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Historical Borderlands in the Baltic Sea Area⁽¹⁾

Layers of Cultural Diffusion and New Borderland Theories: The Case of Livonia

Alexander Drost

Introduction

This paper presents a new borderland theory which is based on the trans-boundary overlap of economic, political and cultural layers of human activity in the Baltic Sea region from the late Middle Ages to the dawn of the 19th century. The development of a model that combines the concept of cultural layers and novel borderland theory is based on the assumption that the nation state of the 19th century has ceased to be a suitable model of historical explanation in today's period of structural and intellectual flow. Research on intensive processes of economic, political and cultural integration in Europe and its impact on the individual perception of space, identity and living conditions have shown that due to these processes the frame set of structures in societies can no longer be solely determined by the concept of the nation state.⁽²⁾ Zygmunt Bauman has stated that the nation state rests on the concept that ambivalence can be kept in check through order. The post-modern experience has shown that it is difficult to maintain this balance and ambivalence often gains the upper hand.⁽³⁾

Present research from the perspective of political science or contemporary history detects a major political and societal transformation in the crossing and disappearance of national borders today.⁽⁴⁾ The early modern historian chooses a different perspective which recurs to the spatial formation of states and regions in the pre-nation-state phase. Particularly but not exclusively, regional integration in the Baltic Sea area is mainly viewed in the context of the current dissolution of borders and boundaries in the aftermath of the end of the ideological

(1) I want to thank Prof. Dr. Michael North, Maria Moynihan, Dr. Robert Riemer, and Christian Fricke for their immensely helpful comments and corrections. The paper was presented in revised versions at Kyoto Sangyo University in March 2009, at the Baltic Studies Conference in Kaunas (Lithuania) in June 2009 as well as the Baltic Studies Conference by the AABS in Bloomington, Indiana in June 2008. I am very thankful for the discussions and stimulus by these events. I am particularly grateful to Prof. Dr. Toshiaki Tamaki for his invitation to present this topic at Kyoto Sangyo University and Kazuo Kobayashi for his support in the publication process.

(2) See for example: Zygmunt Bauman, *Moderne und Ambivalenz, Das Ende der Eindeutigkeit (Modernity and Ambivalence)*, Hamburg 2005; Ibid., *Gemeinschaften (Community. Seeking Safety in an insecure World)*, Frankfurt a. M. 2009; Georg Schmidt, *Wandel durch Vernunft, Deutschland 1715-1806*, München 2009, p. 13.

(3) Zygmunt Bauman, *Moderne und Ambivalenz*, pp. 21, 23 f., 107.

(4) See for example: Sylvain Giguere, *Baltic Partnerships, Integration, Growth and Local Governance in the Baltic Sea Region*, Paris 2007; Susanna Perko, *Towards a Baltic Sea Region – Overcoming the East-West Divide in a Patchwork of Multiple Actors*, in: Susanna Perko (ed.), *Nordic- Baltic Region in transition, new actors, new issues, new perspectives*, Tampere 1996, pp. 9-23.

east-west divide around 1990 and the successive integration of East European states into the European Union. This image suggests the slow emergence of a region constructed on the basis of common interests to solve contemporary cross-border problems. Even though this is partly true, this view obscures traditional, age old connections and contacts within the Baltic Sea area which had much stronger influences on regional formation processes than the dividing borders of the nation state in the 19th and 20th centuries. These earlier contacts through economic exchange, migration and conquest since the Middle Ages establish the basis and ties for current integration processes by providing a common sense of structures, institutions, values and meanings which are revitalized by a regional memory.

Considering the nation state as just one model of historical explanation, which is particularly diminished in its ability to explain formation processes beyond national borders, new models have to be developed which take current and historical integration and organization processes into account. For this reason, I propose the combination of two interconnected models of explanation; a theory of borderland that goes beyond the territorial dimension, and the model of cultural layers which also serves as a device for operationalization and thus testing of this kind of borderland theory in historical research. Early modern Livonia (and thus also today's Baltic States) serves as a suitable case study because of its animated history as a borderland between empires competing for domination in the Baltic Sea area, the *Dominium Maris Baltici*.

The model of "cultural layers" derives from archaeological studies, where the distinction is drawn between different layers of sediments, each of which was deposited during a certain period of time and with certain characteristics that represent developments within that time.

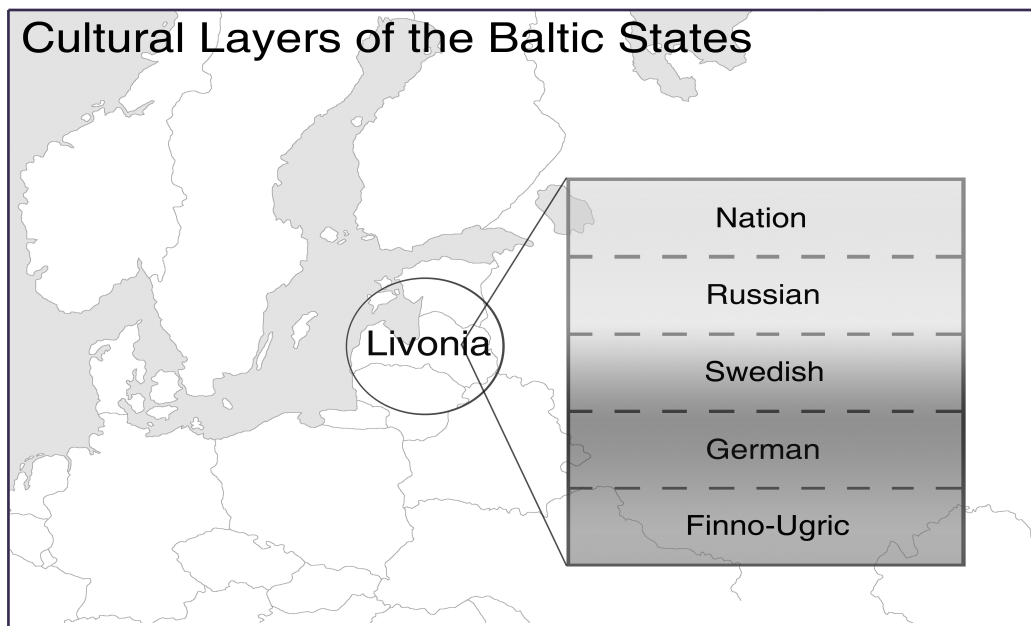


Figure 1: Cultural layer

The end of one layer and the beginning of another represents the end of one period of time and the beginning of another one. I have borrowed the model of the “cultural layer” and understand this basically as cultural contents (including political, social, geographical, legal etc. parameters) that were produced and deposited by human activity and accumulated into a characteristic body of conduct over a distinct period of time. In this way it is possible to establish the cultural impact of particular periods of time on a region. For our example, Livonia, we can assume a Finno-Ugric basic layer, followed by a German layer, a Polish layer etc. Since all these layers did not exist autonomously but have certain relations to former or later periods – for example accommodated rights, like the German urban rights of the Burgers which also existed during the Swedish or Polish reign – we have to develop the model of “cultural layer” further to meet the needs of historical analysis. We have to penetrate the static archaeological model of independent layers to recognize the exchange and preservation of cultural contents through these layers for a given region. So the layers are not separated by a strict demarcation line, but rather constitute a borderland understood as a systemic overlap.

That means, the territorial borderland concept, which focuses more on the transitional space at the edge of states or nations does not meet our research needs. Therefore, our concept of borderland accepts the role of spatial markers but goes beyond the territorial dimension to include the mental, spiritual, communicative and emotional space of encounter constituted by interaction and exchange. The borderland is present wherever cultures meet.

Cultural layers forming Livonia and the Baltic provinces

The history of the current Baltic States is less characterized by a continuous development of a national or ethnic culture but rather as a constant process of resistance and acceptance of political, economic and cultural invasion. Furthermore, the region shows a great ethnic and cultural overlap that is most obvious in the more common and intertwined histories of Estonia and Latvia while Lithuania has a history of different dependencies and cooperation which extended to Poland, Ukraine and White Russia.⁽⁵⁾ The historical connections of Estonia, Latvia and in parts also of Lithuania circumscribe the “geographical cultural”⁽⁶⁾ space of contacts with Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Poland, the Ukraine and Russia. It was particularly the figure of a foreign ruler, or groups of foreign ruling classes which initiated cultural integration and adaptation processes of Livonia into Christianized Europe and its royal courts.⁽⁷⁾ The most important ones to form a cultural layer on Livonia will be introduced in the following chapters.

(5) Ralph Tüchtemagen, *Geschichte der Baltischen Länder*, München 2009, p. 7.

(6) Aušra Jurgutienė, Reception and History: Baltic Memory, in: Anneli Mihkelev; Benedikts Kalnačs (eds.), *We have something in common: The Baltic Memory*, Tallin 2007, p. 31 f.

(7) Daniel Höffker; Gabriel Zeilinger, Fremde Herrscher im Ostseeraum (15.-18. Jahrhundert), *Eine Einleitung*, in: Ibid. (eds.), *Fremde Herrscher, Elitentransfer und politische Integration im Ostseeraum (15.-18. Jahrhundert)*, Frankfurt a. M. 2006, p. 12.

German Layer

The first incorporation in to the western European cultural dimension of Old Livonia (Latvia and Estonia) was encountered under Meinhard, an Augustinian from Holstein in 1186. Even though his approaches did not last long, the Christian mission was continued. The canon Albert von Buxhoevden from Bremen in the north of the Holy Roman Empire became 1199 Bishop of Livonia and provided, with his followers, the basis for the establishment of a feudal dependent nobility of German origins.⁽⁸⁾ This period is recognized by the term “Baltic crusades”⁽⁹⁾. The settlement and thus permanent stay of traders, clergy and nobles contributed to a substantial transformation of the area.⁽¹⁰⁾ While, for about two centuries, the local population continued their traditional laws and social structure, particularly the peasants fell into feudal dependence in the 15th century.⁽¹¹⁾

Besides the North-Estonian territory which fell to Denmark after the Estonian War 1238,⁽¹²⁾ Livonia constituted a confederation of four ecclesiastical territories: the diocese of Riga, the diocese of Dorpat, the diocese of Oesel-Wik and the diocese Courland as well as the territory controlled by the Teutonic Order. This confederation was organized corporatively and met in state diets (Landtag). The German nobility ruled the indigenous inhabitants Latgale, Selen, Zemgale, Courlanders and Finno-Ugric Livonians (Estonians). Culturally, Livonia was a contact area of German, Slavic, Finno-Ugric, Danish, and Baltic people who created an area of broad overlap of languages, cultural practices and power relations.⁽¹³⁾ The same multicultural characteristic was true for Lithuania which could defend its sovereign pagan principality that was under a constant threat of the Teutonic Order. The Teutonic Order failed to strengthen its influence and Lithuania developed into a multi-ethnic realm through eastward expansion by incorporating Christian-Roman, Orthodox and pagan religions. In 1385 Poland and Lithuania constituted a personal union by matrimonial policy of the Polish King Louis of Anjou who married his daughter Hedwig (Jadwiga) to Jagiello, the Grand Duke of Lithuania. This union of states became permanent in the 16th century. The connection also stimulated the Christian mission in Lithuania.⁽¹⁴⁾

The introduction of towns as economic and political centres changed the socio-economic structures in Livonia considerably.⁽¹⁵⁾ The establishment of trading settlements by the Hanseatic

(8) Michael Garleff, *Die Baltischen Länder*, Regensburg 2001, p. 19.

(9) See: Sven Ekdahl, *Crusades and Colonisation in the Baltic: A historiographic analysis*, in: XIX Rocznik Instytutu Polsko-Skandynawskiego, Copenhagen 2004, pp. 1-42.

(10) Andris Šnē, *The emergence of Livonia: The transformations of social and political structures in the territory of Latvia during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries*, in: Alan V. Murray (ed.), *The clash of cultures on the medieval Baltic frontier*, Farnham et al. 2009, p. 55.

(11) Andris Šnē, *The emergence of Livonia*, p. 64 f. Ralph Tuchtenhagen, *Geschichte der Baltischen Länder*, p. 21.

(12) Ralph Tuchtenhagen, *Geschichte der Baltischen Länder*, p. 22.

(13) Klaus Zernack, *Osteuropa: Eine Einführung in seine Geschichte*, München 1977, p. 53.

(14) Michael Garleff, *Baltische Länder*, p. 28 f.

(15) Andris Šnē, *The emergence of Livonia*, p. 68.

League – 1201 Riga, 1248 the Lübeck law was granted to Reval (Tallinn) – transferred economic and judicial influence from the German culture into the area.

The Hanse constituted a network of merchants who traded over far distances in the 12th century and developed into a network of German merchant cities in the 13th century which controlled the commercial exchange from Flanders in the West to Novgorod in the East. The initial phase of this network was characterized by a merchant association of Cologne that was granted a privilege by Henry II of Anjou to establish a trading house, the London Guildhall, in England in 1157. But the rise of the merchant network to a trans-regional economic, political and also cultural player occurred in the 12th century after Lübeck had been founded in 1143/59 and the city had emerged as the head of commercial activities of the associated merchants along the shores of the Baltic Sea. The commercial and urban law of the association was thereby distributed by the foundation of several port cities along the coast like Riga and also Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund and Greifswald as well as Elbing, Königsberg and Reval in the 13th century. The Hanse network extended further over Scandinavia with main strongholds in Sweden, Denmark and Norway. Besides the commercial exchange of wool, draperies, furs, herring, stockfish, salt, wax, crop, flax, wood, beer, and vine, the network influenced the diffusion of German municipal law, the Lübeck law, which made the cities to which it applied independent from monarchic rule. Furthermore, the Hanseatic trade mechanism was applied to the whole Baltic region. Trade was organized by general partnerships where two or more partner invested their capital and shared gains and losses. Most of the partnerships lasted for one or two years. International merchants were members of several partnerships and could thereby provide a greater variety of goods to their customers. Thus furs, wax, grain, and wood from the east, as well as fish and metal were sold in the west which provided luxuries like draperies, vine, beer but also spices, cooking oil, or bayen salt for the east. The four Hanse offices in Novgorod, Bergen, London and Bruges belonged to a superior organizational level in the non-German area. Each office had its defined structure with elected heads, law, jurisdiction, exchequer and seal. These offices contributed to the united interest of the Hanse merchants, negotiated with monarchs and were important centres of the correspondence between all participating cities.⁽¹⁶⁾

In this context the Hanse contributed to a regional coherence with multifarious overlap of law and regulations. It laid the basis for a commercial culture in towns like Riga or Reval, and contributed to German immigration and settlement in the region. After the decline of the Hanse in the Baltic Sea and the rise of the Dutch and English in the 17th and 18th centuries, Dutch and English trading communities and their particular cultural context influenced the area, although their impact on structures and culture was not as strong as the German influence had been.

(16) Michael North, *Europa expandiert 1250-1500*, Stuttgart 2007, pp. 178-185; Horst Wernicke, Novgorod und die Hanse, in: Horst Wernicke (ed.), *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Ostseeraums*, Hamburg 2002, pp. 19-33. Tapio Salminen, Novgorod, Reval and the Finnish castles, in: *Ibid.*, pp. 53-65.

The German dominance in the urban centres in the 16th century was obvious in buildings and town plans. Heinz von zur Mühlen described the view of Reval from the sea side in the 1530s as follows: “A Merchant from Lübeck or Gdansk at that time could make one believe to enter a German town because of all the high pediments with pointed arches. The merchant he was living with during his visit spoke the same North German dialect. The Lübeck law was valid here as well and the customs of the Reval merchants were the same as those ones of his neighbours in Lübeck.”⁽¹⁷⁾

With the institutionalization of social and economic principles as well as the Christian belief the native societies of Livonia were integrated into the central and north European cultural hemisphere. But the cultural dominance of the Germans in the weak old Livonian confederation led into disintegration by several incidences in the 15th century. The power of the Teutonic Order increasingly weakened after the battle of Zalgiris (Grunwald/ Tannenberg) in 1410. Furthermore the Reformation initiated radical reforms accompanied by iconoclasm. Influenced by the chaplain of Riga, Andreas Knopken and his colleague Sylvester Tegetmeyer, the Livonian territories became Lutheran in the early years of the Reformation, until the Middle of the 16th century. The disruption of the Livonian War (1558-1582/83) and the Nordic Seven Years War (1563-1570) caused the partition of the confederation. At the same time these wars introduced a new quality of the continuous struggle for the rule in the Baltic Sea Area, the “*Dominium maris baltici*”, between Russia, Poland-Lithuania and Sweden (and also Denmark, who continued their diplomatic efforts to achieve control in the northern parts of Livonia during the time of the Kalmar Union in the 15th century).⁽¹⁸⁾ Moscow could conquer several parts of Livonia but could not keep these areas.⁽¹⁹⁾

Polish Layer

The cultural overlap became more complex by a new layer, the Polonization of Livonia in the last decades of the 16th century after Polish troops could conquer the duchy of Livonia and Riga (the Northern parts of Old Livonia, Oesel and Pilten became Danish, while Reval and Harrien-Wierland became Swedish Estonia). The Polish King Sigismund II tried to incorporate Livonia into the Polish realm with considerable concessions to the Livonian aristocracy. Particularly Courland emerged as a more or less independent territory which was officially connected to the Polish-Lithuanian crown. But in the *pacta subiectionis* of 1561 the Polish king granted to the estates of Courland extensive privileges which Courland could defend until the 18th century when it came under Russian influence together with Poland-Lithuania. The *Magna Charta*

(17) [Translation by A. D.] Heinz von zur Mühlen, *Reval vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, Köln, Weimar, Wien 1985, p. 1.

(18) Jens E. Olesen, Nordosteuropa in der Zeit der Kalmarer Union. Dänische Versuche zur Revindikation Estlands, in: Jörg Hackmann; Robert Schweitzer (eds.), *Nordosteuropa als Geschichtsregion*, Beiträge des III. Internationalen Symposiums zur deutschen Kultur und Geschichte im europäischen Nordosten, Helsinki, Lübeck 2006, pp. 223-240.

(19) Robert I. Frost, *The Northern Wars 1558-1721*, Harlow 2006, pp. 62-68.

of 1561 confirmed the self-government of the German aristocracy, the protestant religion, the recognition of the German law in the Courland area as well as the native right of nobility (Indigenatsrecht). The pacta was also applied to the other Livonian territories which came under Polish-Lithuanian control, apart from the Danish and Swedish territories of Estonia. The Livonian knighthood took a different direction and was incorporated into the Lithuanian. This process led to the merge with the nobility (Reichsadel) in 1569 but was already altered in 1582 in the constitutiones Livoniae by King Stephen Báthory. The formerly granted privileges regarding the freedom of religion or the local origin of officeholders were tolerated but not affirmed as a right. In this way the Polish-Lithuanian king could achieve essential restructuring of the administrative structure in Livonia and influence its cultural formation. The cultural “Polonization” was provided particularly by the establishment of administrative districts, the appointment of royal officials and the introduction of Polish as official language with the abandonment of German.⁽²⁰⁾

This connection of Lithuania and Livonia represents a political-cultural space which is often forgotten in current approaches to describe the history of the Baltic States. Lithuania is always treated differently through its incorporation into the Polish realm by stressing the point of a more south-central orientation in politics, religion and culture than the northern orientation of the Estonian and Latvian territories and its population. Nevertheless, the Teutonic struggles along the Lithuanian border in the 14th and 15th centuries, the hopes of the Livonians that a Christian Polish king (Wladyslaw II Jagiello) could be a regional partner as well as the annex of the provinces by Sigismund and their successive integration in to the Polish-Lithuanian realm form a part of common history which is still lacking research regarding its impact on a common historical memory which started earlier than the Soviet times.⁽²¹⁾

The uncompromising assimilation process since the incorporation after 1561 – besides the continuous issuing of laws and regulations – quickly showed a cultural impact on the relationship between Catholic Polish officials and Livonian Protestant inhabitants, mainly Germans and Swedes. The native population was less affected by these conflicts. In 1566 the Jesuits founded colleges in Riga and Dorpat for active support of the Counter-Reformation. One example is the translation of the Catholic Catechism into the Latvian language in 1585, today’s oldest preserved book in Latvian.⁽²²⁾ But many more Catholic pamphlets and books were produced to contribute to the Jesuits mission which was also directed against Swedish Lutheranism as well as Russian Orthodoxy, and thus part of the struggle of the empires over Livonia. The Jesuits published in Latvian, Estonian and Russian. Protestant churches became Catholic and

(20) Ralph Tuchtenhagen, *Geschichte der Baltischen Länder*, pp. 32-39.

(21) Current memory studies on the Baltic States emphasize the role of the common soviet memory on the unity of the three states: Jaan Undusk, The problem of Baltic unity: Opening address, in: Anneli Mihkelev; Bennedikts Kalnačs (eds.), *We have something in common: The Baltic memory*, Tallin 2007, pp. 16, 18. Aušra Jurgutienė, Reception and history: Baltic memory, p. 31.

(22) Michael Garleff, *Baltische Länder*, p. 39.

Wenden became a Catholic bishopric. These attempts of cultural transformation which shook the social, religious and political structures of Livonia led to open conflicts, for example in Riga or Dorpat (Tartu). Furthermore, it adds another piece to the early modern common memory of the Lithuanian-Estonian and Latvian history. The resistance of the Protestant population also provided the support of the Swedes in the Polish-Lithuanian War of 1600.

Swedish Layer

Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden conquered Livonia except Latgale which was kept by Poland after the Polish-Swedish War which lasted until 1629. Sweden had already ruled over the area of Reval and Harrien-Wierland since 1561. Wiek was added in 1581. In the continuous conflict between Sweden, Russia and the Polish-Lithuanian realm, Sweden managed to gain control over the Russian-Livonian areas after the peace of Stolbovo in 1617 and the Polish-Lithuanian parts after the peace of Altmark in 1629.⁽²³⁾ In the end, Sweden could accomplish its long lasting plans since the reign of Vasa's sons to gain control in the eastern Baltic region.⁽²⁴⁾ The conquest is based on a conglomerate of motivations which vary from religious and political opposition between Sweden and Poland-Lithuania to the economic advantages of controlling Riga and thus the lucrative trade with Russia.⁽²⁵⁾ That means another complex cultural layer was put over the Baltic States area and its inhabitants by the Swedish rule over Livonia until 1700 when Sweden's supremacy in the Baltic Sea area was challenged by an alliance of countries bordering the Baltic Sea.

At first, Swedish rule in Estonia was characterised by a restoration and preservation of the "German" structures of distribution of power. The knighthood could preserve its privileges but was urged to stop the hard exploitation of the peasants. The Swedish King became the Duke of Estonia and the duchy was incorporated into the Swedish realm. The Livonian territories, which had been conquered after 1617 and 1629, experienced more Swedish cultural influence than Estonia.

The corporate structures were strengthened by electing a head of the knighthood, the establishment of a secretary and an exchequer as well as the confirmation of the provincial parliament. Nevertheless, "Swedization" became obvious in several other activities of the Swedish kings.⁽²⁶⁾ Nobility and bourgeoisie resisted most of these cultural assimilation processes while the clergy followed. This was not surprising since Gustavus Adolphus had already started to reform the ecclesiastical structure by establishing a consistory and formed a so called "church of the pastors". That means, the pastor was deciding what will be done in the parish. This model

(23) Ralph Tuchtenhagen, *Geschichte der baltischen Länder*, p. 39 f.

(24) David Kirby, *Northern Europe in the Early Modern Period, The Baltic World 1492-1772*, London, New York 1990, p. 123.

(25) See the discussions for example in: Michael Roberts, *Gustavus Adolphus*, London, New York 1992, pp. 47-49; David Kirby, *The Baltic World 1492-1772*, p. 124 ff.

(26) Ralph Tuchtenhagen, *Geschichte der baltischen Länder*, p. 41.

followed the Swedish structure.⁽²⁷⁾

Another contested field of traditional privileges of the German elite was the landownership. By donating land to contributors to the Swedish success in the Polish-Swedish War, the social structure of the nobility which was mainly of German origins changed rapidly. More and more Swedish, but also French nobles immigrated into Livonia. On the one hand this migration resulted in an expansion of Swedishness in the area. But on the other hand it led to a shortage of land. Practising donations had also consequences for the peasants who were serfs on the Livonian properties in contrast to their Swedish counterparts who were free men. The Livonian nobility strongly opposed Swedish plans to abandon serfdom.⁽²⁸⁾

Since 1655 the Swedish crown tried to reduce the landed property of the nobility. It took decades and was very strongly resisted. In 1693 Carl XI had to dissolve the provincial parliament because of the united opposition of the nobility. However, more than 80% of the nobility's landed property could be returned into the hands of the Swedish crown. This process changed the social situation of nobility, peasants and clergy.

For the nobility the loss of landed property was tantamount to the loss of rights over the estate and its inhabitants – keeping in mind the serfdom bound of the peasants to the land they were living and working on. The reduced economic basis of the nobility further contributed to a specific dependence on the crown: they had to serve the crown as military leaders or administrators if they wanted to continue their standard of living. In this way, the position of the Livonian nobility was assimilated to the nobility of the Swedish realm and the crown strengthened its “absolute” grip on the Livonian provinces.⁽²⁹⁾

The peasants lost their status as serfs and could cultivate their farms which they were also allowed to pass on. The status of the clergy was changed in the direct dependence on the Swedish crown and not to the feudal lord. In this regard, the provincial clergy was assimilated to the clergy of the realm (Reichsgeistlichkeit).⁽³⁰⁾

Russian Layer

This development of “Swedishness” in the Livonian provinces was stopped by the Great Northern War of 1700-1721. The Swedish supremacy was again threatened by an alliance of realms bordering the Baltic Sea, mainly Russia, Denmark-Norway, and Poland-Lithuania and Saxony. In the Treaty of Nystad on 30 August 1721 Russia, whose naval power could not be met by Sweden at that time, took power over Estonia and Livonia besides other conquests.⁽³¹⁾ This

(27) Michael Garleff, *Baltische Länder*, p. 40.

(28) David Kirby, *The Baltic World 1492-1772*, p. 264.

(29) Ralph Tuchtenhagen, *Geschichte der baltischen Länder*, p. 43.

(30) Ralph Tuchtenhagen, *Geschichte der baltischen Länder*, p. 43.

(31) Robert I. Frost, *Northern Wars*, p. 296.

conquest reversed the introduction of Swedish structures and culture in the provinces. Even though the losses and destruction of the war led at first to a less comfortable life, the corporate elite gained power over estates and their inhabitants as well as the clergy again. Due to the fact of Russia's administrative and financial weakness, pre-Swedish forms of government could be re-established during the 18th century, although a merge of traditional regulations regarding estate ownership and the liberal laws for peasants from the Swedish rule led to a discourse of abolition of serfdom in the spirit of Enlightenment.⁽³²⁾ Peter the Great and his successors tried to copy advantageous administrative structures from Sweden and the Baltic noble estates to improve the Russian imperial administration. But first Catherine the Great, who employed several Baltic German nobles to draw up new judicial structures and laws for the organization of the Russian nobility and local authorities, accomplished a considerable change.⁽³³⁾ Catherine took a shine to the ideas of Enlightenment. In the course of her development initiatives, she established an integrative administration after the Swedish and Baltic German model with General Governors in the provinces and a standardization of laws and administrative processes. The clergy was not concerned, yet. In 1783 the Russian governor constitution (*Statthalterverfassung*) was enacted and in 1785 the Russian nobility and city order in the provinces followed. Both legislations had already been valid in Russia since 1775.

By the introduction of these new enactments, Catherine applied the Russian administrative structure to the Baltic provinces and incorporated Livonia, Estonia and later also Courland into the structures of the Russian realm. At first the German Baltic nobility lost their autonomy and then their council the influence of their vote.⁽³⁴⁾ But the introduction of these new administrative patterns did also transform the provinces socially and economically, especially the Hanseatic towns. Citizenship was no longer a privilege of certain German or Swedish merchants but became a common law. In this way the whole social structure in towns changed rapidly with beginning industrial developments in early 19th century. The magistrates of the city were dissolved and the administration incorporated into the Russian state. The guild had only an organizational task. Regarding tax and military expenses the provinces were connected to the Russian system. These processes should lead to an assimilation of German and Russian inhabitants as well as a neglect of class distinction.

In this regard the abolition of serfdom as a social and cultural restructuring affected the provinces even more in the second half of the 19th century.⁽³⁵⁾ The class of freed peasants and beginning industrial development in the 19th century led to a spatial and social homogenisation of countryside and commercial cities after a long process of agrarian reforms. The establishment of railroads, the increase of trade in former Hanseatic cities, such as Riga and Reval, as wells as

(32) Ralph Tuchtenhagen, *Geschichte der baltischen Länder*, pp. 43, 45.

(33) Roger Bartlett, The Russian Nobility and the Baltic German Nobility in the Eighteenth Century, in: *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique*, 34 (1993) 1/2, p. 239.

(34) Roger Bartlett, *The Russian Nobility and the Baltic German Nobility*, p. 241.

(35) Andreas Kappeler, *Rußland als Vielvölkerreich: Entstehung-Geschichte-Zerfall*, München 2008, p. 183 f.

beginning industrial production transformed the social classes and contributed to the emergence of a new class of agrarian and factory workers. During this process, the formerly oppressed Latvian and Estonian population migrated into the cities and here they started to become the dominant population from the middle of the 19th century onwards. However, a nationally unified resistance was not their driving force yet.

Latvian Layer⁽³⁶⁾

But these changes of social stratification formed the basis for the development of a national culture which emerged as another and new cultural layer between the two poles of traditional domination by a German elite and of purposeful Russification by the Tsarist regime.⁽³⁷⁾ The borderland between influences of different imperial determinations becomes most obvious. The Russian cultural layer emphasized a certain cultural, ethnic and thus also spatial consciousness which was also constituted by the contents of the former cultural layers in this region. Although the provinces' exposure to the Russian and later Soviet influences contributed to the perception of the provinces as a regional Baltic entity,⁽³⁸⁾ the internal realisation of traditions, symbols and language was another way to position the provinces within a Baltic and national context.

The groundwork of the Latvian and later also Estonian national culture was laid in the overcoming of provincial identities, determined by the spatial distinction of Livonia, Estonia and also Courland, and the creation of a regional consciousness that unified all three provinces as one entity in distinction from the Russian territory.

From the middle of the 19th century onwards, this goal was achieved by an enormous German intellectual discussion about a "Baltic" identity in opposition to Russification processes.⁽³⁹⁾ By defending the corporate (ständisch) constitution, the privileges of the German

(36) The term *Latvia* as cultural-spatial term is emphasized to show the emergence of national cultural ideas and symbols of Latvia as one example in the Baltic region. There was of course also a Baltic understanding, formed by the external look at the provinces from Russia. There was also the emergence of a national culture in the Estonian territories. For the differentiation of spatial terms regarding the region in the 19th century see: Ulrike von Hirschhausen, Die Konkurrenz um Verortung, Raumentwürfe zwischen »baltischen Provinzen« und »Latvija« im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, in: Christophe Duhamelle; Andreas Kossert; Bernhard Struck (eds.), *Grenzregionen, Ein europäischer Vergleich vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt, New York 2007, pp. 155-180.

(37) Ralph Tuchtenhagen, *Geschichte der baltischen Länder*, pp. 43, 45.

(38) Anneli Mihkelev, Foreword, in: Anneli Mihkelev; Benedikts Kalnačs (eds.), *We have something in common: The Baltic memory*, Tallin 2007, p. 8; Ulrike von Hirschhausen, Die Konkurrenz um Verortung, p. 157; Karsten Brüggemann, Das Baltikum im russischen Blick, Russland und sein Anspruch auf die baltischen Staaten in der Perspektive des 19. Jahrhunderts, in: Jörg Hackmann; Robert Schweitzer (eds.), *Nordosteuropa als Geschichtsregion*, Beiträge des III. Internationalen Symposiums zur deutschen Kultur und Geschichte im europäischen Nordosten, Helsinki, Lübeck 2006, pp. 392, 395 f.; Klaus Zernack, *Osteuropa*, p. 58.

(39) Ulrike von Hirschhausen, Die Konkurrenz um Verortung, p. 159; Jörg Hackmann, Was bedeutet „baltisch“? Zum semantischen Wandel des Begriffs im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung von ‚mental maps‘, in: Heinrich Bosse; Otto-Heinrich Elias; Robert Schweitzer (eds.), *Buch und Bildung im Baltikum, Festschrift für Paul Kaegbein zum 80. Geburtstag* (Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission, 13), Münster 2005, p. 26 f.

urban middle classes, and elites as well as the long German tradition of these classes in the Baltic provinces, the discourse of being “Baltic” achieved a more unified view of the provinces and its character which was not only emphasised in books and articles but also in expressive cultural activities like song contests which were held annually and emphasized a repertoire of German texts.⁽⁴⁰⁾ In this way, the old term “Baltic” which derived from the historical name for the Baltic Sea region and its bordering territories,⁽⁴¹⁾ became the name for the spatially and culturally unified region of the three provinces. This term “Baltic” was used by German as well as Latvian intellectuals at first.

Interestingly, it were also German intellectuals who took interest in indigenous Latvian and partly also Estonian language and culture against the background of educating the masses which, the intellectuals thought, will then follow the German leadership⁽⁴²⁾ in the now Russian Baltic provinces which still maintained a distinct position within the Russian Empire. By searching for the origins of the Latvians, the German theologian Carl Christian Ullmann coined the term *Latwija* which was discovered as the name for the land the Latvians live in.

Besides the use of the term Baltic as marker of identity and as spatial description of their homeland, Latvian intellectuals discovered the term *Latwija* as a description of their ethnic group in distinction to their German lords and also to their Russian rulers.⁽⁴³⁾ This discovery of a distinct Latvian culture was at first expressed in literature and also in song contests, like the “Baltic” example has shown. It did not become a national political movement until the conflicts during the First World War, when the emerging Bolsheviks were opposed by the Latvian masses.

Thus the last cultural-political layer of Russian rule over the Baltic provinces provoked the occurrence of a unified “Baltic” space and draws ethnic borders within this space.

Grasp the layers of this Baltic Borderland

This layered overview of early modern Livonian history shows the impact of different imperial and political cultures on Livonia and its population as well as the integration of Livonia in the competing empires’ cultural context. The presented invasions, their impact through the initiation of continuous restructuring processes and cultural determinations, which were caused by these impacts make Livonia a borderland in the territorial as well as in the non-territorial sense which comprises the effects of shifting territorial borders and their crossing. This definition of borderland takes into account the contested minds of the affected population in the context of competing religious believes, the negotiation of laws and privileges in a society between *monarchia mixta* and absolute kingship, as well as the mental maps which had been made up

(40) Ulrike von Hirschhausen, *Die Konkurrenz um Verortung*, pp. 160-162.

(41) Jörg Hackmann, *Was bedeutet „baltisch“?*, p. 15.

(42) Ralph Tuchtenhagen, *Geschichte der baltischen Länder*, p. 62.

(43) Ulrike von Hirschhausen, *Die Konkurrenz um Verortung*, p. 163.

in contemporaries' minds while trying to find the most suitable ruler, for example pending between Sweden and Poland-Lithuania in the Livonian War era.⁽⁴⁴⁾

Furthermore, this borderland approach changes the perspective on the intertwined histories of the three Baltic States which were formed by the integration processes between the northern, western and eastern empires. Future research should concentrate on the shifting cultural contents which accompanied the shifting of borders and creates overlapping boundaries of cultural spaces. These contents had different effects depending on the acceptance and resistance regarding them. The creation and disruption of structures also depended on the effects which can be claimed in the name of these contents and their theorization by the society which is forced to restructure by the force of a new power or the re-establishment of hereditary privileges after the abandonment of an old empire.

These ideas draw much on sociologic and institutionalization theories which deal particularly with restructuring processes and the disintegration of structures and institutions in periods of change. Thereby, attention is directed to the internal formation of spatial entities, their structures and particularly their mental processing and diffusion. In the end, the real question is whether the external description of a regional unity can also be observed from the inside. Was there a contemporary mental map that locates people, structures and connections in a region that can be called "Baltic"? Did Gustavus Adolphus consider a "Baltic Region"? All these approaches towards region-building and regional theorization are part of a new international research programme "Baltic Borderlands – Shifting Boundaries of Mind and Culture in the Borderlands of the Baltic Sea Region" of the Universities of Greifswald (Germany), Lund (Sweden), and Tartu (Estonia). The programme will address the issues introduced and more questions from different disciplinary perspectives on to Baltic Sea region. The basis for this perspective is a borderland theory beyond the territorial dimension:

The concept of borderland goes beyond the territorial dimension to include the mental, spiritual, communicative and emotional space of encounter constituted by interaction and exchange. The borderland is present wherever cultures meet. In this sense the borderland can be understood as a situation in which systems overlap, in which processes of change and restructuring are initiated and negotiated.

This borderland concept can and will be applied to the whole Baltic Sea Region since it is characterised by an overlapping of various cultures and religions, the roots of which date back centuries, which has brought forth commonalities, differences and cultural intermixing besides all class or ideological opposition. This means that in addition to the subordinated code systems of the individual cultures, an encompassing common hybrid code system has emerged in the B.S.R. as a result of pluralism, syncretism, and cultural creolisation. The repeated political and economic reorganisation of the region historically supported cultural stratification, a layering of ever-changing patterns of identification and delimitation, which resulted in changes in alliances;

(44) David Kirby, *The Baltic World 1492-1772*, p. 158.

the assessment of relations, their discontinuation and reestablishment; and identities. On the micro level, numerous transnational and trans-regional family networks emerged in the region, which span different cultural areas and whose members maintained more or less close contacts over long periods of time. There has been a tradition of scientific and commercial exchange in the area since the middle ages, as apparent in the emergence of the Hanse trading network, the cooperation of the leading universities in the region – Dorpat, Riga, and Königsberg, as well as in the religious-confessional relations between Germany, Sweden and the Baltic States in the Early Modern Period. These connections encouraged manifold contacts and mutual accommodation, which also fostered various modes of individual identification and cultural valence on the micro level. The impacts of historical developments on the social, cultural, political and economic systems of the Baltic States render this region a suitable case study for restructuring processes.

The multifarious restructuring processes on the macro level initiated by these historical circumstances are still in operation today. For instance, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are still dealing with the legacy of the Soviet system and a huge “Russian minority” which will not be integrated for several decades to come. In this respect, the Baltic States exhibit the on-going configuration, stabilisation and dissolution of organisational spaces, whereby the borderlands of these culturally, socially, economically and politically determined organisational forms experience the effects of restructuring most intensely due to their nature as spaces of transit, transfer and crossover.

【解説】

本論文のタイトルは、「バルト海地域のなかの辺境」と訳せよう。本論文の執筆者であるアレクサンダー・ドロスト氏は、そのなかで、リヴォニアに焦点をあてる。長いヨーロッパの歴史において、バルト海地域は「辺境」として位置づけられてきた。とりわけ現在のバルト三国のあたりは、さまざまな権力の利害関係が絡んだ地域であった。歴史的にみれば、まずドイツ騎士団、さらにハンザの文化によって、この地域は大きな影響を受けた。ハンザは、この地域が商業文化の点で統一された地域となることに寄与した。ドイツの影響力の大きさは、たとえば、町並みにも見られる。著者はこれらを、ドイツの層と名づける。

ドイツに次いで、16世紀最後の数十年間は、ポーランドがリヴォニアを占拠することで、ポーランドの層ができる。リトアニアとリヴォニアの関係は、政治的・文化的にもバルト諸国（現在のバルト三国付近）にとって重要になる。カトリックであるポーランド・リトアニアは、プロテスタントであるリヴォニアに大きな文化的影響を与え、プロテスタント教会が、カトリックに変わる場合もあった。とはいえ、スウェーデンの支援により、プロテスタントの住民が抵抗を示す場合もあった。

ポーランドに続いて、スウェーデンがバルト海地域で大きな力を握った。エストニア、リヴォニアでは「スウェーデン化」が進行した。1693年におこなわれた「王領地回収政策」の結果、貴族領の80%がスウェーデン国王のものとなり、貴族の力は低下した。それは、スウェーデンだけではなく、リヴォニアにまでおよぶ傾向であった。

しかし1700―1721年の大北方戦争でスウェーデンがロシアに敗れると、バルト海地域におけるロシアの勢力は目覚ましく拡大し、「ロシアの層」が創出された。ピョートル大帝以降ロシアはスウェーデンの行政制度を真似たが、エカチェリーナ2世は、大きな変革を遂行した。ロシアの行政制度を、バルト諸国、リヴォニア、エストニア、クールランドに適応したのである。かつて自立していたこれらの地域は、いまやロシアの制度に服属させられたのである。

このような動きに反発して、「ラトヴィアの層」が生み出された。いわば民族主義の動きがみられたのである。そのため19世紀中頃には、ロシアに対する「バルト海」のアイデンティティが形成されることになった。しかしその主導権を握ったのは、この地にいたドイツ人のインテリゲンチヤであった。

このように、リヴォニアには多様な層があり、しかもそれらの影響が、現在もお混在している。この地方は歴史的に「辺境」であったがゆえに、さまざまな層が発見できる。それらの層を文化面・社会面・政治面からの研究を進めていけば、いわば多様性をもつ「辺境」という観点から、新しい歴史研究のスタイルを提示できるのだと、ドロスト氏はわれわれに訴えかけているのである。

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