

RECONSTITUTING THE FATHERLAND IN EARLY MODERN LIVONIA

Biruta Melliņa-Flood
birutaflood@gmail.com

Key words: *early modern Livonia, medievalism, nostalgia, Heimatkunde, cultural intertextuality*

This article is a short extract from the Prelude to the main body of my PhD dissertation in progress. The topic of the dissertation is: "Riga as a Work of Art with Emphasis on the Implications of Medievalism: 1857–1910". It is a phenomenological study based on visual primary evidence.

To interpret the implications of medievalism in Riga, it is necessary to focus on medieval reception in the Russian Province of Livonia in the previous century, which the nineteenth century looked back to when building a modern city out of the old. This paper identifies the medievalist impulse at a crucial time in its history as part of the reconstitution of the lost fatherland. It suggests nostalgia as the underlying psychological precondition of medievalism and links Heimatkunde (research of the fatherland) to a new collective cultural identity formation, sometimes referred to in scholarship as Kulturation.

Reconstituting the Fatherland in Early Modern Livonia

Identifying the medievalist impulse in the local "soil" is particularly necessary since there is a lack of medieval reception studies by those who write on Gothic Revival architecture of Riga in ways that would reveal Riga as a self-referential place. Using medievalism to enter into this debate entails more than the use of and response to the medieval past and the scholarly study of these responses.¹ My use includes the influence of the study of medievalism on later society.

Scholars also hesitate to engage in discussion about anxieties and ensuing value conflicts driving the formation of a new identity of the homeland in ways that would respond to the complexity of the various relationships within society; nor do these scholars include local attitudes to medievalism or pre-Refor-

mation history. Ignoring and sometimes obscuring the origins of the city of Riga as part of a Papal foundation linked to Cistercians and Crusading Knights or its Hanseatic heritage, that the 19th century looked back on, has led to misleading interpretations of the urban environment my doctoral dissertation discusses.

My methodology also relies on medieval reception theory which includes the psychological role sensorial imagination played when reconstituting an imagined 'medieval' modern world in practice. For this I borrow reception theory from eighteenth century German literary criticism, namely Herder's (Johann Gottfried Herder, 1744–1803), revolutionary theory of *poesie als praxis*, a pre-conscious bodily sensation that can only be expressed in artistic form applicable for raising consciousness.² My methodology is

further based on Herder's relativist theory of culture and anthropological model of philosophy of history, as well as his psychological theory of *Einfühlung* in historico-cultural studies; a subject-object inter-relationship, since developed by others, notably Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900–2002), as cultural reception hermeneutics.³

Generally, scholars who treat Gothic Revival as a change in taste, argue that it was preceded by literary reception.⁴ For the Latvia region it is believed there are no texts for medieval reception, or if there were, they have been destroyed. This leads me to note that the French began by reviving chivalric tales⁵, Germans the *Minnenlieder*⁶, and inventing *Ruinenpoesie*⁷; the Scots simulated legitimization in Bardic poetry⁸; but the English rhapsodised about ancient "Gothick Stile" and "gothick" law⁹; while Scandinavian Sagas were already revived in the seventeenth century.¹⁰ But Herder joined the medieval discourse of chivalry through popularphilosophie¹¹, and Wolfgang von Goethe was converted from Classicist forms producing uniformity by the vision of Strasbourg Cathedral. This raises the question, what literary sources are admissible for generating medievalism.

I suggest the medievalist impulse in Livonia can be found in the aftermath of the Great Northern War (1700–1721); a traumatic caesura in Livonia's history that elicited nostalgia for the lost fatherland. The search and reconstitution of the fatherland can then be grounded in a medievalist impulse in a commonly shared historical event and at a personally psychological and emotional level.

Nostalgia for the lost fatherland

Generally, while major nations in the eighteenth century were still looking to the Antique Mediterranean civilisation and a Judeo-Christian world of the East for models worthy of emulation, historians in Livonia were developing a methodology of *Heimatkunde* anchored in their own past already in

the seventeen-forties.¹² It can be said that Livonia had its own roots for generating medievalism. Maybe we can explain it if we approach it as an expression of nostalgia for a lost part of self-identity.

I use Edward Casey's (b. 1939) definition of nostalgia as the desire for continuity of "a past we cannot rejoin" or "re-experience" in person, but which has left tantalising remnants in the present. Remembering, in this case is "a combination of ... presence and absence ... imagination and memory" to form a "world-under-nostalgment". This world is a present "world which includes a nostalgic one", one in which remnants are "directly present to sensuous intuition".¹³

In support of my argument the following primary sources will be used: Herder's *Journal* of 1769;¹⁴ Gruber's (Johann Daniel Gruber, 1686–1748) *Origines Livoniae ...* (1740);¹⁵ visual material from Brotze's (Johann Christoph Brotze, 1742–1823) *Monumente ...* (1790s);¹⁶ Mellin's (Count Ludwig August Mellin, 1754–1835) *Atlas ...* (1798);¹⁷ and Maydell's (Ludwig von Maydell, 1795–1846) *Die Bilder zur livländischen Geschichte* (1839);¹⁸ and contemporaneous quotations from August Wilhelm Hupel (1737–1819), Friedrich Konrad Gadebusch (1719–1788) and Garlieb Helwig Merkel (1769–1850).

I argue that in the play of power in the Baltic Basin, in which Sweden was forced to cede Livonia to Russia in the Great Northern (1709–1721) that dislocated Livonia into the Russian sphere of influence, was a catastrophe of such overwhelming proportions that it caused a lasting break in the history of Livonia.¹⁹ Being moved from the easternmost front of Europe to become the westernmost outpost of a great Asian Empire, I argue, provided the psychological rift from within which a strong longing arose for the lost fatherland.

And, although favourable conditions were achieved at the Nysteader Peace Treaty

(1721), the need to maintain at least a minimum of autonomy through diplomatic vigilance had to be continued at the court through the cultivation of an internationally recognised Livonian *Landtag* (Diet).²⁰ Some modern scholarship even considers the capitulation Treaty of 1721 to be unconstitutional. Edgars Dunsdorfs (1904–2002) has said that the agreement stood on insecure grounds because the *Ritterschaft* (matriculated nobility) were not the legitimate representatives of Livonia and it was merely convenient for Peter the Great to strike an agreement with this fictitious State.²¹ He says that Livonia's entry into the Russian Empire as a "State within a State", namely a legally self-governing State within the Swedish Kingdom, was a fictitious pretence.²²

More recently, the historian, Roger Bartlett (1950), has suggested that the legal status of the Nystaeder agreement which promised a certain amount of autonomy and respect for cultural and religious continuity, was little "more than a unilaterally imposed settlement [but] less than an international treaty ... approximating to the contracts made between electoral princes and their subjects in the Holy Roman Empire".²³ In fact, negotiations for Provincial autonomy were often aggravated in anticipation of one-sided developments with despotic rulers of Russia.²⁴

The continued procrastinations by Russia to evacuate from parts of Livonia by 1721 as agreed and the continued efforts by Sweden to regain territories lost in the Baltic; the introduction of Russian Orthodoxy as the State religion; the removal of the Lutheran Consistorium to St Petersburg, and the heightened tension between the Lutheran Church and Slavophiles²⁵, are some of the highlights which continue to be discussed in the nineteenth century.²⁶

A need to restore self-confidence and maintain at least a minimum of autonomy and continuity of Livonia's constitutional rights, I argue, led to a passionate interest in

publishing foundation-histories and recording the Livonian cultural landscape.

Herder and the new consciousness for the medieval past

Herder, who came to Riga from *Königsberg* in 1764 and spent four years teaching and publishing his seminal ideas there, captures that feeling of dislocation and loss in his diary as he departs Riga in 1769.²⁷ He describes it as a certain feeling of depletion.

The old Cathedral was still hidden behind a clutter of cleaving buildings, the guildhalls, which operated on medieval statutes, preferred the look of Dutch Baroque for their gables, and the Teutonic Order Castle was draped in a mantle of serenity. But Herder was not focused on the urban landscape — he notes a rupture in human history — what has been identified as the first inkling of a new consciousness for the medieval past.²⁸

And although his biographer, Rudolf Haym (1821–1901), described Riga as having "a lively hierarchy of interlocking institutions ... all taking a share in power and responsibility"²⁹, Herder, in the privacy of his diary, as I will show, notes Riga as depleted, and that the free spirit of the Hanseatic trading cities in the Baltic Basin generally had vanished.³⁰

World events since the discovery of the New World had affected this small corner of the world, and the golden age of Hanseatic trade was forgotten not only in Riga, Visby on Gotland, and Lübeck, but in the whole of northern Europe — as Herder notes. Visualising the spirit of the past as, what Casey describes as "a way of being in the world", Herder feels its absence.³¹ He says he desires the "magic" and "spirit" of old Riga, to the point that it leads him to exclaim: "old freedom of Riga, where is it!"³² further expressed as absence: "*Jetzt, Riga, was ists jetzt! Arm, und mehr als arm, elend. Die Stadt hat nichts*"³³; is soon inverted again,

when in poetic mood his thoughts take on a more positive quality of a fairy tale by Charles Perrault (1628–1703).³⁴ He considers: “*Wie gross, wenn ich aus Riga eine glückliche Stadt mache!*”³⁵; and that someone ought to awaken her and at least write a history of how this freedom was lost.³⁶

As a compensation for losing his job,³⁷ Herder finds that sailing on the open sea into an unknown future, somewhere between dreaming and wakefulness, his fantasy enters a realm of freedom in the world of Goths, Vikings and Norsemen with their amazing deeds, sailing the Baltic.³⁸ He embodies this experience as his spirits lift to the imagined sound of scalds drifting across the water and he wishes he could have lived there long ago “*in solchen dunklen trüben Gegenden*”.³⁹

Precisely as his former teacher, Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), who evaluated nostalgia as a disturbed imagination, said; the desire inherent in nostalgia can be a positive drive whereby “we have recourse to imagination just where perceiving ... fails us”.⁴⁰ In the first example Herder’s disturbed imagination produced a primary image of Riga in a state of depletion, and in the present. Through a process of sublimation his imagination then created a substitute secondary image of Riga, as a “magical” place of imagined freedom anchored in a known time in the past. In the second example Herder was thus temporarily able to transcend his present loss by an imaginary transformation in time.

In the second example, the phenomenological aspect of generating ideas consisted in embodying the forces of nature: the force of the wind, smell of the salt breeze and the sound of water lapping against the ship. Here we witness his corporeal awareness, which he develops into a new theory of embodied knowledge⁴¹, namely that images located in sensation are prior to and therefore stronger than rational capacities or logically or conceptually, inspired.⁴² Both examples reflect Herder’s belief, as Goethe scholar, Hans

Dietrich Irmscher (b. 1929) points out, the combination of “body, mind, soul and senses apprehend the world and participate in synthesising perceived information”.⁴³

Casting his gaze to the future, Herder is enabled to imagine further compensatory solutions; which corresponds with what Irmscher indicates for later passages in Herder’s work. Irmscher says the past does not merely have an antiquarian interest for Herder but is filled with nascent possibilities. He says the past plays an important hermeneutic role for Herder as a bridge into the future.⁴⁴

As the diary further unfolds, finding it difficult to anchor onto his personal identity (because he presently lacked hearth and home) Herder distances himself by submerging into an imaginary world of medieval Goths and Vikings. Eventually, by abstracting his personal dejection into a collective historical allegory, Herder’s imagination plays a powerful part in resolving his desire — love of the fatherland.

Like Baltic Germans in Riga, and disenfranchised ethnic groups in other parts of Europe, Herder with his contemporaries, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781) and Georg Hamann (1730–1788)⁴⁵, had been engaged in a search for German (using *deutsch* and not the latinised ‘germanic’) cultural roots to invigorate the “depleted spirit of the nation”.⁴⁶ And, as Irmscher also says, he did so by promoting an authentic German (*deutsch*) spirit. He did so on the basis of his anthropological model of culture; recognised as an important turning point in cultural theory and a contribution to the philosophy of history and literary criticism — therefore, important factors in preparing the intellectual soil for the emergence of ‘Gothic’ as a positive value in the German sphere.

Herder’s idea of ‘nation’ in this case should not be misunderstood as nationalism.⁴⁷ Herder theorised cultural particularism based on a Biblical patriarchal model of wisdom and as passed down within a specific cultural context.⁴⁸ Doing so he not only

reintroduced religion into the argument as a critique of Enlightenment Humanism, but also positioned himself against contemporary absolutist regimes; against Winckelmann's (Johann Joachim Winckelmann, 1717–1768) argument for imitation and supremacy of Greek civilisation; as well as the Eurocentrism of a Renaissance theory of culture based on the belief that man progresses to peaks (but retaining the Renaissance search for a pre-lapsarian state of mankind); and he argued against Vico's (Giambattista Vico, 1668–1744) relativist, yet cyclic, theory of development of three phases of civilisation culminating in the Age of Reason.⁴⁹ As Norton (Robert Edward Norton, b. 1969) says, Herder introduced “historical relativism into an era that until then had judged the past as an imperfect prelude to the superiority exemplified by its own age”.⁵⁰

For Herder there were no barbarians. What Herder proposed was a revolutionary change in Enlightenment thinking. Claiming that:

*Die Kunst scheint unter allen Völkern, welche dieselbe geübt haben, auf gleiche Art entsprungen zu sein, und man hat nicht Grund genug, ein besonderes Vaterland derselben anzugeben: den den ersten Samen zum Notwendigen hat ein jedes Volk bei sich gefunden.*⁵¹

His enthusiasm for Latvian folk songs, for instance, is largely responsible for the preservation of two million Latvian *dainas* (containing its mythological pre-Christian pantheon) collected in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁵²

Returning to his diary we see how his imagination and the new landscape with its associations had assisted him to transform negative thoughts by turning to the wellspring of Nordic culture. The sight of Gotland and the Pomeranian coastline reminded him to think of the history of the Great Migration Tribes and Goths. He notes their roots in the collective Gothic of the Nordic nations, citing that they formed “eine gesittete Nation”⁵³ from a

“*kleinen wilden Völker*” and reshaped post-Roman Europe to become equal among other Commonwealths.⁵⁴ Thus inverting the Italian Renaissance version of Germanic medieval history Herder resurrects a version of German historiography begun in the sixteenth century.⁵⁵ According to Sonja Brough, the Salian Emperors “transformed the Roman Empire on German soil”⁵⁶, but Herder may have been thinking of Theoderic (also known as Theoderic the Great, 554–526 AD), the barbarian Emperor who challenged Romanitas and transformed Imperial power on German soil, for he also said, “*Theoderik (Dietrich von Bern) ist der Stifter dieses Reichs*”.⁵⁷

The ‘*Origines Livoniae*’

By remarkable coincidence, the introductory remarks to the founding document of the Papal State that became known as Livonia, the *Origines* resembles the above thoughts of Herder. There is little “left to be desired in this description of Livonia’s religious and secular origins”⁵⁸, writes Gruber (Johann Daniel Gruber, 1686–1748), chancellor of Hannover, in his dedication to George II (King of Great Britain, 1683–1760) in 1739: “Few commonwealths, as far as I know, are graced with such a description of their origins as Livonia”.⁵⁹ In phrasing and the idea of using the past to legitimise the present, Gruber’s words strike similarities with Herder’s ideas of rejuvenating a depleted German nation. Gruber visualises it as a Lockean (John Locke, 1632–1704) case study of how a ‘state of nature’ becomes and organised society: “a people that had previously been ignorant of any amenities of society received its first government and jurisdiction from the priests, and formed into a just and civil commonwealth”⁶⁰; precisely what Herder said of the Gothic Tribes.⁶¹

The circumstances of this publication are worth noting. It appeared in the Royal Library of Hannover in 1739 as a manuscript fragment, known as the *Codex Oxenstierna* (of

Swedish provenance). That the manuscript was donated anonymously in itself seems more than a propitious coincidence because in 1740 Sweden was withdrawing its last troops from Finland — forced to abandon all attempts at regaining territories lost to Russia.⁶² Furthermore, Gruber arranged its German translation by Arndt (Johann Gottfried Arndt, 1713–1767) from Livonia; probably known to Gruber from their student days in Halle. Both renditions were jointly published there in 1747.⁶³

Cultural historian, Andrejs Johansons (1922–1983) already in 1975 indicated that this chronicle was used for political purposes.⁶⁴ Primarily a missionary chronicle typical of thirteenth century conversion ideology in Central Europe and Cistercian concerns for pastoral care, Gruber's interpretation of events was eminently suited for Baltic Germans who were claiming autonomy in the years following absorption into the Russian Empire. The rhetoric the *Origines* subsequently spawned was aimed at maintaining the privilege of self-government at the forefront of discussion to insure the Nystaeder Peace Treaty (1721) was not what Dunsdorfs called, just a "hollow promise".⁶⁵

An extended edition in German translation by Arndt in 1753 was published, for the "worst misfortune for a once renowned State" would be "forgetting its ancestral virtue — before it fell under alien domination".⁶⁶ It became a most popular text, quoted in nearly every subsequent historical account of the history of Livonia. Published for popular consumption it became the most influential source for instilling "knowledge of the fatherland and patriotic fervour in the younger generation and Russians who knew nothing of the history of Livonia".⁶⁷ A history by Count du Bray (François Gabriel de Bray, 1765–1832) in French for the court of St Petersburg, dedicated to Alexander I (Emperor of Russia between 1801 and 1825), included the history of Russian presence in the re-

gion prior to the German.⁶⁸ A special commemoration by Napiersky (Karl Eduard von Napiersky, 1793–1864) appeared a hundred years later,⁶⁹ and in 1853 and 1857 August Hansen republished Arndt's 1753 version, which remained effective into the early 20th century.⁷⁰

Herder would have empathised with Rigan strategies for reinvigorating patriotism. I suggest, knowing the translator, in whose *Gelehrte Beyträge* he had published, and knowing the rhetoric surrounding the *Origines*, he turned to medieval historiography of the Great Migration Tribes to revive sixteenth-century German historiography and invigorate the depleted German nation.⁷¹

Heimatkunde Intertextuality Kulturnation

A narrative of the fatherland only makes sense in the context of other narratives and in tensions between them.⁷² In Livonia, a number of people: clergymen, lawyers, academics, publishers, landowners, mostly educated abroad, both German and Baltic Germans, such as Hupel (August Wilhelm Hupel, 1737–1819), Brotze, Mellin, Merkel, and many others, took a Humanist interest in *Heimatkunde*. Their published work forms part of my wider research. It can be interpreted as interest in reinvigorating a sense of identity, or what has been called a '*Kulturnation*' by some scholars.

Intellectually it required imagination and effort and was achieved through dialogue between different discourses transmitted through text, image, cultural object and performance, four typologies involved in cultural construction, as theorised by Jan Assmann (b. 1938) and initiated by Lotman (Yuri Mikhailovich Lotman, 1922–1993).⁷³ The narrative of the fatherland can also be understood by introducing the theory of intertextuality. Intertextuality is a close approximation to collective cultural identity formation and involves the hermeneutic of *Einführung*, a

subject–object inter-relationship theorized by Herder, as said above.

In a heterogeneous cultural environment, such as Livonia, collective memory will be divergent. For instance, where different elements from separate ‘texts’ collide, their juxtapositions can produce tensions at the boundary. Then, as mediation takes place new types begin to form a secondary ‘text’ to emerge which may lead to a reversal of the former oppositions as a form of *Wechselseitiger Kulturtransfer* (reciprocal cultural transfer).⁷⁴ In parallelisms, on the other hand, the boundary can be thought of as permeable and continuity and change as organic.

For instance, the *Origines* continued to be used to legitimise foundation history and as a major source for rebuking earlier versions of *Aufseglung*, namely discovery of Livonia by merchants prior to Crusader conquest.⁷⁵ However, Merkel, son of a second-generation Baltic German clergyman, overturned both versions. According to former East German historian Erich Wilhelm Donnert (1928–2016), the idealistically youthful Merkel, inspired by “*harmonischen Naturzustand der Menschen*”, who was convicted by the ideas of ‘Contract social’ and critical of the effect of European colonisation was having on native populations overseas, criticised the medieval and early modern ‘German’ colonisation of Latvians as slavery.⁷⁶ Donnert suggests Merkel argued that subjugation hindered the free and natural development of Latvians.⁷⁷

Johansons, on the other hand, explained Merkel’s work as a turn about in values and an example of imported Western Enlightenment rationalism with its negative evaluation of the Middle Ages.⁷⁸ He dismissed Merkel as a polemist who utilised the *Origines* and other medieval sources for pseudo-scholarly articles⁷⁹ and fantasised novels⁸⁰; in other words, in the prevailing manner of a Gothic novel, and a significant effort at medievalism.⁸¹

It was not until the 1850s, identified as a phase of political identity building by cultural

historian, Miroslav Hroch (b. 1932), that Merkel’s translations into Latvian were used for political purposes by neo-Hegelians to incite antagonism toward the ruling class in the last stages of the peasants’ march to freedom.⁸² In the eighteenth century, as Johansons notes, neither Herder nor Merkel, who wrote in German, nor others who espoused similar ideas in Livonia, like Snell (Karl Philip Michael Snell, 1753–1806), Jannau (Johann von Jannau, 1753–1821) and Friebe (Wilhelm Christian Friebe, 1761–1811), publicly promoted polarisation between cultures — between ‘us’ and ‘them’. It was still an Enlightenment period undertaken with advocacy for reforms in human rights to elevate and acculturate the peasants by improving their education and moral standing in the process.⁸³ The aim, as I understand it, was to warn landlords of how their exploitation of serfs would rebound.⁸⁴

In a recent reference to the *Origines*, Stefan Donecker (b. 1997) reframes Gruber’s legalistic Rousseau-like idea of the “crucial moment in history where the so-called ‘state of nature’⁸⁵ of Latvians is transformed into a civilised, organised and lawful commonwealth,” into a more humanist and culturally anthropological framework.⁸⁶ This resonates with eighteenth century natural law philosophy, with a positive evaluation of primitive cultures of the New World, and the search for authenticity in a pre-lapsarian state of nature, at home and abroad.⁸⁷ (Robert Lloyd Norton (b. 1972), for instance, mentions Johann Georg Hamann and British critic, Thomas Brown (1778–1820), who thought that civilised society was in need of reinvigoration, as: “overcultivation of rational faculties had destroyed the ability of man to see the divine in nature”.⁸⁸

Two examples of mission to barbarians in the North as imagined in a ‘state of nature’; one by Johann Wilhelm Krause (1757–1828) and another interpretation based on the *Origines* by Maydell will illustrate

a supposed pre-lapsarian world of non-tribal primitivism as depicted in the early nineteenth century in Livonia.

Krause's use of Mellin's *Atlas von Liefland* (Fig. 1) has received one critical interpretation but lacks contemporaneous contextualization, possibly because the text accompanying has not been identified so far. For purposes of this article, it serves to illustrate that the idea of a 'state of nature' voiced by Rousseau and stimulated by the Voyages of Discovery', was a pressing issue of authenticity in eighteenth century Europe.⁸⁹ Captain James Cook (1728–1779) in his diary of 1770, also notes that the Australian aboriginal

... people may truly be said to be in the pure state of nature, and may appear to some to be the most wretched upon earth, but in reality they are far happier than (...) we Europeans.⁹⁰

In Krause's etching (Fig. 1), the figures on the right depict the Liv chieftain, Kaupo (early 13th century), as a Rousseau-like 'noble savage' welcoming a Bishop of the Roman rite and a Knight representative of the military Order of monks, to the land of ethnic tribes. On the left stand a group of traders modelled on the 'voyage of discovery' theory — the other popular story of origins which circumvents origins in a Papal mission.⁹² The shaded area superimposed on the original represents a non-Liv territory, populated by the first ethnic tribes to accept Western Christianity. The exact intention Friebe had in highlighting the section of the map will only become apparent when the text, that this map was meant to accompany, is identified.

The other image (Fig. 2) is one of a series by Maydell illustrating the conversion theme in the *Origines*.⁹³ Maydell was an artist from



Fig. 1. Livland nach der Einleitung Heinrich des Letten und zu den Zeiten der Bischöffe und Ordensmeister bis 1562⁹¹



Fig. 2. Die Missionarre hauen die Götzenbäume um. Anno 1220, by Maydell, 1839

the ranks of the *Ritterschaft* brought up on Radical Pietism,⁹⁴ which attracted him to the Nazarenes, ‘German’ artists in Vienna and Rome,⁹⁵ who shunned academic painting, returning to religious themes, medievalism and imitation of German and Italian Primitives.⁹⁶ Although Lutheran they were part of the paleo-Christian revival begun by Pope Clement XI (born Giovanni Francesco Albani, Pope from 23 November 1700 to his death in 1721) as a critique of the secular climate in Europe.⁹⁷ His ‘*Die Missionäre hacken die Götzenbäume um*’ is one of a series of etchings from *Die Bilder zur livländischen Geschichte* published in a periodical meant to refer to Arendt’s 1753 edition of the *Origines*.⁹⁸

Current scholarly interpretations of the ancient Estonians, Livs and Latvians depicted as ‘comely’ barbarians hinges about two arguments. Historian Kaspars Kļaviņš (b. 1968) sees it as a conscious attempt at reducing co-

lonial culpability and hide duplicity under the guise of mission, because the Estonians, and particularly the priestess (*vaidelote*), seem to be depicted in a contemporary ‘bourgeois’ style; presumably in order to resemble equally comely monks.⁹⁹ Yet, elsewhere Kļaviņš says that already since the Middle Ages local Baltic Germans have had a strong sense of empathy for Latvian “fairytale” forests.¹⁰⁰ Art historian, Romis Bēms (1927–1961), too, sees a “dogmatic perversion of the feudal aristocracy” in this rendition of reality.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, art historian, Edvarda Šmite (b. 1937) argues that, since Maydell was a devout Pietist who considered everyone equal in the sight of God, no critique of ‘barbarians’ is intended.¹⁰² Neither argument resolves the relativist position represented, in which boundaries between ‘us’ and ‘them’ seem blurred.

If read within the complexities of reciprocal cultural interchange it seems Maydell

has inscribed two polarities within a binary system of commonalities where the hybridity of Estonian (and Latvian) religious syncretism was meant to override the differences. In other words, the ambiguities observed are most likely the result of the paradoxical position in which Lutheran missionaries in Livonia found themselves. As explained by Johansons, they had to fight against still existing paganism — on the other hand, they did not want to use the old methods of calling them barbarians.¹⁰³ They had to find ways of affirming the indigenous population culturally, especially since Nicholas I (Nikolay I Pavlovich, Emperor of Russia from 1825 to 1855) had proclaimed Russian Orthodoxy the official religion of the State in 1832, as Ea Jansen (1921–2005) has pointed out.¹⁰⁴ However, in present day Latgale, where due to total destruction, due to the Polish–Swedish war (1600–1629) Latgalians had apostatised, Jesuit missionaries did ‘hack’ down cultic trees in the subsequent process of rechristianisation.¹⁰⁵

Cultural intertextuality

Generally, as scholars have suggested, the period is marked by social and political change and accelerated reciprocal cultural interchange.¹⁰⁶ The transformation of Livonian society after the Great Northern War was intensified in the eighteenth century by foreign enthusiasm over Latvian *dainas*, folkloric research, topography, archaeology, and anthropology of the ‘Volk’. Social, political, cultural, and ethnic relationships were particularly transformed by the late eighteenth century as Czech and German Radical Pietist missionaries, and enlightened Baltic German humanists worked to “elevate and see dignity and authentic cultural value in the language and (...) character of the Latvians”.¹⁰⁷

A major contributor to the visual preservation of *Heimatkunde* is Brotze.¹⁰⁸ He arrived in Riga in 1768, a little before Herder’s departure. Like Herder, he was a teacher educated in theology, and became a significant

agent of change as mediator between the people and the aristocracy. It is reasonable to expect Brotze’s interest to have initiated from contact with a circle of local pastor-historians working on patriotic ‘curiosities’ and important manuscripts of the history of Riga; particularly Arndt who became his employer at the Imperial Lyceum. Since the Lyceum was adjacent to the House of the *Ritterschaft* he also worked on dynastic histories and was befriended by Count Mellin, who suggested the *Landtag* (Diet) commission him to copy the secret documents of the Teutonic Order held at *Königsberg*. His participation in *Heimatkunde*, thus, was sealed.

His ten-volume collection of textual and visual evidence of the history and everyday life in Livonia collected between 1770 and 1818 shows an affinity to Herderian anthropological approach to recording the Livonian cultural landscape. On field trips he taught his students not to draw vistas but history. And, his empathy for the traditions and life style of the indigenous population, their dress, marriage customs and everyday occupations and tools of farm life published by Hupel, show openness to the experience of ‘the other’.

Brotze’s empathetic interest in recording all aspects of social life express a climate for the reception of Livland as homeland linked to the land, history and reciprocal cultural interchange. Two examples (Figs. 3 and 4) from the 1790s can be explained by reciprocal cultural interchange; a trademark of anthropological *Einfühlung*, noted by scholars.¹⁰⁹

In Figure 3 the Teutonic Order castle ruin on an ancient castle mound is a fading remnant of medieval and ancient tribal history at a time when ‘gotisch’ was becoming more positively linked to German culture (not political), and the maiden superimposed on that history is a local peasant girl. As an archetype of Baltic origins in hand woven bleached linen with a brooch for the blouse, wearing sandals (*pastalas*), and carrying a tradition-



Fig. 3. Ruinen des Schlosses Helmet A[Inno] 1800 ¹¹⁰

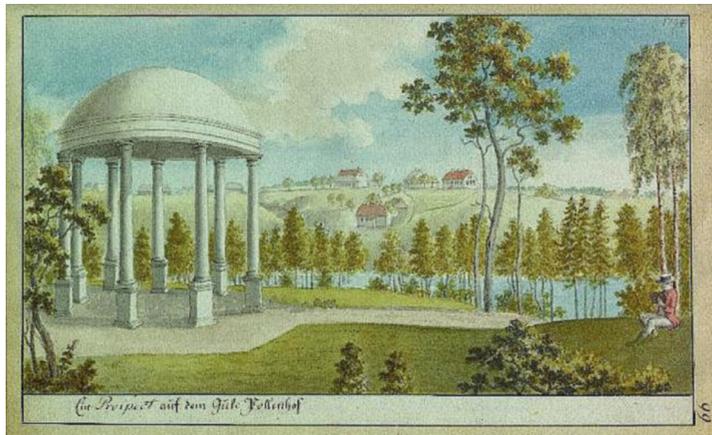


Fig. 4. Das Prospekt auf dem Gute Pollenhof 1794

al birch-bark basket, her ethnic identity is equally layered and ancient.

By enframing the world of ‘ruin, girl and landscape’ the author has recorded how both, Baltic Germans and Latvians, and in this case Estonians, physically shared the same space and time for centuries yet maintained their respective cultural identity and respective worldviews — partly facilitated by linguistic difference in a polarised oral and literary community, partly by tolerance of religious syncretism throughout the Catholic Middle Ages. When mediation was possible across parallel traditions, namely, where Enlightenment interest in ethnology as well

as when Pietist spirituality, which tolerated syncretism as argued above for Maydell, allowed, personal transformation on the sub-conscious level also followed.

Intertextuality in Figure 4, on the other hand, is an example that shows how the simultaneous contrast effect can change perception to bring about cultural assimilation.¹¹¹ An aesthetic of measured Greek Classicism and poetry are juxtaposed with bucolic nature on a feudal estate. A Baltic German reading Schiller (Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller, 1759–1805), Goethe (Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, 1749–1832) or one of the Classics, while mentally transported to

the Greek Isles is simultaneously, at a sub-conscious level, absorbing the peripheral lay of the land across the lake (not the Aegean sea), summer smells wafting over from the meadows and dulcic sounds of maidens' melancholic songs on the farm.¹¹²

This example demonstrates the importance of pre-conscious sensorial perception in cultural intertextuality, where changes take place as the affective dimension of high-pitched bucolic tones and primitive rhythms of singing are absorbed by the senses which hijack the mind to form new conscious aspects of perception.¹¹³ In this way Latvian archaism enters elite consciousness through an oral tradition, synthesising cognitive and perceptual knowledge to create a transformation in self-awareness. When changes in perception lead to change on a broad scale of values and rises to the literate *Publicum* new aesthetics begin to be formulated. Herder called this synthesis *poesie als praxis* to be used as a creative tool in educating the growing bourgeoisie and the artificiality of courtly life; at the same time, Hirschfeld (Christian Cajus Lorenz Hirschfeld, 1742–1792) applied the contrast effect in garden theory.¹¹⁴

Heimatkunde also included Catholics, Russians and Jews. Orthodox onion domes appear in new towns along the border where Lutheran Pietism, tending to protect itself through cohesion within a community of faith lived side by side, sharing in Russian Orthodox scepticism of scientific rationalism. Countering rationalism was a strong bond in the region and included the Jews. In neighbouring Kurland, for instance, a children's reader of 1787 includes an image of the Jewish community at Sabbath worship, with a caption: "Schihdi swehti sawu swehdeenu un apkaune daschen kristitu".¹¹⁵ The statues of Our Lady patroness of Terra Mariana and the Master of the Livonian Order, Wolter von Plettenberg (c. 1450–1535), over the gates of the Riga Castle attest to the honour the Tsars held for Catholic Livonia.¹¹⁶

The visual samplings presented here were drawn according to scientific principles as taught by *emigré* lawyer-historian, Gadebusch (Friedrich Konrad Gadebush, 1719–1788): to "let the sources speak for themselves", and do not reflect Christine Kupffer's observation that Gadebusch thought:

... das Ziel der Vergangenheitung und Schaffung einer geschichtlichen, perspectivischen Identität der Livländer, die sich mit ... eine scharfe Abgrenzung von der Geschichte des Russischen Reiches ermöglichen soll.¹¹⁷

As the examples above show, he was inclusive of all ethnic and social groups and represented rupture as well as continuity in history. His vast collection has an educational function. It gives evidence to how culture functions and evolves approximating the formation of a *Kulturnation* in the eighteenth century.

The author of this article thanks all who have supported the creation of this article: Dr. Ojārs Spāriņis for recommendation and support, Commission for critical comments, Dr. Inese Runce for reading over, and supervisors of PhD thesis Prof David Garrioch, Prof Constant Mews and Dr John Gregory from Monash University for their contribution.

References

- ¹ For medievalism see Stafford P. Introduction. In: *The Making of the Middle Ages. Liverpool Essays*. Costambeys M. et al. (Ed.). Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007, p. 1; for the historiography of the varied use of this term see: Bloch R. H., Nichols S. *Medievalism and the Modernist Temper*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- ² For *poesie als praxis* used in *Bildung*, see: Ulriche. *Poesie als Praxis. Jean Paul, Herder und Jacobi im Diskurs der Aufklärung*. Wiesbaden: Deutscher Universitäts-Verlag GmbH, 1990, pp. 166–197, 205, explaining the use of

- poesie for constituting one's own organis-
tic 'Ich'; for recent scholarship on senso-
rial knowledge see Elisha P. *The Conscious
Body. A Psychoanalytic Exploration of the
Body in Therapy*. Washington DC: Ameri-
cal Psychological Association, 2002.
- ³ Nowak M. The complicated history of
Einführung. Argument, 2011, 1 (2): 301–
326; Gadamer H.-G. *Wahrheit und Meth-
ode. Grundzüge einer philosophischen
Hermeneutik*. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr
(Paul Siebeck), 1975 ed.; 1st pub. 1960.
 - ⁴ Robson-Scott W. D. *The Literary Back-
ground of Gothic Revival in Germany. A
Chapter in the History of Taste*. Oxford:
Clarendon Press, 1965, pp. 60, 61 that a
literary impulse precedes Gothic Revival;
also Clark K. *Gothic Revival: An Essay in
Taste*. London: Murray, 1965 ed., p. 17 ff
that in England a literary impulse precedes
Gothic Revival for change in taste: citing
Shakespeare, Spencer, Milton, Gray, and
Walpole.
 - ⁵ Gossman L. *Medievalism and the Ide-
ologies of the Enlightenment: The World
and Works of La Curne de Sainte-Palaye*.
Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press,
1968, p. 327 ff.
 - ⁶ *Ibid.*; also Worm A. The Study of manu-
script illustrations in German scholarship
circa 1750–1850. In: *Medieval Art and
Architecture after the Middle Ages*. Mar-
quardt J. T., Jordan A. A. (eds.). Cam-
bridge Scholars Publishing, 2009, pp.
246–273; at p. 264. MS III were collected
due to a sense of loss after secularisation
and dissolution of monasteries.
 - ⁷ Kander L. *Die deutsche Ruinenpoesie
des 18. Jahrhunderts bis in die Anfänge
des 19. Jahrhunderts*. PhD dissertation,
Wehrtheim am Rhein, Bechstein: Rup-
recht-Karls-Universität, Karlsruhe, 1933.
 - ⁸ MacPherson J. *The Poems of Ossian, the
Son of Fingal*. Transl. by James MacPher-
son, 2 vols. [London]: T. Becket and
P. A. Dehondt, 3rd ed., 1765; Curly T. M.
*Samuel Johnson, the Ossian Fraud and
the Celtic Revival in Great Britain and
Ireland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University
Press, 2009. Regarding lack of Scottish
representation in Parliament.
 - ⁹ Alexander M. *Medievalism. The Middle
Ages in Modern England*. Yale: Yale Uni-
versity Press, 2007, p. 80 for Torys and
Whelfs promoting 'gothick law' of British
Constitution; for gothic style see *Horace
Walpole 1717–1797 and Strawberry
Hill*. [https://ysconcept.com/2008/11/17/
strawberry-hill-no-villa-can-compare/](https://ysconcept.com/2008/11/17/strawberry-hill-no-villa-can-compare/) (ac-
cessed 22 May 2016).
 - ¹⁰ Agrawal R. R. *The Medieval Revival and
its Influence on the Romantic Movement*.
New Delhi: Shakti Malik, 1990, p. 224,
quoting Gray's translation of Scandinavian
Sagas.
 - ¹¹ Gossman, op. cit. p. 331, quoting Herd-
er's *Philosophie Der Geschichte zur
Bildung der Menschheit* (1774) regard-
ing chivalry, and his *Ideen zur Philo-
sophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*
(1786–1791) for his use of Sainte-Pa-
laye's troubadours in the chapter on Rit-
tergeist in Europa, where he also discusses
the Great Migration Tribes of Pommerania
and the Gothic spirit that reshaped Europe
in the Medieval period. On p. 332 Goss-
man notes that through Herder, Sainte-
Palay reached Wackenroder, the Schlegel
brothers, Tieck and Novalis.
 - ¹² Johansons A. *Latvijas kultūras vēsture
1710–1800*. Stockholm: Daugavas ap-
gāds, 1975, p. 210.
 - ¹³ Casey E. The world of nostalgia. *Man and
World*. 1987, 20: 361–384; at 365,
367, 379.
 - ¹⁴ Herder J. G. *Journal meiner Reise im Jahr
1769*. Leipzig: Phillip Reclam, 1972. 1st
pub. by Emil Herder as *Lebensbild*, 1846.
 - ¹⁵ Gruber J. D. *Henricus de Lettis Origines
Livoniae sacrae et civilis, sue chronicon
Livonicum vetus ...* Gruber J. D. (Ed.).
Frankfurt: [n. p.], 1740.

- ¹⁶ Brotze's *Sammlungen verschiedn. Lief-ländischer Monumente ...* Riga: LULVI, 12 vols. <http://www3.acadlib.lv/broce/> (accessed 17 July 2015).
- ¹⁷ Mellin L. A. *Atlas von Lief- und Eestland, oder von den beyden Gouvernemen-ten u. Herzogthümern Lief- und Eestland und der Provinz Oesel*. Riga: Hartknoch, 1798.
- ¹⁸ Maydell F. L. *Fünfzig Bilder aus der Geschichte der deutschen Ostsee-Provinzen Russlands*. 2 vols. Dorpat: [n. p.], 1839, 1842; *Fünfzig Bilder der Geschichte der deutschen Ostseeprovinzen Russlands*. In: *Neli baltisaksa kunstnikku*. Tallinn: Eesti Kunstmuuseum, Saksa Kultuurinstituut, 1994.
- ¹⁹ Donecker S. Alt-Livland zwischen römischen Kolonisten und jüdischen Exilanten. Genealogische Fiction in der Historiografie des 17. Jahrhunderts. *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung*, 2011, 60: 210–231.
- ²⁰ Dunsdorfs E. *Latvijas Vēsture: 1700–1800*. Sundbyberg: Daugava, 1973, pp. 16 ff; cf. Bartlett R. The Russian and the Baltic German nobility in the eighteenth century. *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, 1993, 34 (1-2): 234, n. 5. (*Latvijas Vēsture*, 6).
- ²¹ Tobien A. *Die Livaländische Ritterschaft: in ihrem Verhältnis zum Zarismus und russischen Nationalismus*. Riga: Löffler, 1925, p. 9. Because King Charles XII of Sweden had affirmed the Knights' *Landtag* (20 December 1694), based on earlier recognition the recognition of the Privilegium Sigismundi (1561) by the Swedish crown, it was free to negotiate for autonomy with Peter the Great in 1710 and at the Nystead Peace Treaty of 1721; cf. Dunsdorfs E. *Latvijas Vēsture 1600–1700*. Uppsala: Applebaum Boktryckeri AB, 1962, pp. 47, 172. (*Latvijas Vēsture*, 5) claims the Knights did not represent the legitimate government because they had not been incorporated while in the Swedish kingdom, and that at the onset of the War King Charles XI had reduced their powers.
- ²² Dunsdorfs, op. cit., 1973, p. 42.
- ²³ Bartlett, op. cit., 234, n. 5.
- ²⁴ Ibid., p. 233; Dunsdorfs, op. cit., 1973, pp. 16, 18–25 regarding procrastinations and broken promises that Livonia will be under August II's rule, disregarding the outcome, and that Tsar Peter included a clause in the peace treaty "which reserves Russia the last word in all cases"; Thaden L. *Russia's Western Borderlands, 1710–1870*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984, p. 4 ff, also notes instability in Livonian relations with the Tsars.
- ²⁵ Runce I. *Valsts un Baznīcas attiecības Latvijā 1906–1940. gadam*, PhD dissertation, University of Latvia, 2008, p. 53, n. 138, regarding freedom of religion for the Lutheran Church the Nystead peace accord was honoured from 1721 until Catherin II discriminated against Catholics, Hebrews, and 'old believers'; Tobien, op. cit., part II, chapter I: New tensions arose under Slavophile pressure when Alexander I tried to shift the Lutheran Consistorium to St Petersburg. This was successfully resisted by the local Consistorium and the Landtag, and not realized until 1828 under Nikolai I, but a new Director of the Consistorium was not elected until after the death of Count Mellin in 1835; for the Slavophil pressure see *Letters from Riga* by Samarin as discussed by Edward C. Thaden in Federovich I. Samarin and Baltic history. *Journal of Baltic Studies*. 1986, 17/4: 321–328, and as quoted in Thaden, p. 327, n. 4, Samarin's *Okraïny Rossii* and Official Policy in the Baltic Provinces. *Russian Review*, 1974, 33: 405–415, and Thaden, p. 327, n. 5, Samarin's *Zapiski pravoslavnogo latyssha Indrika Straumita*, *Sochineniia*, 8, 177–299.

- ²⁶ Schirren C. *Livländische Antwort Herrn Juri Samarin*. Leipzig, 1869, 2nd ed., p. 121; Eckardt J. *Livland in achtzehnten Jahrhundert*. Leipzig, 1876, p. 112.
- ²⁷ Herder J. G. *Journal meiner Reise im Jahr 1769*. Leipzig: Phillip Reclam, 1972, 1st publ. by Emil Herder, *Lebensbild*, 1846.
- ²⁸ See n1, loc. cit.; also Harloe K. *Winckelmann and the Invention of Antiquity: History and Aesthetics in the Age of Alterthumswissenschaft*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, p. 270, n. 4.
- ²⁹ Haym, 1957 (vol. 1), p. 123.
- ³⁰ Herder, 1972, op. cit., p. 69; cf. Haym, *ibid.*; for the history of dissolution, after-life and resurrection of Hansa see Postel R. Wiederentdeckung der Hanse im 19. Jahrhundert. In: *International Conference Hansa Yesterday — Hansa Today — Hansa Tomorrow, Riga, June 8–13, 1998*. Spārītis O. (Ed.). Riga: Vārds, 2001, pp. 230–250.
- ³¹ Casey, op. cit., p. 367.
- ³² Herder, 1972, op. cit., p. 69.
- ³³ *Ibid.*
- ³⁴ Mallgrave H. F. *Modern Architectural Theory: A historical survey*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 9 ff.
- ³⁵ Herder, 1972, op. cit., p. 71.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 69: “wer wil ihn aufwecken“ ... “alle Hansestädte auf ihrem offenbaren Rechtstagen lesen!”.
- ³⁷ Becker B. Die alten Kirchen in Riga. *Notizenblatt des technischen Vereins zu Riga*, 1867, 6: 81–105, regarding Herder's position as assistant pastor at St Gertrude's church, of which he was relieved.
- ³⁸ Herder, 1972, op. cit. p. 1.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 69.
- ⁴⁰ Casey, op. cit., p. 367, quoting from Immanuel Kant's *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View*, I, part 31.
- ⁴¹ The theory of sensibility as a gnoseological faculty had already appeared in Alexander Baumgarten's *Meditationes philosophicae de nonnullis ad pertinentibus* (1735), the letters *Aletheophilus* (1739) and *Aesthetica* (1750, 1758), when Herder worked on his theory of corporeal gnoseology. See Herder's Auseinandersetzung mit Baumgarten: Kritik der 'Aesthetica'. In: *Johann Gottfried Herders Frühe Schriften 1764–1772*. Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1985, p. 670: “So wie das Denken nicht das 1ste am Mensch ist: so auch nicht die schöne Erkenntnis der anfang der Aesthetik. Der Mensch. Der Tier empfindet erst; dunkel sich selbst; den lebhaft sich selbst; und Lust und Schmerz dunkel in sich; denn Lust und Schmerz klar ausser sich; und jetzt erkennt er erst.”
- ⁴² Thuleen W. *Body and Soul: Sensory Perception and Rational Thought in Herder's Concept of Man*. 1999, n. 19, referring to Herder's *Vom Erkennen und Empfinden der menschlichen Seele*, p. 392. <http://nthuleen.com/papers/948Herder.html#text41> (accessed 13 March 2012).
- ⁴³ Irmscher H. D. (Ed.) *Von Deutscher Art und Kunst. Einige fliegende Blätter*. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1968, p. 167.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 165, 168, 169: “Die Vergangenheit bekommt damit eine hermeneutische Funktion. In ihrer Auslegung sollen zugleich gegenwärtige und zukünftige Möglichkeiten (...) erwäckt werden.”
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 163, 164, 168.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 164.
- ⁴⁷ See Piirimäe E. Humanität versus nationalism as the moral foundation of the Russian Empire: *Jegór von Sivers' Herderian cosmopolitanism. Ajalooline Ajakiri*, 2012, 1/2: 79–113.
- ⁴⁸ Herder J. G. H. *Auch Eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit*. Riga: [Hartknoch], 1773, pp. 5–9, regarding Biblical patriarchal model; also Herder's Shakespeare essay in Irmscher, op. cit., pp. 67–76, particularly p. 75, for cultural model. Grimm G. E. (Ed.) *Älteres kritisches Wäldchen Johann Gottfried*

- Herder Schriften zur Aesthetik und Literatur 1767–1781*. Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1993, pp. 24–35. (Johann Gottfried Herder, Werke, vol. 2.)
- ⁴⁹ Regarding Vico's cultural theory, see Parekh B. C. *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2000, p. 51 ff.
- ⁵⁰ Norton R. E. *Herder's Aesthetics and the European Enlightenment*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991, p. 53.
- ⁵¹ Stimmen der Völker in Liedern. In: *Sämmtliche Werke*. Suphan B. (Ed.) Berlin: Weidman, 1877–1913, 33 vols, vol. V.
- ⁵² Auszug aus einem Briefwechsel über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker von Herder. In: *Von Deutscher Art und Kunst. Einige fliegende Blätter (1773)*. Stuttgart: Göschen'sche Verlagshandlung, 1892, p. 16. (reprint of 1st pub. Hamburg, 1773): "Wissen Sie also, dass ich selbst Gelegenheit gehabt, lebendige Reste dieses alten, wilden Gesanges, Rhythmus, Tanzes, unter lebenden Völkern zu sehen".
- ⁵³ Herder, 1972, op. cit., p. 165.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 64, 68, 69.
- ⁵⁵ MacPherson, op. cit. The 'Introduction' by High Blair D. D. lauds the origins of Scots and their pre-historic heroes.
- ⁵⁶ Brough S. *The Goths and the Concept of Gothic in Germany from 1500–1750*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1985, pp. 71, 167, 201, 205. (Cultures, Languages and Architecture).
- ⁵⁷ *Herders Werke zur Philosophie und Geschichte*, vol. 6. Tübingen: [n. p.], 1807, p. 139, chapter on Rittergeist in Europa, regarding the Great Migration Tribes and the Gothic spirit that reshaped Europe in the Medieval period taken from *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1786–1791).
- ⁵⁸ Donecker S. The *Chronicon Livoniae* in Early Modern scholarship: from Humanist reception to the Gruber edition of 1740. In: *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier: Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*. Tamm M. et al. (eds.). Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2011, pp. 363–384; at p. 381.
- ⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 376.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 379.
- ⁶¹ Cf. Zammito J. H. Die Rezeption der schottischen Aufklärung in Deutschland: Herder's entscheidende einsicht. *Europäische Kulturtransfer im 18. Jahrhundert*. Schmidt-Haberkamp B., Steiner U., Wehinger B. (eds.). Berlin, 2003, pp. 113–138, who thinks it was the Scottish search for models of legislation and constitutional law that stimulated Herder's new views of history; cf. Scottish connections with feudal Russia, in Venturi F. From Scotland to Russia: an eighteenth-century debate on feudalism. In: *Great Britain and Russia in the Eighteenth Century: Contacts and Comparison*. Cross A. G. (Ed.). Newtonville Mass: Oriental Research Partners, 1979, pp. 2–24, conference paper discussing Scottish research in Russian models of legislation with respect to constitutional law as model for Scotland.
- ⁶² Dunsdorfs, 1973, op. cit., pp. 13 ff, 24 ff; Bartlett, op. cit., p. 233. http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/article/com_0008_1993_num_34_2349 (accessed 18 May 2016); Thadden, op. cit., p. 4 ff.
- ⁶³ *Henricus de Lettis Origines Livoniae sacrae et civilis, sue chronicon Livonicum vetus ...* Gruber J. D. (Ed.). Frankfurt, 1740; [Heinrich der Lette]. *Die Liefländische Chronik. Erster Theil*. Transl. by Arndt J. G. Halle: Johann Daniel Gruber, 1747. https://books.google.de/books?id=ShtLAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=de&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false (accessed 18 May 2016); Arndt J. G. *Der Liefländischen*

- Chronik. Anderen Theil. von Liefland unter seinen Herren Meistern, welche die alte Geschichte des Ordens und der benachbarten Völker erleutert.* Halle: [n. p.] 1753. <https://www.nlib.ee/html/expo/kroonikad/ordu.html> (accessed 21 May 2016).
- ⁶⁴ Johansons, op. cit., p. 210.
- ⁶⁵ Dunsdorfs, 1973, op. cit., p. 24 ff.
- ⁶⁶ Arndt, 1753, op. cit., p. 1.
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5: “Nunmehr werden auch die jüngern Gelegenheit haben, ihr Vaterland eigentlicher zu kennen”, and p. 7 “Verunglückte oder verschlagene Leute sehen sich nach ein paar Brettern um, wenn sie ihr altes Vaterland wieder finden wollen”.
- ⁶⁸ Bray F. G. *Essay historique sur les Livonie*. 3 vols. Dorpat: [n. p.], 1817.
- ⁶⁹ Napiersky K. Zur Erinnerung an Johann Daniel Gruber. *Das Inland*, 1848, 13: col. 273–278, quoted by Johansons, op. cit., p. 375, n. 56, and 210 ff who names other antiquarian historians actively collecting and publishing medieval sources.
- ⁷⁰ Hansen, A. H. *Origines Livoniae Sacrae et Civilis: Heinrich's des Letten älteste Chronik von Livland*. Riga: Leipzig: [n.p.], 1853, 1857.
- ⁷¹ Herder published *Über den Fleiss in mehreren gelehrten Sprachen* in Johann Arndt's *Gelehrte Beiträge zu den rigaischen Anzeiger*, 24, Mitau, 1764, pp. 185–190. <http://hdl.handle.net/10062/307> (accessed 18 May 2016); Suphan B. Die Rigischen Gelehrten Beiträge und Herders Anteil an denselben. *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie*, 1875, 6: 49–53.
- ⁷² For instance: Jannau H. *Sitten und Zeit: ein Memorial auf Lief- und Estland*. Riga: Hartknoch, 1771; Snell K. P. *Beschreibung der russischen Provinzen an dem Ostsee*. Jena: [n. p.], 1794; Harder J. Historische Abhandlung von dem Namen und Ursprung der alten Einwohner Lieflands, ihrer Religion, Sitte und Gab-
 rau chen. In: *Gelehrte Beyträge zu den rigischen Anzeiger*. Riga: Arndt, 1764. <http://dSPACE.ut.ee/handle/10062/307> (accessed 15 June 2016); Johansons, op. cit., p. 322 ff. cites lexicologist, Stender (1783), historian, Erasmus Stella, *De borussiae antiquitibus libri duo* also known as *Acta Borussica*. Königsberg: [n. p.], 1730–1732, and others.
- ⁷³ Lotman Y. M. *The Universe of the Mind: A Semiotic Theory of Cultures*. Transl. by Shukman A. Indiana: Bloomington Reprint, 2001, 1st pub. 1990; Assmann J. Communicative and cultural memory. In: *Cultural Memory Studies: an International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*. Erli A., Nunning A. (eds.) Berlin: [n. p.], 2008, pp. 109–118; Assmann J. *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*. Munich: [n. p.], 1999; cf. Emile Nora's preface to the 3rd vol. of *Les lieux de mémoire* (1992), discussed in Assmann J. Collective memory and cultural identity. *New German Critique*, 1995, 65: 125–133; cf. Tamm M. History as cultural memory: mnemohistory and the construction of the Estonian nation. *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 1997, 39(4): 499–516; at p. 500. Gadamer used for hermeneutic theory used in Estonian national identity formation. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01629770802468865> (accessed 13 May 2013). Tamm, op. cit., p. 9.
- ⁷⁴ Becker B. *Herder-Rezeption in Deutschland: eine ideologische Untersuchung*. Doctoral thesis. St Ingbert, Saarland University, ca. 1987. (Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft, 14); W. J. Röhring, 1987, p. 2 quoting Gadamer, pp. 283, 285; for intertextuality in Livonia see Michael Schwidtal M. and Gütmanis A. Das Baltikum im Spiegel der deutschen Literatur: Carl Gustav Jochmann und Garlieb Merkel. In: *Beiträge*

des Internationalen Symposions in Riga vom 18. bis 21. September 1996 zu den kulturellen Beziehungen zwischen Balten und Deutschen. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 2001. (Beiträge zur neueren Literaturgeschichte, 181.)

⁷⁵ Die Legende von der Ausegelung Livlands durch Bemener Kaufleute. Johansen P. (Ed.) Hamburg: Bredow-Inst, 1961; Sraphim E. *Livländische Geschichte: von der "Aufsegelung" den Lande bis zur Einverleibung in das russische Reich: ein Hausbuch*, 3 vols. Reval: Franz Kluge, 1897–1903.

⁷⁶ Donnert E. *Agrarfrage und Aufklärung in Lettland und Estland: Livland, Estland und Kurland im 18. und beginnen den 19. Jahrhundert*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2008, p. 146.

⁷⁷ Johansons, op. cit., p. 223: "Brīvs un laimīgs, raksta Merķelis, jūtoties vienīgi dabas cilvēks, un tikai šai attīstības pakāpē nevilgoti atklājoties cilvēka sirds. ...un tādi priekš vācu ienākšanas bijuši latvieši, kad viņus iesvētīja dzimtbūšanā".

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 320.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 223.

⁸⁰ Ibid., regarding Merkel's fantasising and aberations in *Die Letten vorzüglich in Liefland am Ende des philosophischen Jahrhunderts, Ein Beytrag zur Völker- und Menschenkunde* (1796) and *Die Vorzeit Lieflands* (1789–99).

⁸¹ For example, Moran L. *Law and the Gothic Imagination*. Gothic: Essays and Studies, 4. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001.

⁸² Hroch M. *Social preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations*. Cambridge, 1985, p. 76: "students of Estonian origin at Tartu [Dorpat] University (...) periodical press (...) initiative for the first activities with a consciously patriotic objective" emerged; also Hackmann J. *Voluntary associations*

and region building: a post-national perspective on Baltic history. (Centre for European Studies Working Paper Series, 105.) <http://64.233.179.104/scholar?hl=en&lr=&q=cache:QgjJgmKfCpkJ:www.ciaonet.org/...> (accessed 15 November 2007).

⁸³ Blumbergs A. J. *The Livonian Peasantry's Long March to Emancipation: A Study in the Baltic German Literary Contribution to the Nationalization of the Latvians and the Issue of Serfdom in the 1780s and 1790s*. PhD, Special Collection, Bailleau Library, Melbourne University, 2007, p. 6 and Conclusion.

⁸⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 234 ff, emphasises the role of the aforementioned polemical publications of the 1780s and 1790s in Latvian nation building; also Barnard F. M. J. G. *Herder on Social and Political Culture*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1969, p. 16, quotes Herder as saying: "We forge the chains which they will bind us", thus foreseeing the "magnitude and perilous consequences of ethnocentrism, racial discrimination, colonialism, political oppression and economic exploitation" of the peasant population.

⁸⁵ Rousseau's idea of Nature and natural man as superior to Culture, which represents the world of rational reason in contrast to English usage by Hobbes, of Nature as irrational and 'wild man' seen in negative terms as uncouth and ugly.

⁸⁶ Donecker, S. Early Modern scholarship: from Humanist reception to the Gruber edition of 1740. In: *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier: Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*. Tamm M. et al. (eds.) Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2008, pp. 364–384; at p. 381.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Norton R. E. *Herder's Aesthetics and the European Enlightenment*. Ithaka: Cornell University Press, 1991, p. 65, comment-

- ing on Thomas Blackwell and Johann Georg Hamann's religious 'primitivism'.
- ⁸⁹ Ibid.
- ⁹⁰ Captain James Cook's Journal during his first voyage round the world, 23rd of August, 1770. https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Captain_Cook%27s_Journal_During_His_First_Voyage_Round_the_World (accessed 15 June 2016).
- ⁹¹ Image accessed from Tartu University map collection *Atlas von Liefland ...* by Ludwig August Graf Mellin. <http://www.ra.ee/kaardid/index.php/et/map/saveOrPrint?id> (accessed 16 April 2003). Original sighted at Latvian National Library, maps section, KtL1 -1/119. Dated 'Anno 1791'. Dimensions: 55c by 77c.
- ⁹² Donecker S. Alt-Livland zwischen römischen Kolonisten und jüdischen Exilanten. Genealogische Fiktion in der Historiografie des 17. Jahrhunderts. *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung*, 2011, 60: 210–231, part of Enlightenment attempts to eradicate the Vatican and Holy Roman Empire from the world political stage.
- ⁹³ Maydell F. L. *Fünzig Bilder aus der Geschichte der deutschen Ostsee-Provinzen Russlands*, 2 vols. Dorpat: [n. p.], 1839, 1842.
- ⁹⁴ For an overview of Pietism see Brecht M. *Geschichte des Pietismus. Das 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert*. Vol. 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993; also Petkunas D. *Russian and Baltic Lutheran Liturgy in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Klaipeda: University of Klaipeda, 2013.
- ⁹⁵ Neumann W. *Friedrich Ludwig Maydell. Ein baltischer Maler*. Riga: [n. p.], 1897, p. 2.
- ⁹⁶ Gossman L. Beyond the modern: the art of the Nazarenes. *Common Knowledge*, 2008, 14 (1), 48–49.
- ⁹⁷ Johns C. M. S. *Papal Art and Cultural Politics: Rome in the Age of Clement XI*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 39 ff.
- ⁹⁸ Neumann, op. cit., pp. 12–13, Maydell's ill. p. 40, first published in 1838 and 1840; also see Jansen E. F. Ludwig von Maydell's Fünzig Bilder der Geschichte der deutschen Ostseeprovinzen Russlands. In: *Neli baltisaksa kunstniku*. Tallinn: Eesti Kunstmuuseum, Saksa Kultuurinstituut, 1994.
- ⁹⁹ Kaljundi L., Kļaviņš K. The chronicler and the modern world: Henry of Livonia and the Baltic crusades in the Enlightenment and national traditions. In: *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier: Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*. Tamm M. et al. (eds.). Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2008, p. 419.
- ¹⁰⁰ Kļaviņš K. *apStāvēšana*. Rīga: Mansards, 2009, p. 158, 159, 160, quotes local sources from the sixteenth century; Straubergs K. *Latviešu buramie vārdi*. Latvijas folklores krātuves materiāli, II. Rīga, 1941, pp. 575, 607, quotes from eighteenth century practices of magic spells, offerings at holy trees, rocks, springs, to heal animals; Kļaviņš K. *Latviešu kultivietu vārdi* (Toponyms of Latvian cultic sites). In *Honorem Endzelīni*. Chicago, 1960, pp. 138–148; also Spekke A. *History of Latvia: An outline*. Stockholm: Goppers, 1957, p. 56 ff quotes a long list of primary sources starting from the 13thC affirming pagan nature worship and respect for cult trees by Christians into the 19th C; also Dunsdorfs, op. cit., 1962, op. cit., p. 382, quotes from Heine W. *Miszellene zur Geschichte der Jesuitenordens in Livland. Sitzungsberichte*, 1914, p. 106, and Jahresbericht der Wendischen Jesuiten an der Ordens vom Jahre 1618. *Mitteilungen*, vol. 4. Kleijtjens J. *Latvijas vēstures avoti Jezuītu ordeņa arhīvos*, 1. Rīga: [n.p.], 1940; 2, Rīga: [n.p.], 1941.

- ¹⁰¹ Bēms R. *Apceres par Latvijas mākslu simtgados*. Rīga: [n.p.], 1984, p. 77.
- ¹⁰² Šmite E. Vācu romantiķu atbalsis Baltijā 19. gadsimtā. *Materiāli mākslas vēsturei: Romantisms un neoromantisms Latvijas mākslā*. Grosmane E. (Ed.). IV Borisa Vīperta piemiņas konference, Rīga, 1994. Rīga: AGB, 1998.
- ¹⁰³ Johansons, op. cit., p. 320, quoting from Schaudin H. *Deutsche Bildungsarbeit an lettischen Volkstum der 18. Jahrhundert*, 1937.
- ¹⁰⁴ Jansen, op. cit., pp. 2–38.
- ¹⁰⁵ Strods H. *Latvijas Katoļu baznīcas vēsture (1075–1995)*. Rīga: Heinrihs Strods, 1996, p. 169.
- ¹⁰⁶ Schwidtal M., Gūtmanis, A. Das Baltikum im Spiegel der deutschen Literatur: Carl Gustav Jochmann und Garlieb Merkel. In: *Beiträge des Internationalen Symposiums in Riga vom 18. bis 21. September 1996 zu den kulturellen Beziehungen zwischen Balten und Deutschen*. Beiträge zur neueren Literaturgeschichte. 181, Heidelberg: C. Winter, 2001.
- ¹⁰⁷ Blumbergs, op. cit., p. 6 and ‘Conclusion’; also Ceipe G. *Latvijas brāļu draudzes diārijas (jaunākais noraksts) jeb Hernhūtiešu brāļu draudzes vēsture Latvijā*. Rīga: R. I. M. S., 2000; also Štolls P. *Latvijas kultūra un brāļu draudze: Latviešu kultūras tradīciju čehu konteksti XVII–XX gadsimtā*. Rīga, 2016.
- ¹⁰⁸ For Brotze’s biography and oeuvre see Štāls A. J. K. *Broces dažādu Vidzemes pieminēkļu, skatu krājums*. Rīga: [n. p.], 1924, p. xiii ff; for a full view of Brotze’s collection see *Brotze’s Sammlungen verschieden. Liefländischer Monumente ...*, Rīga, LULVI, 12 vols., 1992–2007. <http://www3.acadlib.lv/broce/> (accessed 17 July 2015).
- ¹⁰⁹ Taimiņa A. J. W. Krauzes Zeichnungen in der akademischen Bibliothek der Universität Lettlands. *Johann Wilhelm Krause 1757–1828*, Katalook 4. Maiste J. (Ed.). Tartu: Juhan Maiste, 2016, pp. 375–394 at p. 377.
- ¹¹⁰ Brotze collection LNL BM06099A. <http://www3.acadlib.lv/broce/> (accessed 17 July 2015).
- ¹¹¹ For discussions of cognitive tradition, and response theories of affect, see Altieri C. *The Particulars of Rapture. An Aesthetics of the Affects*. London: Cornell University Press, 2003, p. 26 ff.
- ¹¹² Viķe-Freiberga V. The orphan in Latvian sun songs. An analysis of the semantic links between two concepts. In: *Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet Literature*. Weber H. B. (Ed.). Gulf Breeze: Academic Press, 1981, vol. 5, pp. 41–49.
- ¹¹³ Spekke, op. cit., p. 66, regarding the poet, Duonelaitis, using Latvian folklore collected by Herder, Goethe and Lessing, and p. 64 quoting folklorist P. Šmits regarding lyric poetry and archaisms in folksongs based on dactylic and trochaic rhythms, e.g. 8 syllables divided into 4 feet of dipeds: that is, after each foot a caesura, and every fourth syllable, or each last one of every dipedy, must be short. e.g. Kas tie tādi/Kas dziedāja.
- ¹¹⁴ Rose U. *Poesie als Praxis: Jean Paul, Herder und Jacobi im Diskurs der Aufklärung*. Wiesbaden, 1990, p. 192; Parshall L. B. (transl., ed.). *Theory of Garden Art: C. C. L. Hirschfeld*. Penn Studies in Landscape Architecture. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001. pp. 1, 327, quoting Hirschfeld in *Theorie der Gartenkunst*, III, Von der Gartenkunst als schöne Kunst betrachtet; Hirschfeld C. C. *Landleben*. Leipzig: Siegfried Leberecht Crusius, 1768, p. 25 ff.
- ¹¹⁵ Vecais Stenders. *Bildu ābice*. Rīga: Liesma Reprint, 1977, 1st publ. as *Bildu=Abhize*, J. B. Steffenhagen, Jelgawa, 1787.
- ¹¹⁶ See Brotze collection, item nr. M05047AM. National Library of Latvia.

¹¹⁷ Kupffer C. Friedrich Konrad Gadebusch 1719–1788. In: *Kulturgeschichte der baltischen Ländern in der Frühen Neuzeit mit ein Ausblick und die moderne*. Garber K., Kloker M. (Frühe Neuzeit 87. Studien

und Dokumente zur deutschen Literatur und Kultur im europäischen Kontext in Verbindung von Jorg Jöchen Behms et al.) Tübingen: [n. p.], 2003, pp. 421–440; at 422, 433.

Raksts ir recenzēts.
The article is peer-reviewed.

About the Author

Biruta Melliņa-Flood is PhD student at Monash University, School of Philosophical, Historical and International Studies. Research interests are associated with medieval intellectual life and its manifestations in European architecture.

Par autori

Biruta Melliņa-Flood ir doktora kandidāte Monaša Universitātē, Filozofijas, vēstures un starptautisko studiju fakultātē. Zinātniskās intereses saistītas ar viduslaiku intelektuālo dzīvi un tās izpausmēm Eiropas arhitektūrā.

TĒVIJAS ATJAUNOŠANA LIVONIJĀ AGRĪNAJOS JAUNAJOS LAIKOS

Biruta Melliņa-Flood

Kopsavilkums

Atslēgvārdi: *Livonija agrīnajos jaunajos laikos, medievālisms, nostalgija, Heimatkunde, kultūras intertekstualitāte*

Raksts ir īss izvilkums no autores topošās *PhD* disertācijas ievaddaļas. Disertācijas temats ir: “Rīga kā mākslas darbs, ar uzsvāru uz medievālisma ietekmi: 1857–1910”. Tas ir fenomenoloģisks pētījums, balstīts uz vizuālām primārām liecībām.

Lai interpretētu medievālisma ietekmi Rīgā, ir nepieciešams pievērsties medievālisma uz-tverei Livonijas Krievijas provincē iepriekšējā gadsimtā — pirms deviņpadsmitā, kad, balstoties uz veco, tika būvēta modernā pilsēta. Rakstā noskaidrots medievālisma impulss liktenīgā Rīgas vēstures laikā, kā daļa no zaudētās tēvzemes atjaunošanas. Minēta nostalgija kā medievālisma pamatā esošais psiholoģiskais priekšnoteikums un *Heimatkunde* (tēvzemes pētījumi) ar jaunas kolektīvas kultūras identitātes veidošanos, ko dažkārt dēvē par *Kulturation*.