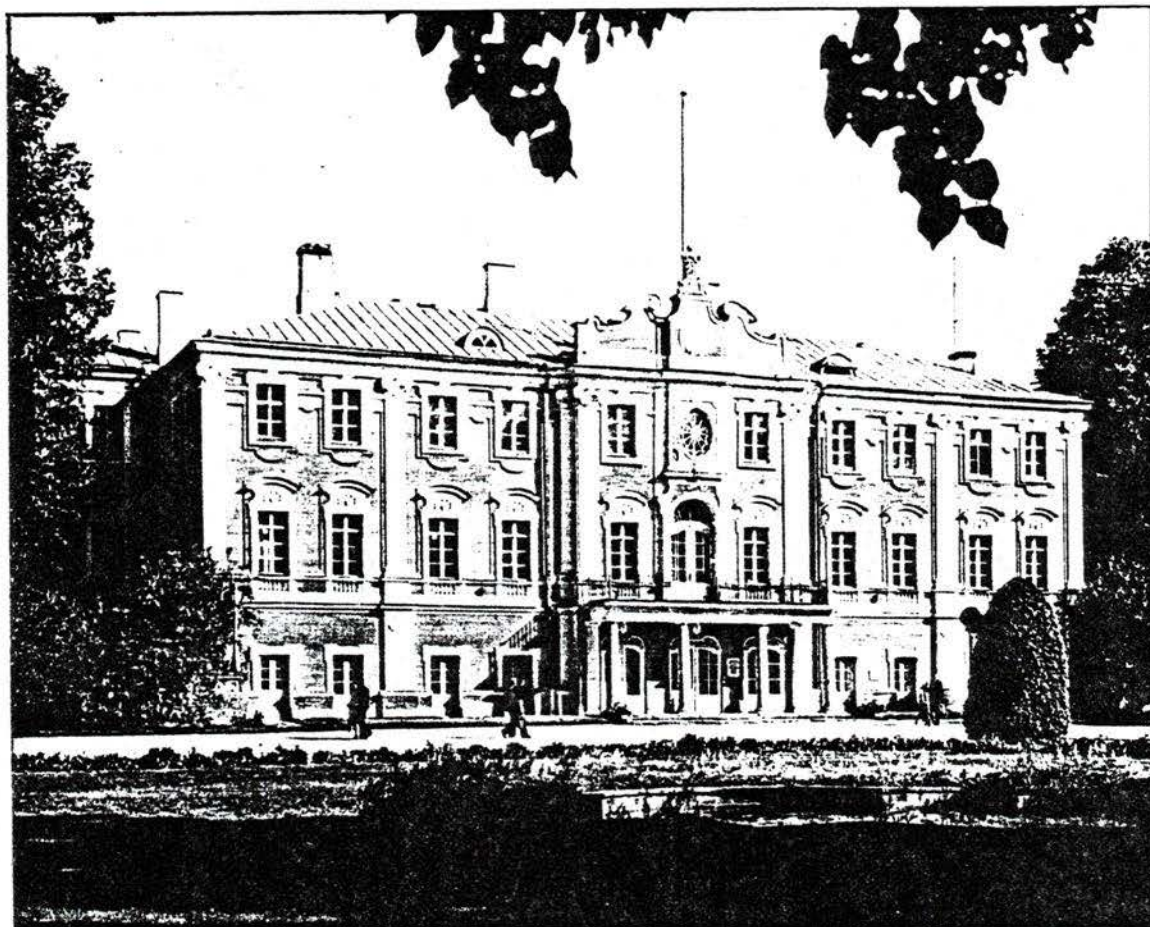


Fig. 29. Kadrioru Loss (The Palace of Kadriorg), Tallinn. 1718-1723.
(Pangsepp, Nõukogude Eesti, n.p.)

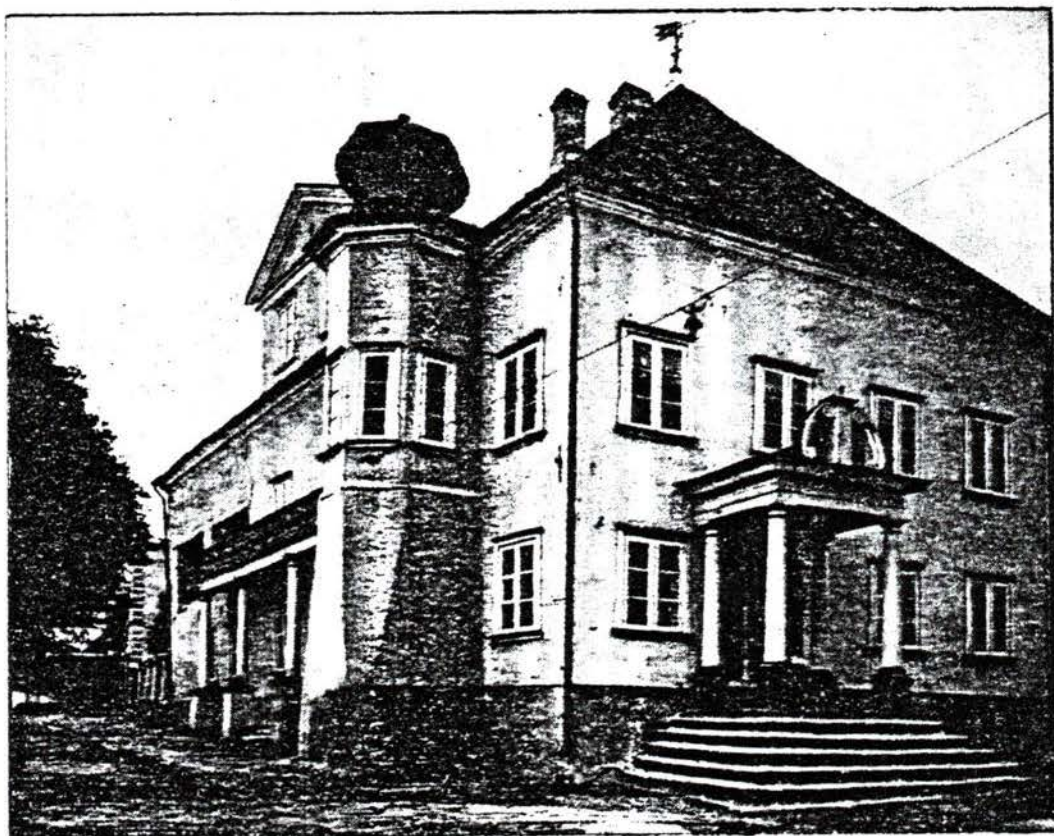


Fig. 30. Peter the Great's house, Narva. Eighteenth century.
(Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu, p. 247.)



Fig. 31. Peter the Great's house, Tallinn. 1714.
(Hermann, Das Baltikum in 120 Bildern, p. 121.)

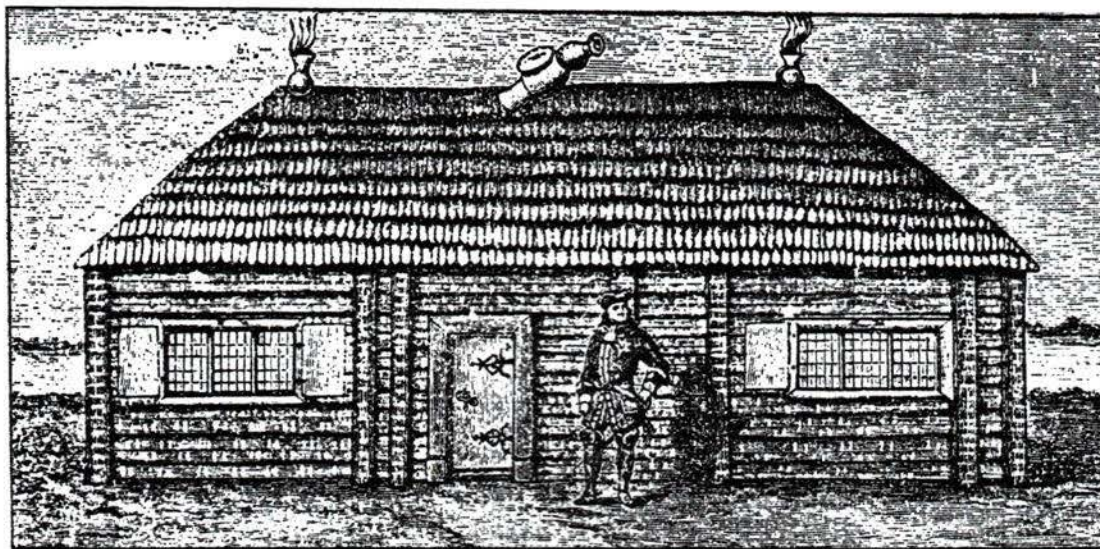


Fig. 32. Peter the Great's house, Leningrad. 1703.
(J.S. Martin, ed. A Picture History of Russia, p. 85.)

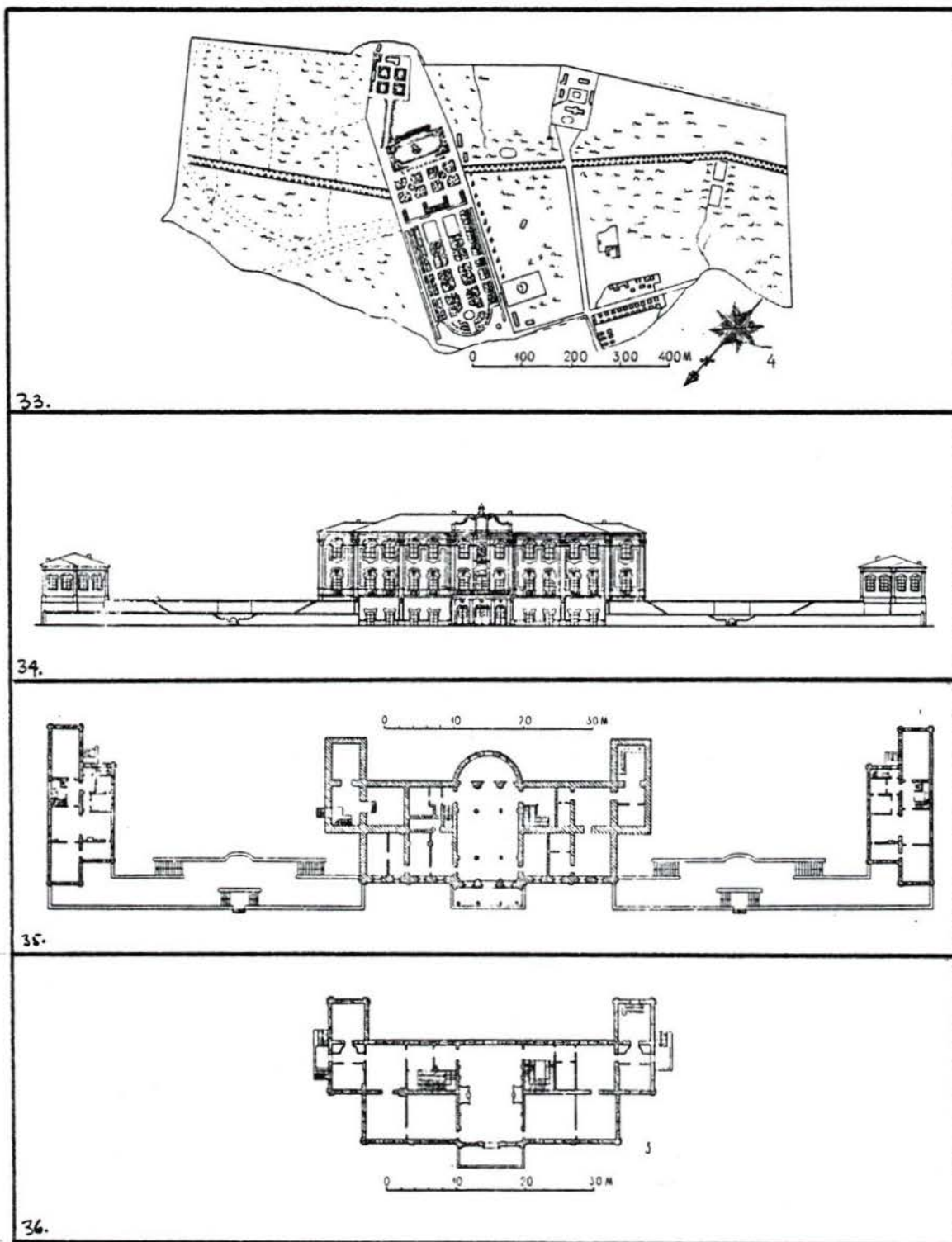


Fig. 33. Plan of Kadriorg Complex, Tallinn.

Fig. 34. Kadriorg. Façade; palace and wings.

Fig. 35. Kadriorg. Plan; first floor.

Fig. 36. Kadriorg. Plan; second floor.

(Arman et al., *Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu*, p. 255.)

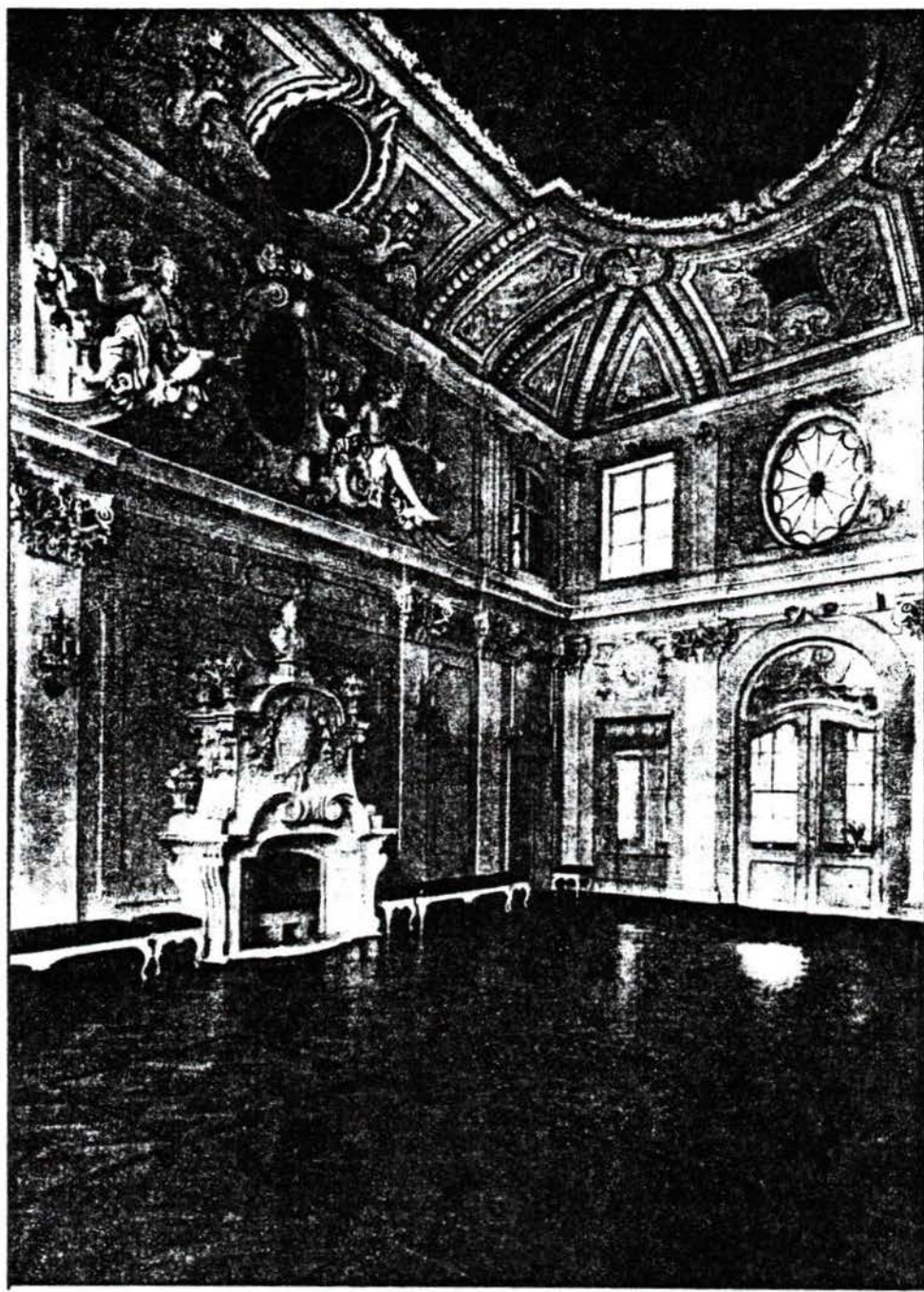


Fig. 37. Kadrioru Loss (The Palace of Kadriorg), Hall of Honor, Tallinn. 1718-1723.
(Arman et al., *Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu*, p. 251.)

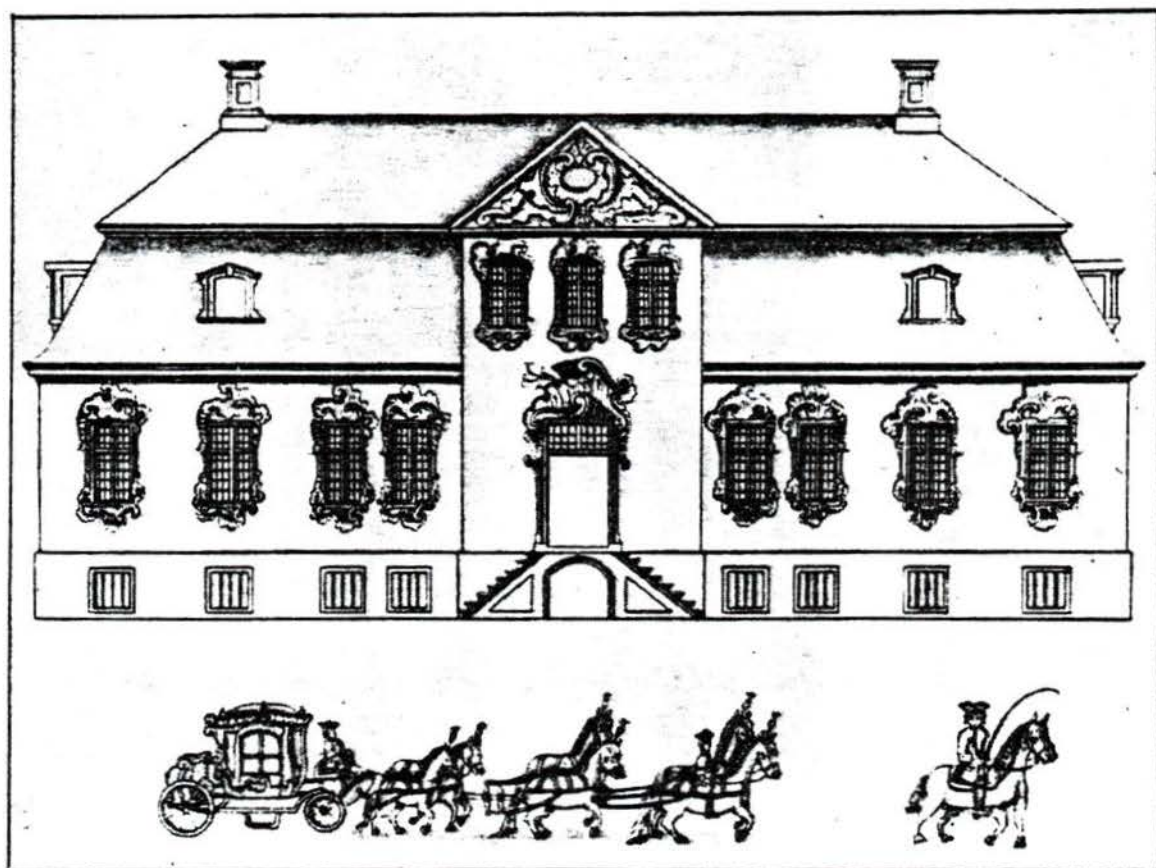


Fig. 38. Segadi Estate. Drawing from Estonian S.S.R. National History Museum Archives.
(Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu, p. 274.)

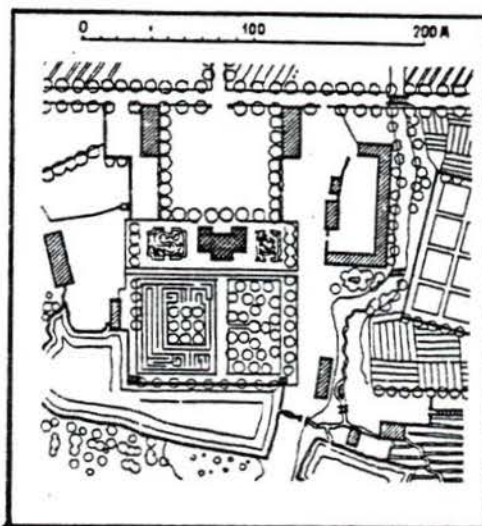


Fig. 39. Plan of Palmse Estate, 1753.
 (Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu, p. 277.)



Fig. 40. Palmse Estate. Engraving by W. Stavenhagen, 1867.
 (Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu, p. 276.)

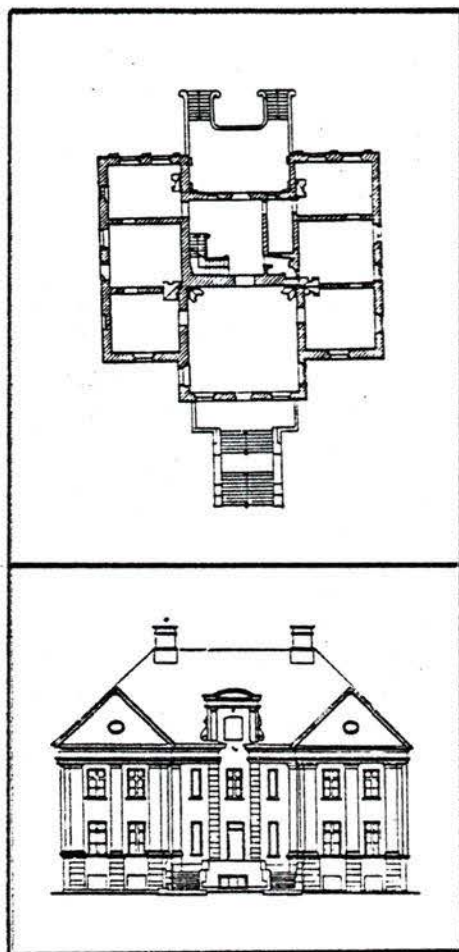


Fig. 41. Palmse Estate. Floor plan
and façade.
(Arman et al., Eesti Arhi-
tektuuri Ajalugu, p. 277.)

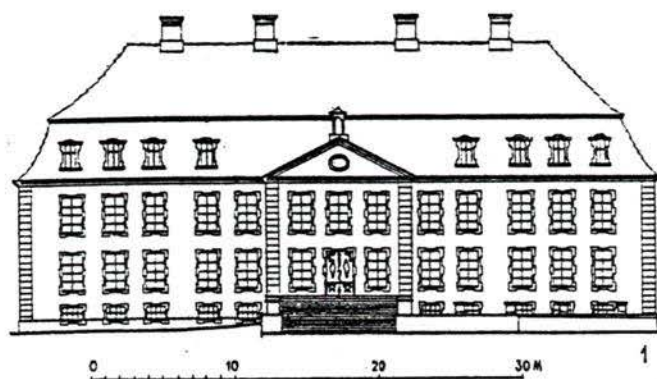


Fig. 42. Hiiu Suuremõis. Façade.
 (Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu,
 p. 277.)

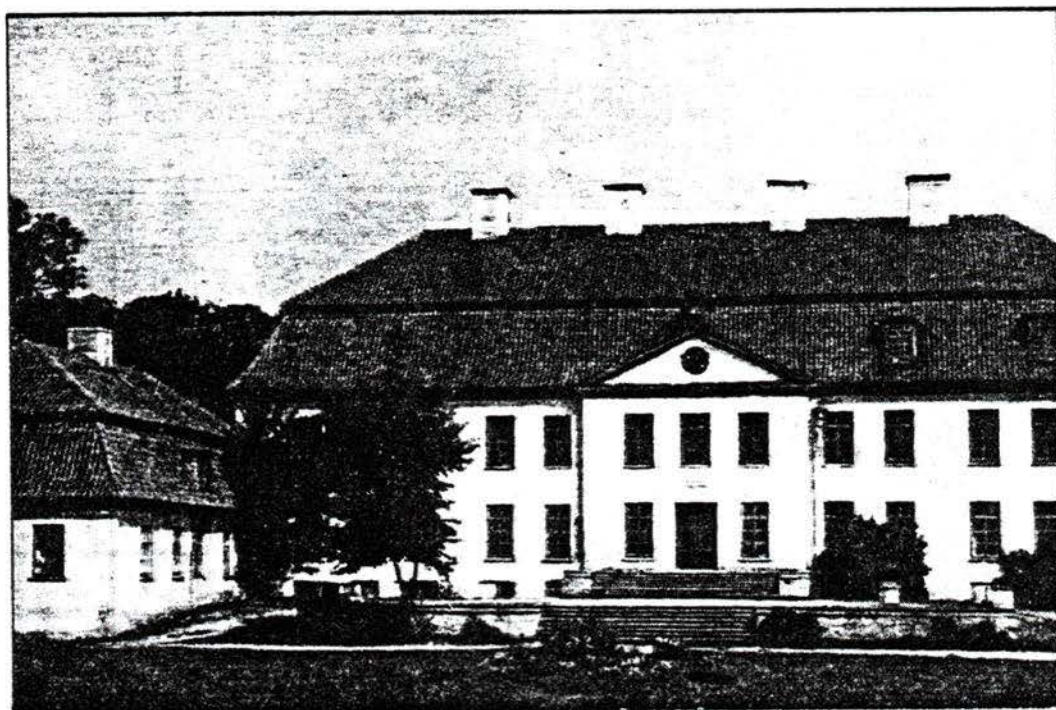


Fig. 43. Hiiu Suuremõis, 1755.
 (Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu, p. 278.)

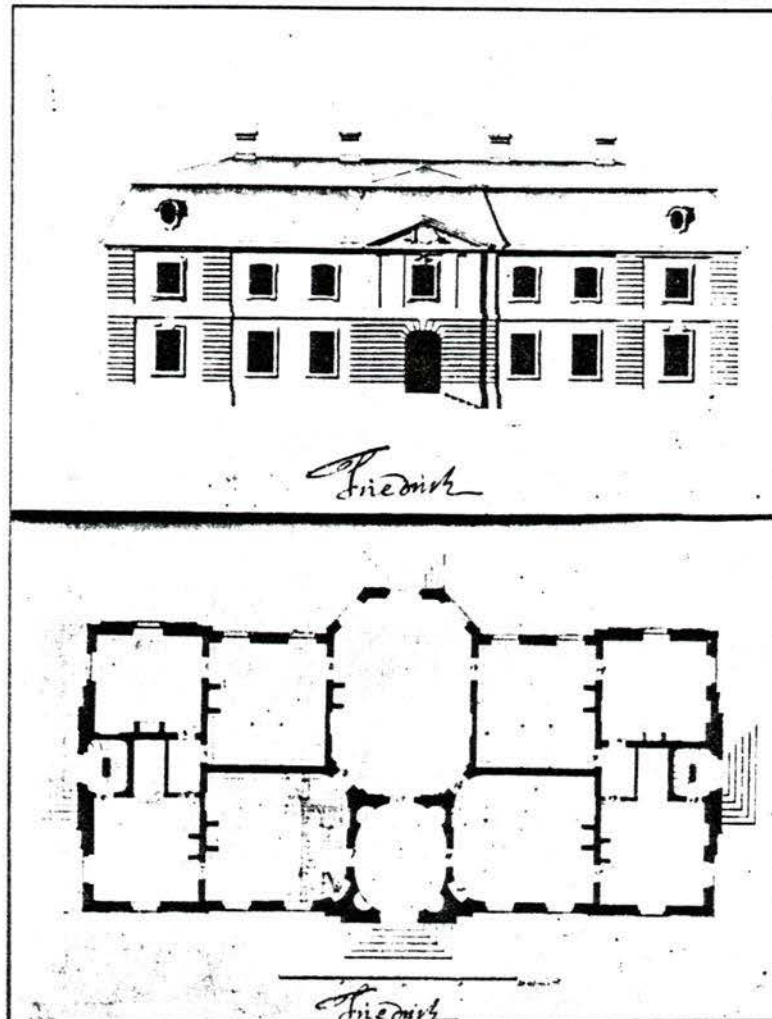


Fig. 44. Svartsjö, Uppland. Façade and floor plan.
(Paulsson, Scandinavian Architecture, pl. 69.)

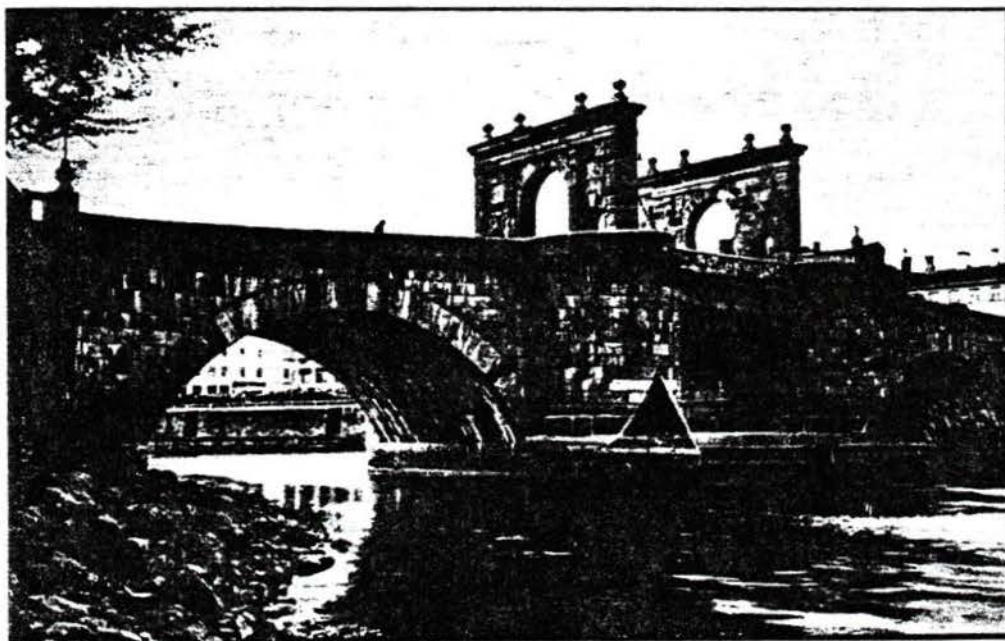


Fig. 45. Kivisild (Stone Bridge), Tartu. 1775-1784. Destroyed during World War II.
(Pullat, Tartu Ajalugu, p. 63.)

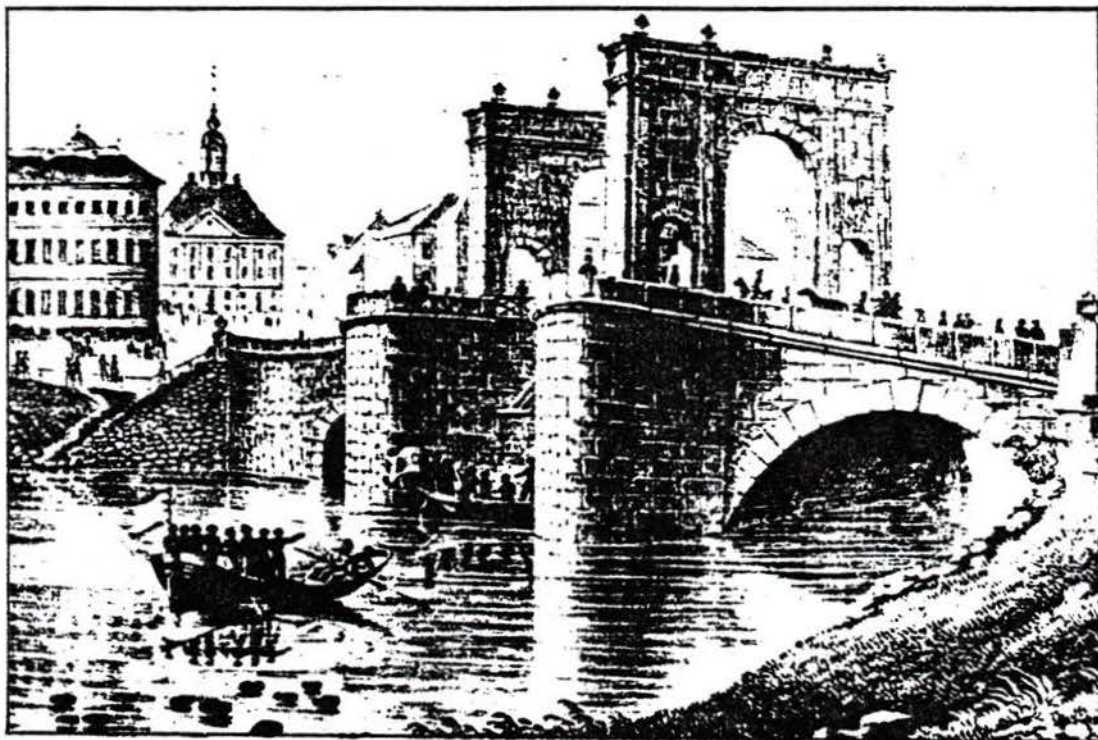


Fig. 46. Kivisild (Stone Bridge), Tartu, with Raekoda (Town Hall) in the background. Nineteenth century illustration. (Siilivask, ed., Tartu Ülikooli Ajalugu 2, 1798-1918, p. 51.)

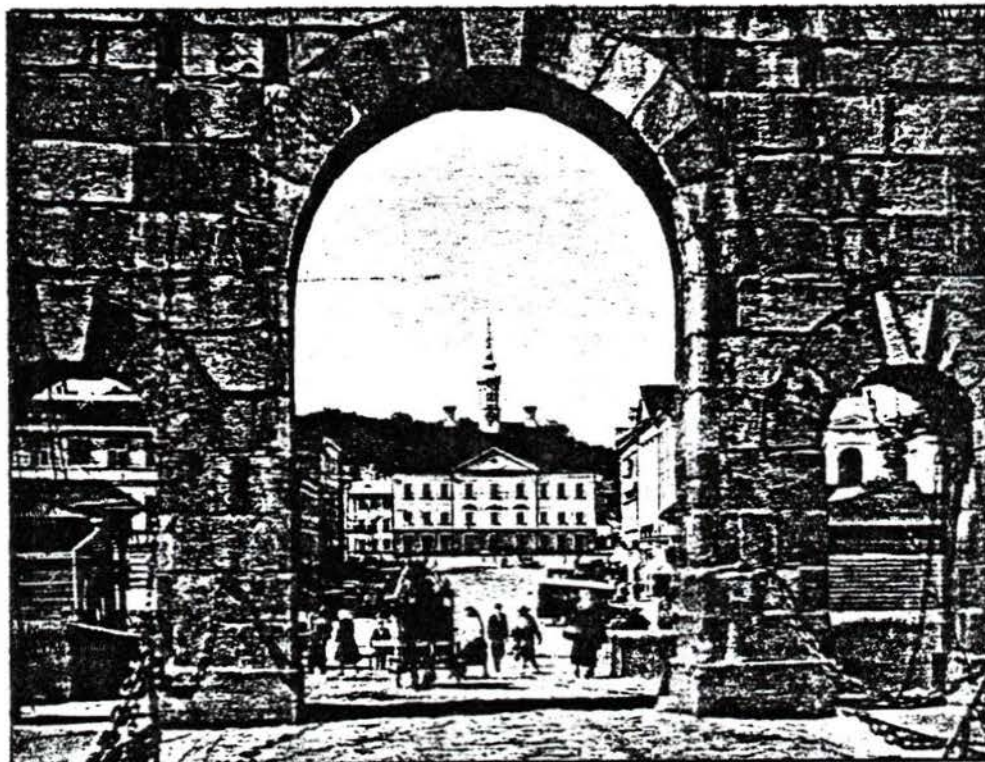


Fig. 47. View through the arches of the Kivisild, Tartu. (Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu, p. 290.)



Fig. 48. Market at the Kivisild, Tartu.
(Hermann, Das Baltikum in 120 Bildern, p. 93.)

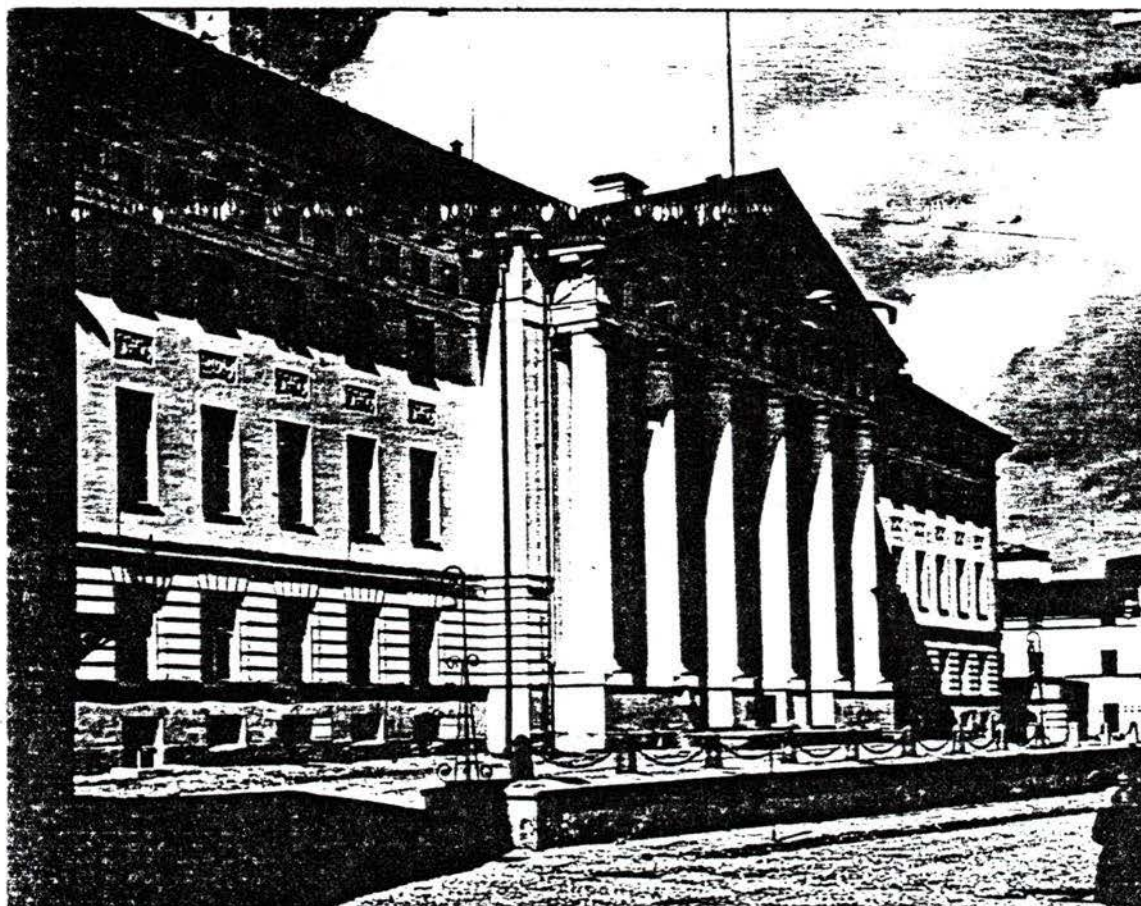


Fig. 49. University of Tartu, Main Building. 1803-1809.
(Author's photo.)

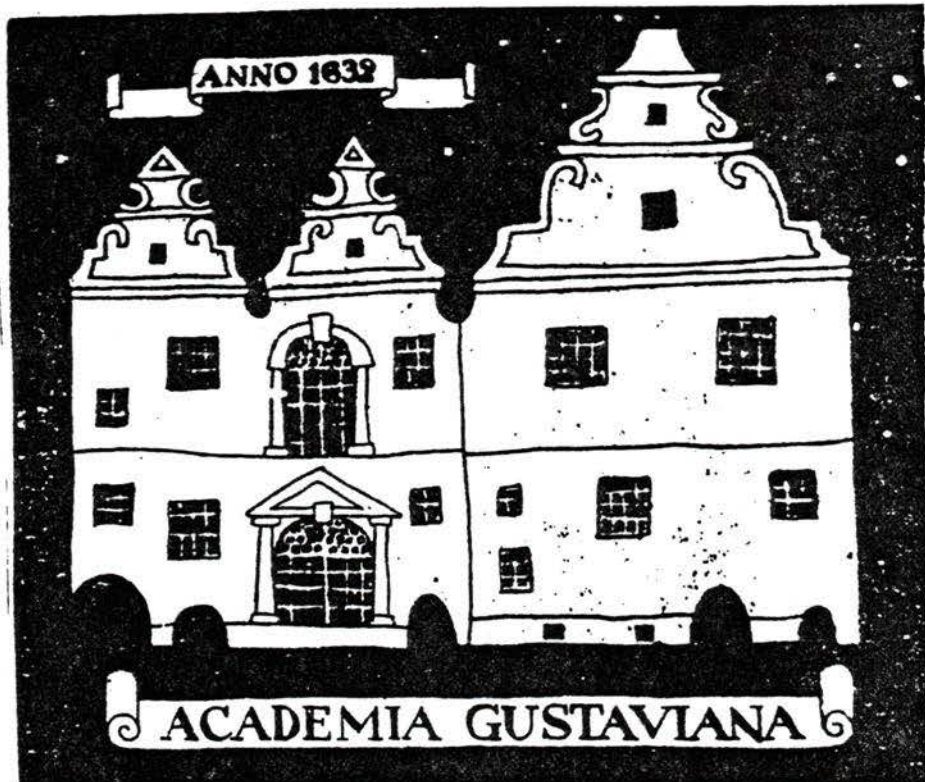


Fig. 50. First building to house the university.

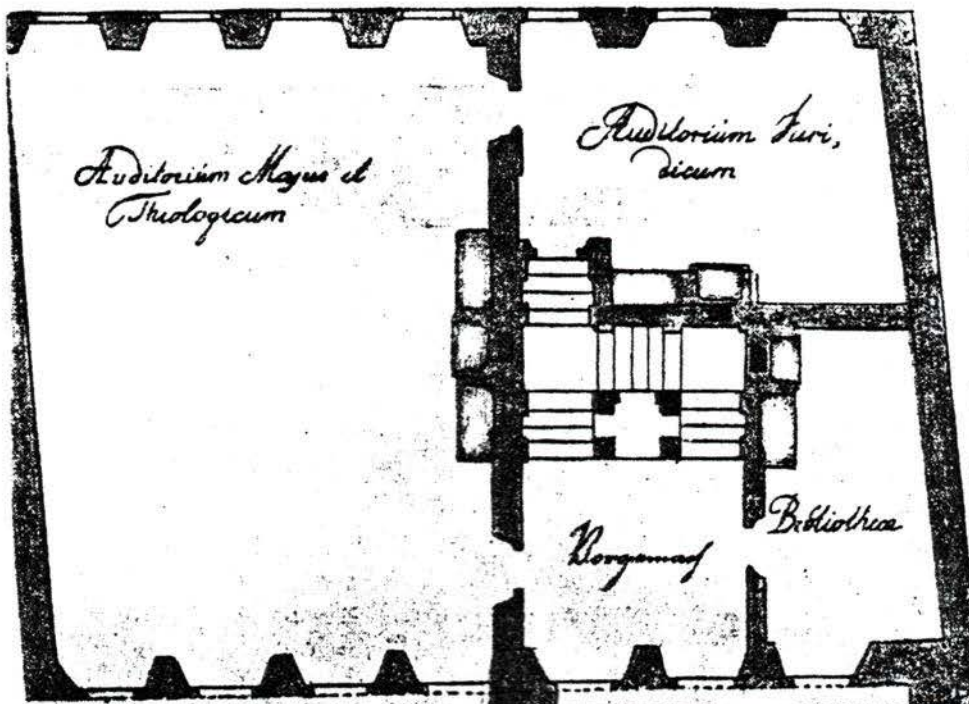


Fig. 51. Floor plan of university's quarters, 1640.
(Piirimäe, ed., *Tartu Ulikooli Ajalugu* 1, facing p. 96.)

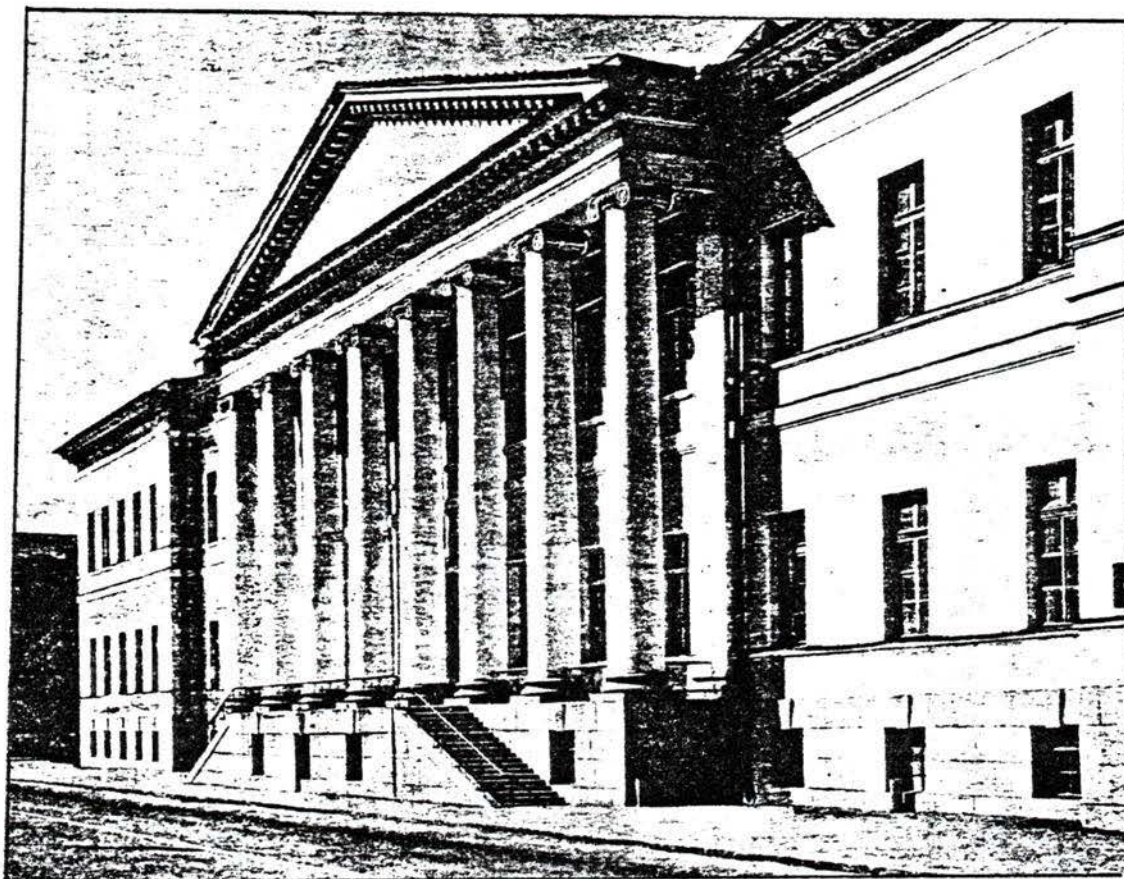


Fig. 52. The Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg. 1783-1789.
(Grabar, ed., Istoriia Russkogo Iskusstva 6, p. 203.)



Fig. 53. University of Tartu, Main Building façade.
(Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu, p. 338.)

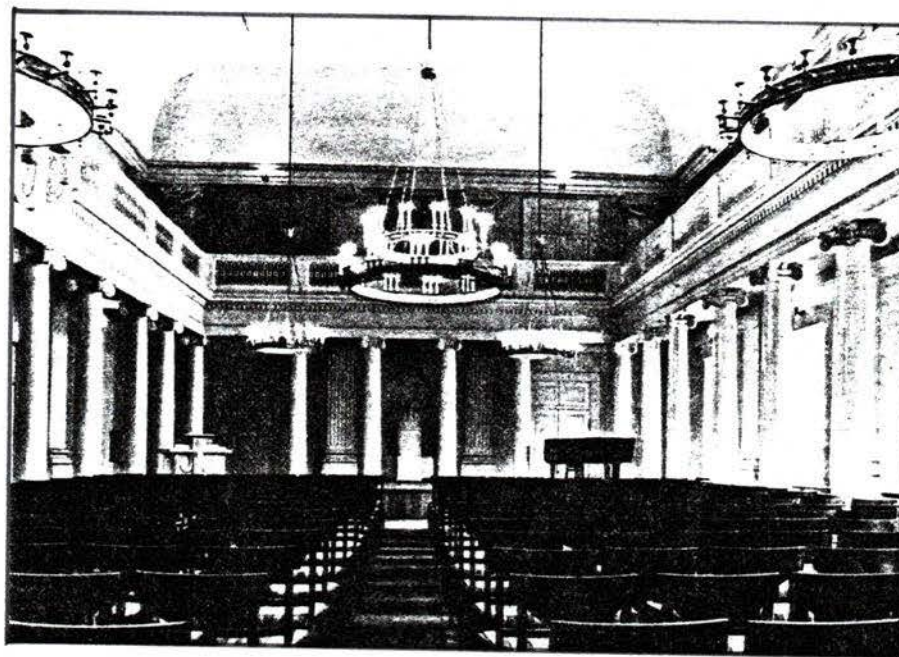


Fig 54. University of Tartu, Main Building, Auditorium.
(Solomokova et al., Eesti Kunsti Ajalugu 1,
Fig. 570.)

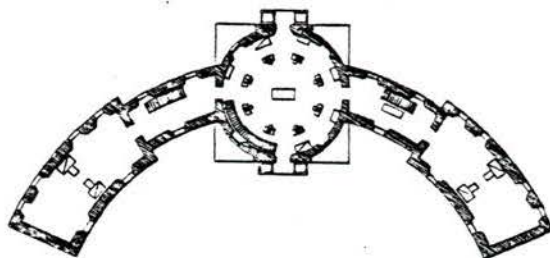
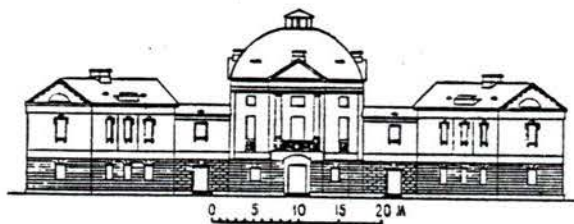


Fig. 55. University of Tartu, Anatomikum (Dissecting Theatre). Façade and floor plan.

(Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu, p. 338.)

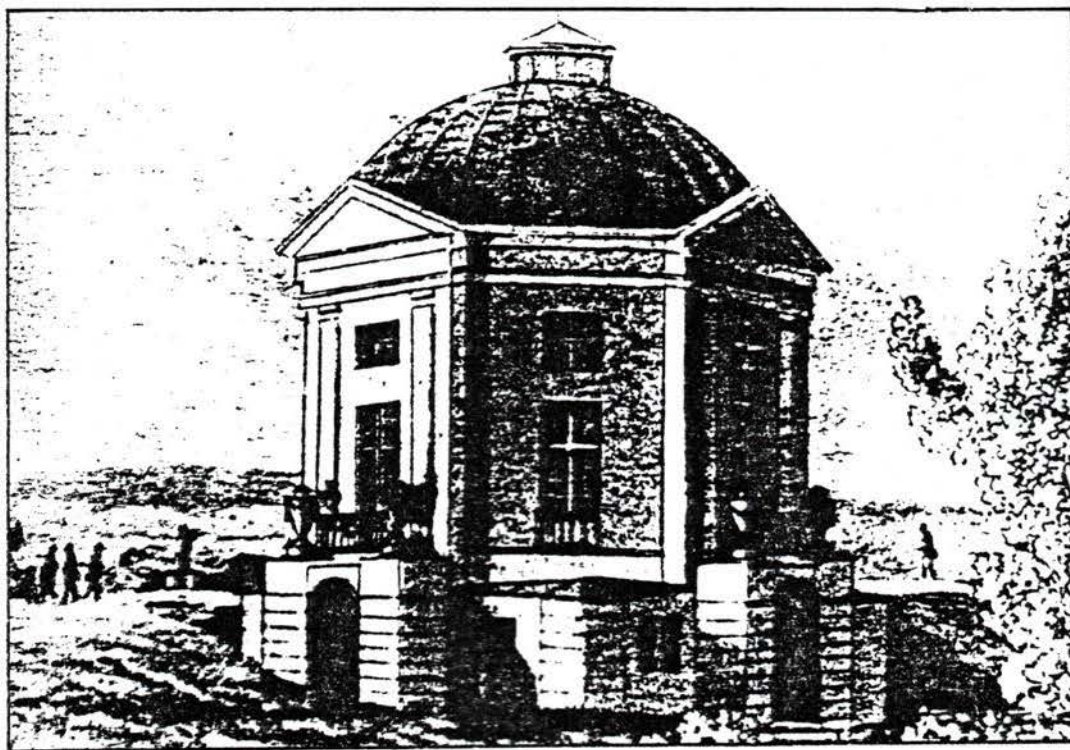


Fig. 56. University of Tartu, Anatomikum. The Rotunda. 1803-1805.
(Siilivask, Tartu Ülikooli Ajalugu 2., n.p.)

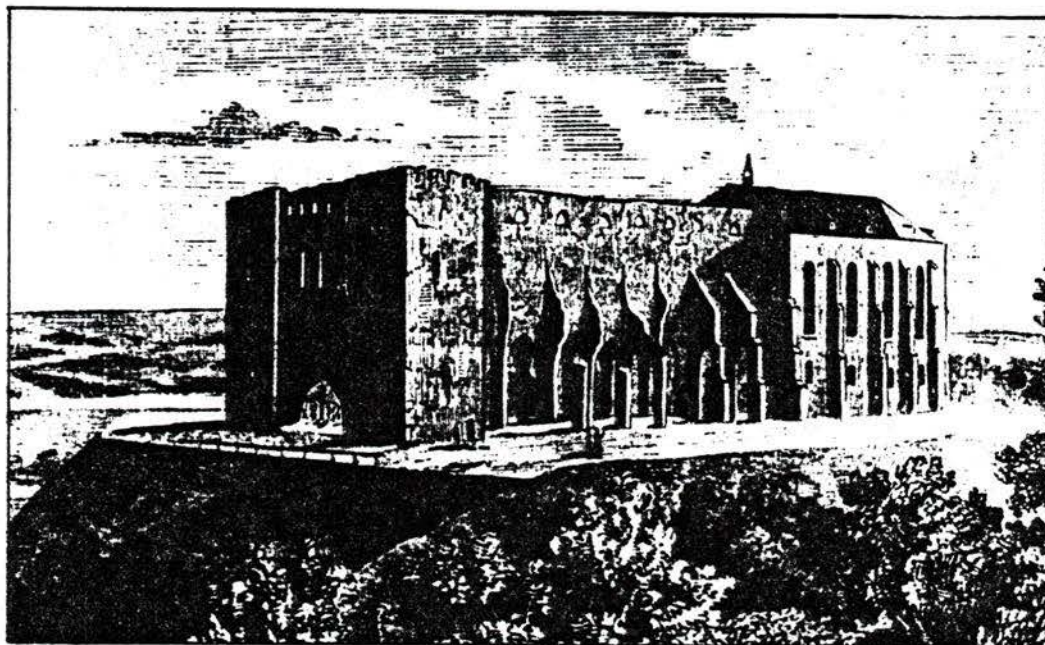


Fig. 57. University of Tartu. Library. Nineteenth century.
(Siilivask, Tartu Ülikooli Ajalugu 2, n.p.)

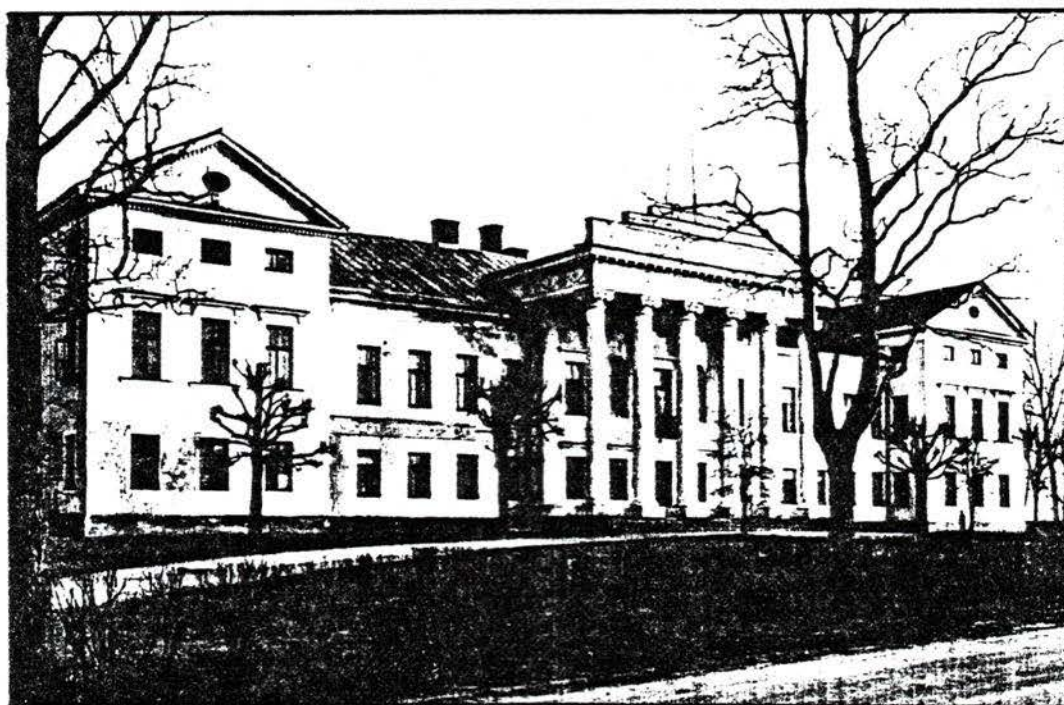


Fig. 58. Riisipere Estate, 1821.
(Solomokova et al., Eesti Kunsti Ajalugu 1, Fig. 375.)

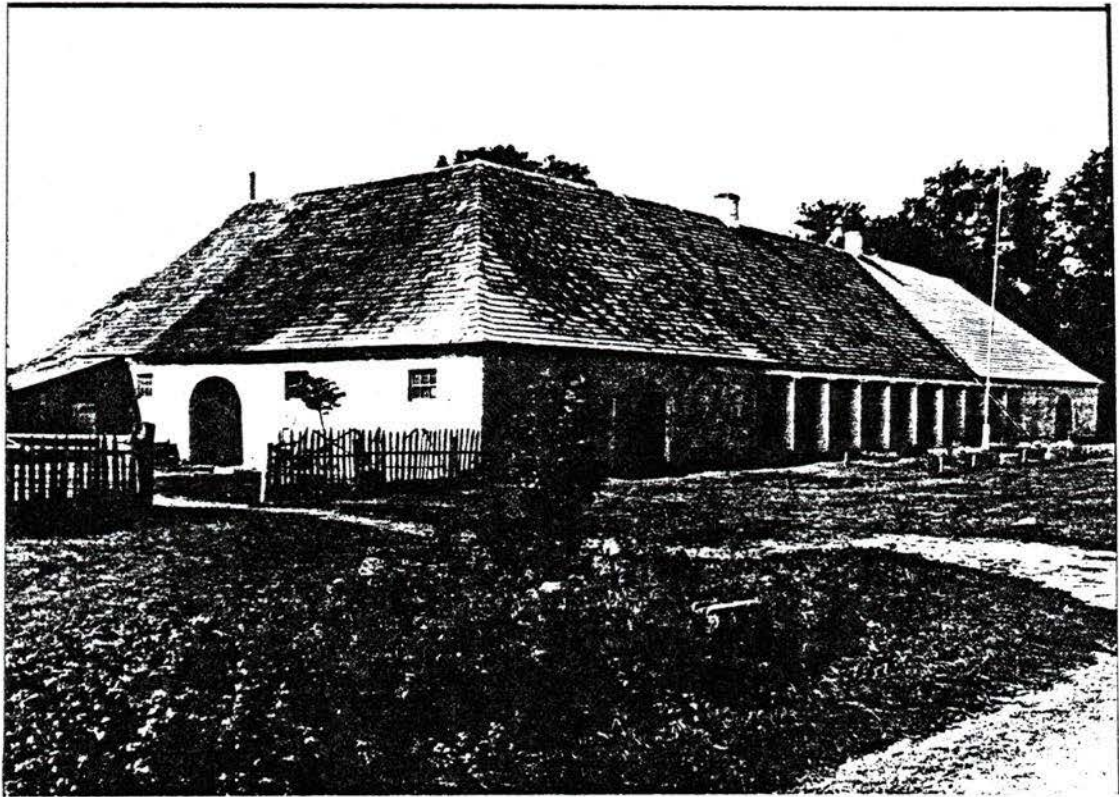


Fig. 59. The kõrts at Audru. Early nineteenth century.
(Kangro and Uibopuu, Meie Maa, Lääne-Eesti, p. 226.)

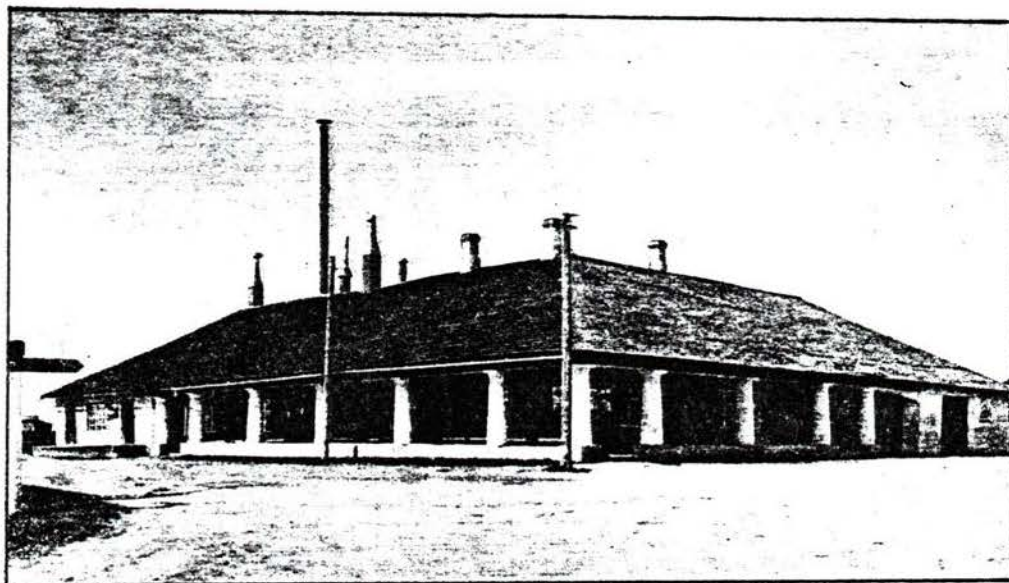


Fig. 60. The kõrts at Simuna. Early nineteenth century.
(Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu, p. 374.)

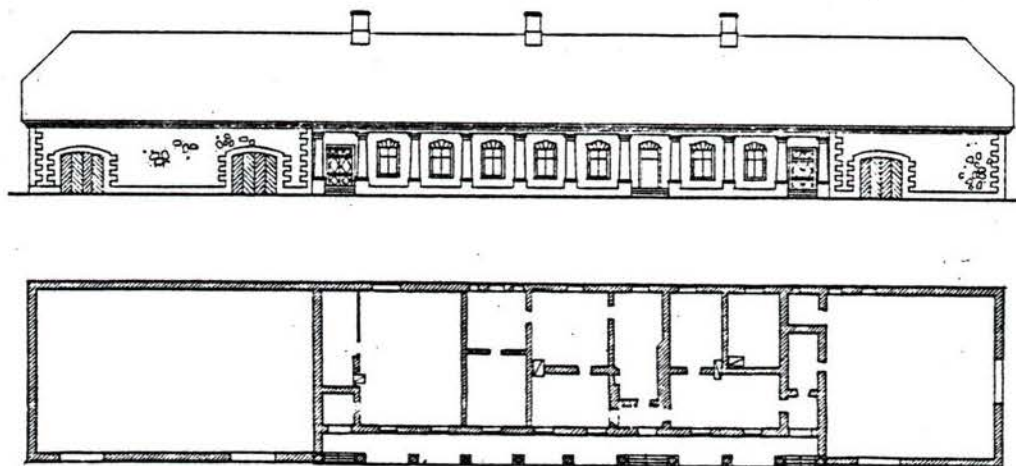


Fig. 61. Tori kõrts. Façade and floor plan.
(Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu, p. 377.)

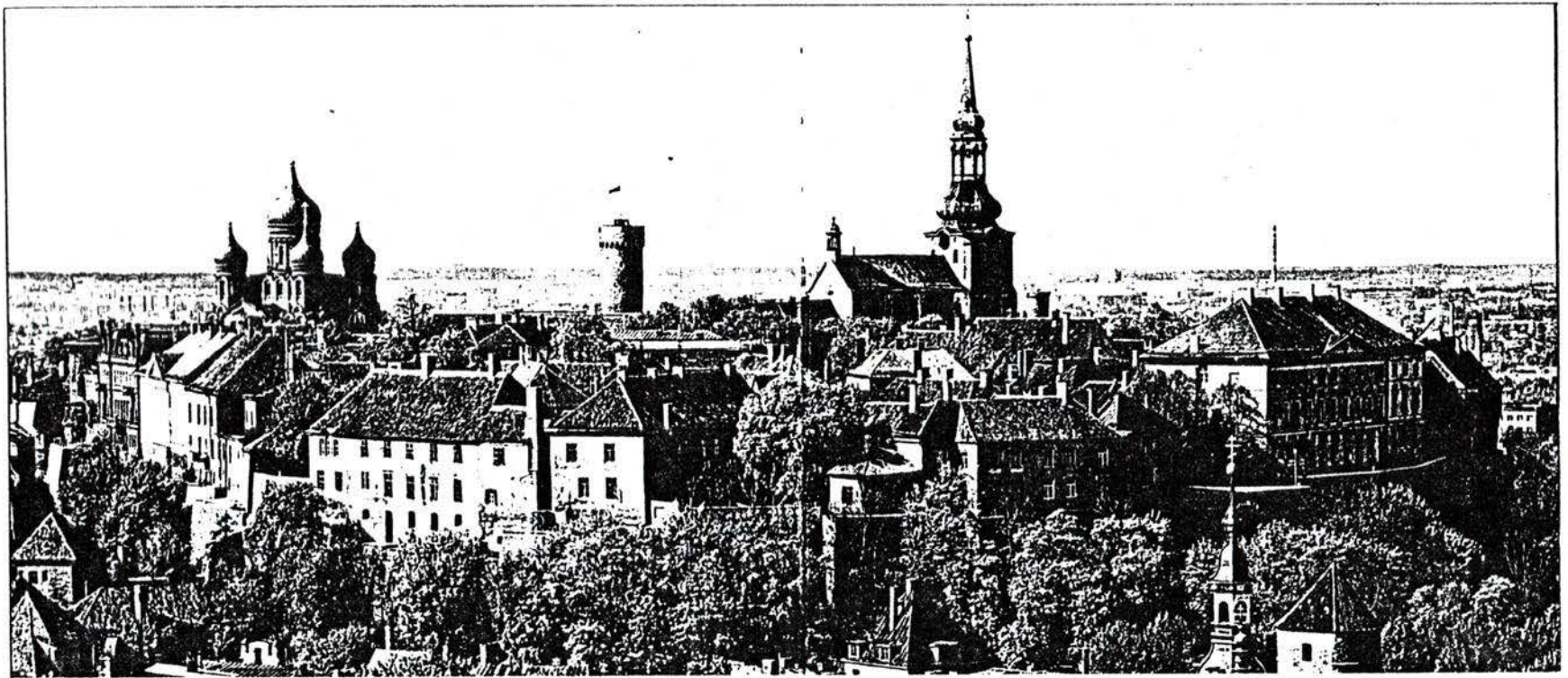


Fig. 62. Toompea Hill, Tallinn. The dominant structures from left to right are the Russian Orthodox Cathedral of Alexander Nevski, the Pikk Hermann Tower of Toompea Castle, and the Toomkirik. (German, Tallinn, Fig. 1.)



Fig. 63. The Russian Orthodox Cathedral of Alexander Nevski, Tallinn. 1894-1900.
(Rácz and Bereczki, Estland, Fig. 114.)



Fig. 64. Church of the Saviour on the Blood (Church of the Resurrection of Christ), Leningrad. 1883-1907. (Grabar, *Istoriia Russkogo Iskusstva*, Vol. 9, p. 269.)

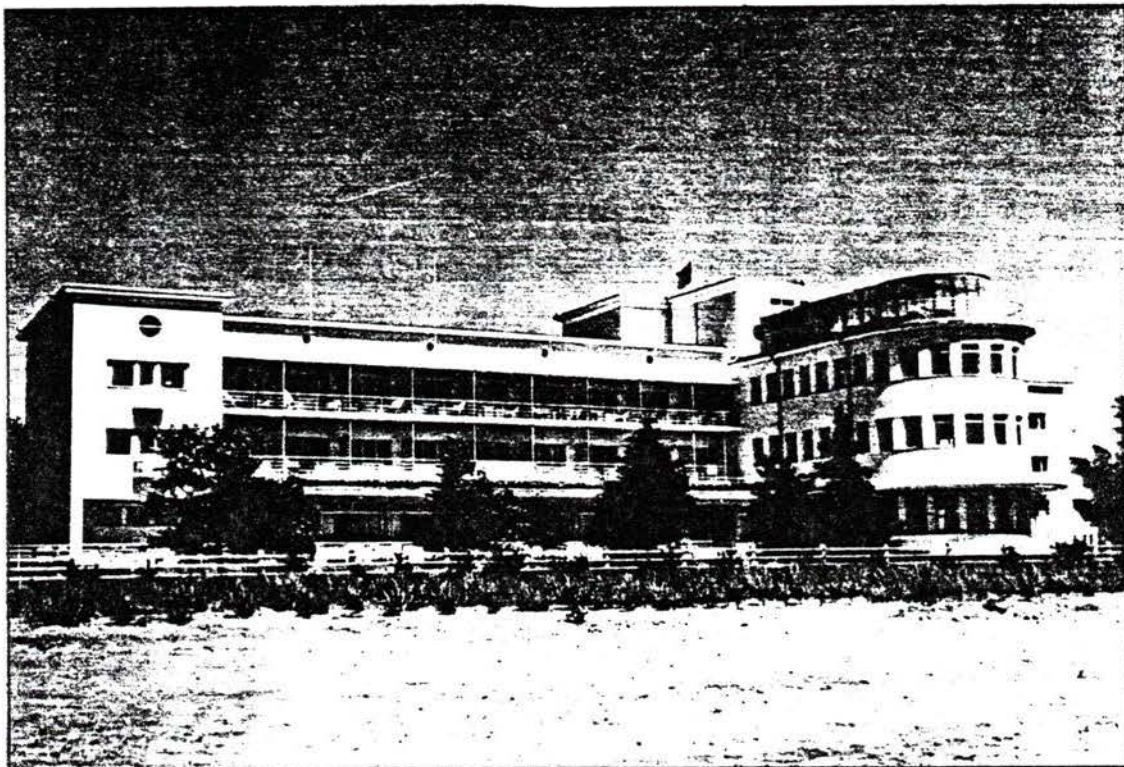


Fig. 65. The Rannahotell (Beach Hotel), Pärnu, 1937.
(Hermann, Das Baltikum in 120 Bildern, p. 83.)



Fig. 66. The Paimio Sanatorium. 1929-1933.
(Salokorpi, Modern Architecture in Finland, Fig. 7.)

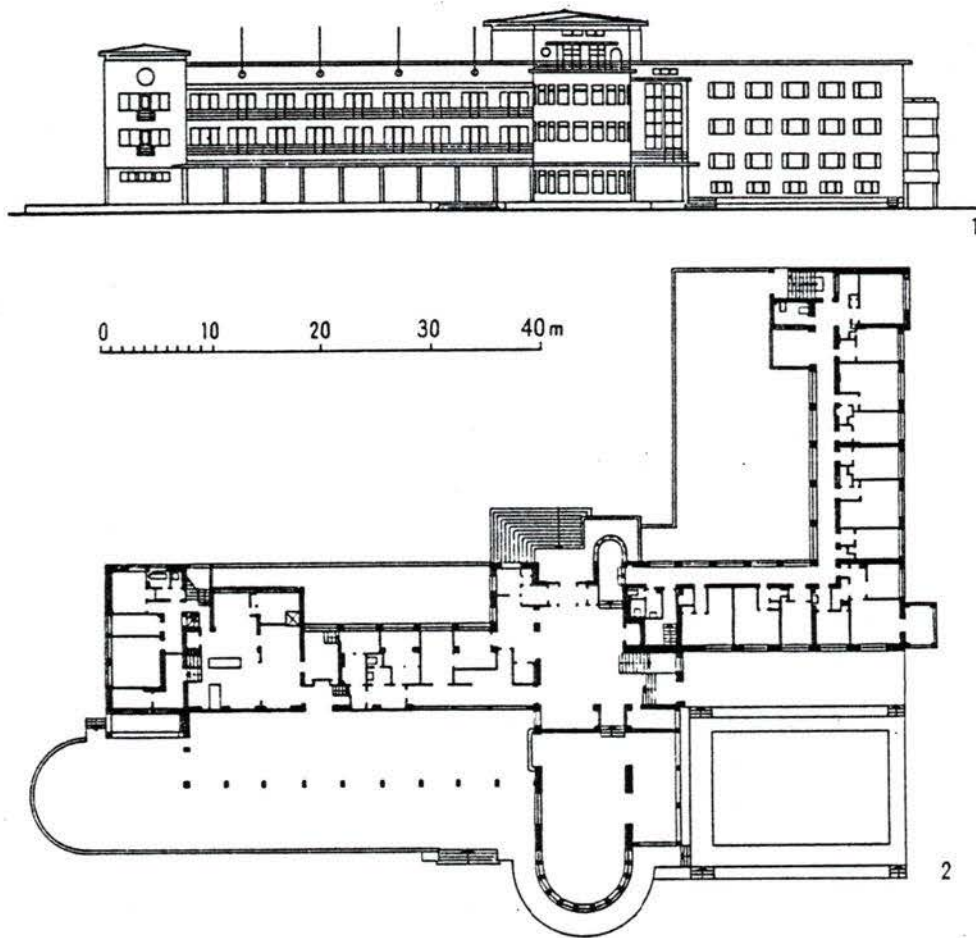


Fig. 67. The Rannahotell, Pärnu. Façade and floor plan.
(Arman et al., Eesti Arhitektuuri Ajalugu, p. 449.)

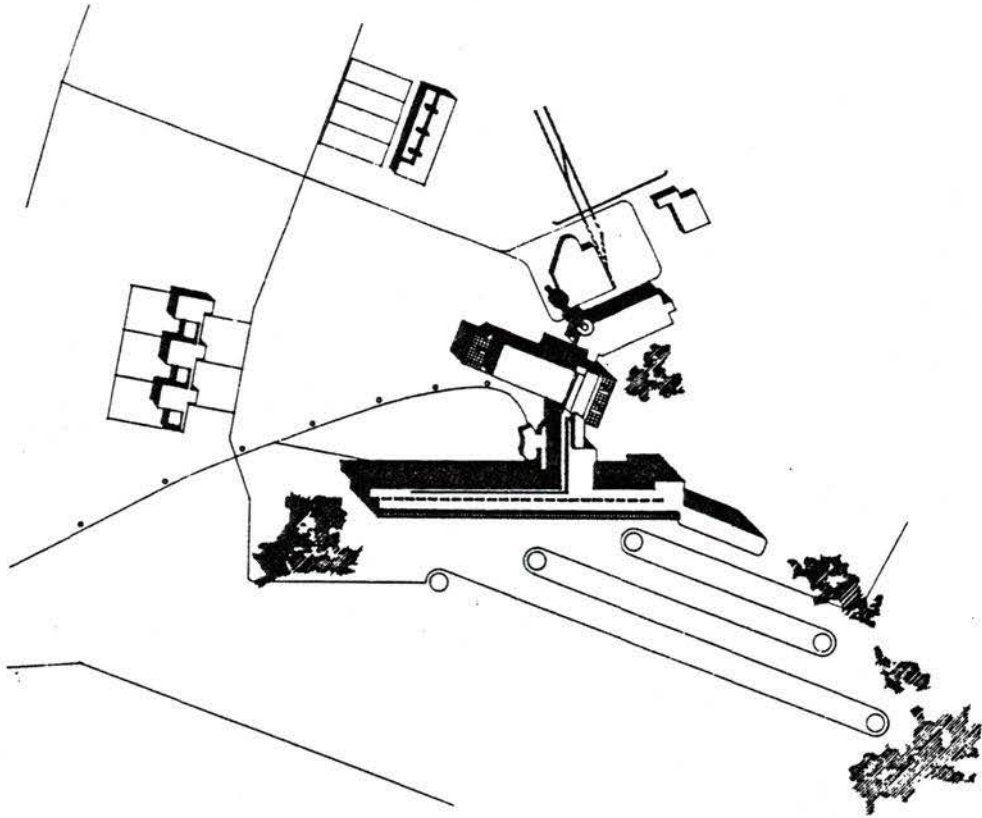


Fig. 68. Paimio Sanatorium site plan.
(Quantrill, Alvar Aalto, p. 52.)



Fig. 69. Building of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Estonian S.S.R. Tallinn. 1968.
(Pangsepp, Nõukogude Eesti, n.p.)

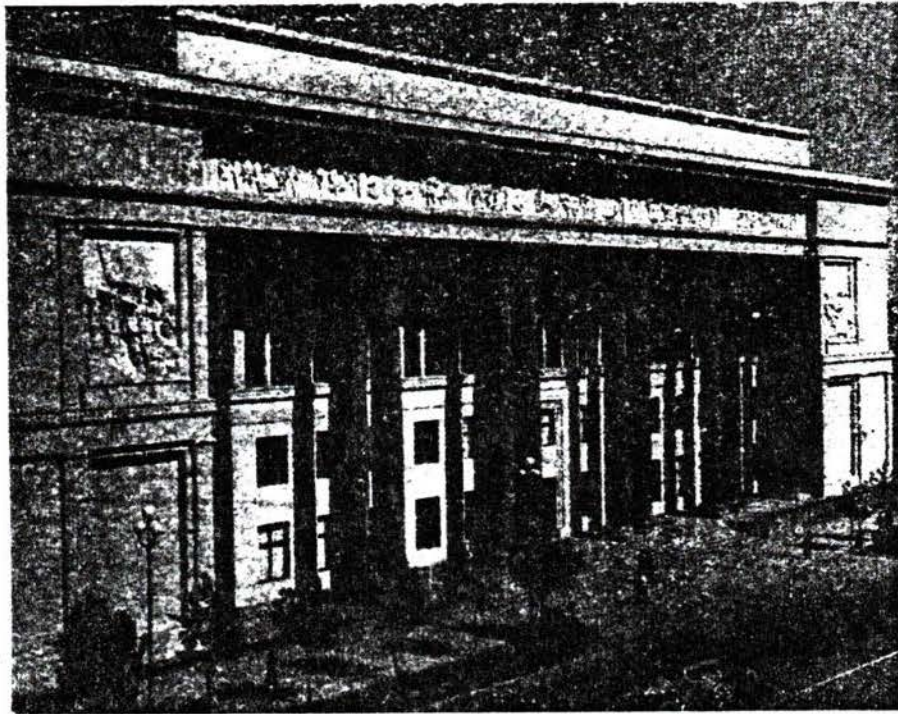


Fig. 70. The Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, Tbilissi, Georgia. 1938.
(Voyce, Russian Architecture: Trends in Nationalism and Modernism.
Plate LXXX.)



Fig. 71. The suburb of Mustamäe, Tallinn.
(Pangsepp, Nõukogude Eesti, n.p.)

APPENDIX B

MAPS



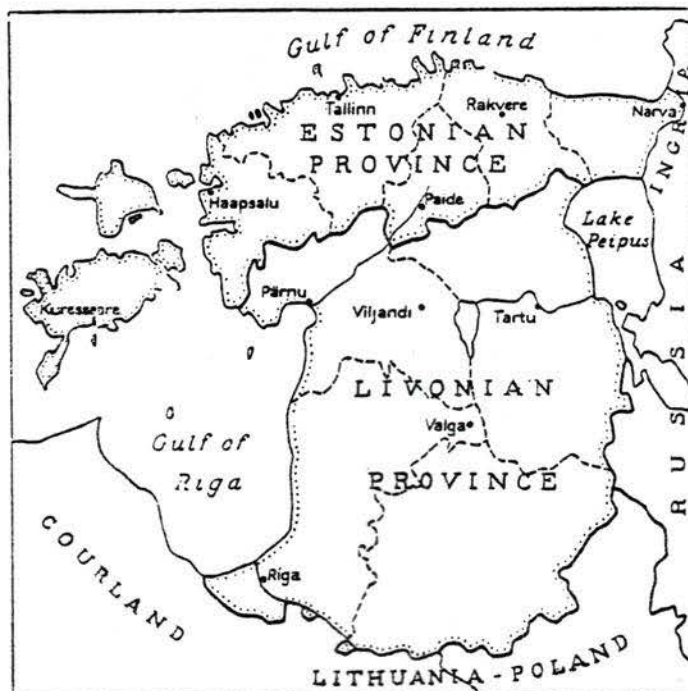
Map 1. Estonia
(Jackson, *Estonia*, p. 12.)



Map 2. Estonia, thirteenth century.
(Jackson, *Estonia*, p. 41.)



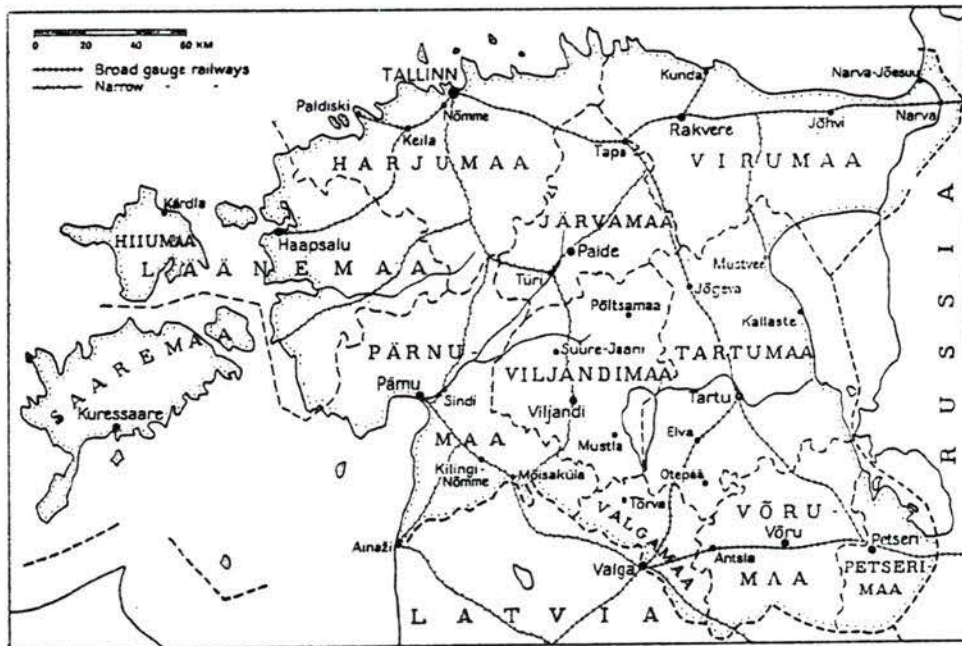
Map 3. Old Livonia at the end of the Middle Ages.
(Uustalu, The History of the Estonian People,
n.p.)



Map 4. Estonia under Sweden, 1629-1710.
(Uustalu, The History of the Estonian People,
n.p.)



Map 5. The Swedish Empire at its height.
 (Elstob, *Sweden: A Political and Cultural History*, p. 127.)



Map 6. Estonia, 1918-1941.

(Uustalu, The History of the Estonian People, n.p.)

APPENDIX C
PLACE NAMES

PLACE NAMES

Places in Estonia have been referred to throughout by their names in Estonian.

Estonian Place Names and their Historical Equivalents:

Emajõgi	Embach
Haapsalu	Haapsal
Hiumaa	Dagö
Muhu	Moon
Paide	Weissenstein
Pärnu	Pernau
Lake Peipsi	Peipus
Petseri	Petschur
Saaremaa	Ösel
Tallinn	Reval
Tartu	Dorpat
Viljandi	Fellin
Vormsi	Worms

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