

## THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE SURVIVAL OF THE LIVONIAN LANGUAGE IN SALACA PARISH

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**Abstract.** In the 18th century, the Livonian language in Salaca Parish became the subject of academic interest, and also persecution. This article examines the contradictory challenges posed by the Age of Enlightenment, primarily the exclusion of the Livonian language from public use that was carried out with the help of administrative and legal measures. The sources for the article include contemporary descriptions, as well as data related to the families that can be identified as being Livonians. The differing attitudes of the two largest manor administrators toward the Livonian peasants and their language is highlighted along with the ensuing consequences. There is also a description of the projects and undertakings that were impacted by the Enlightenment at the parish's larger manors. To start, the article defines the borders of the Livonians' linguistic island in the first half of the 18th century, and in conclusion, a comparison is provided of the language usage of the Livonians in this same area in the first half of the 19th century.

**Keywords:** Livonians, Salaca Parish, Vecsalaca, Svētciems, Ķirbiži, 18th century, Livonian language

**DOI:** <https://doi.org/10.12697/jeful.2018.9.2.02>

### 1. Introduction

The 18th century is known as the Age of Enlightenment in Europe, when, in a relatively short period, the belief of 'enlightened' people in themselves and the knowledge they had acquired assumed ever greater dimensions. Access to education helped to build bridges between the various classes, which had been seen as the social norm, while also causing the uneducated to become increasingly isolated, thereby creating an insurmountable barrier to upward social mobility. It seems paradoxical that the Age of Enlightenment became that era when the manor lords in the Baltic Governorates of the Russian Empire, with the help of the central government, forced their peasants into a state of

serfdom the harshness of which was unknown in Western Europe. The peasants in the imperial governorates of Estland (Estonia) and Livland (Livonia) did not have the right to personal freedom or property, and various restrictions applied to them, primarily serfdom which was introduced at the end of the Middle Ages. The expansion of formal education, which had started at the initiative of the Swedish church authorities in the 17th century, had been halted during the Great Northern War and suffered a retrogression in the 18th century. At the end of the century, local Enlightenment thinker Garlieb Helwig Merkel published a study which provided a critical account of the situation of the Livonian peasants, who were forced into the harsh conditions of serfdom and the cultural isolation that accompanied it by the end of the 18th century – a century that has been described as the philosophical century. According to Merkel, one of the most significant traits of this exclusion was the class-related obstacles to acquiring an education (Merkel 1800: 216, 222–226). All this directly affected the Livonians who had still enjoyed freedom and entrepreneurial privileges during the Middle Ages but whose legal status had been equalised with that of the other peasants in the Governorate of Livland by the 18th century. Merkel's book *Die Letten vorzüglich in Liefland am Ende des philosophischen Jahrhunderts*, which with its candour had a great impact on European readers, and was reprinted several times, was banned in Livonia on the orders of the Governor-General and the spread of Merkel's ideas was discouraged.

Due to the restriction on movement caused by serfdom or villeinage, the parish and district borders were very important. Communications with relatives who lived farther away and the opportunities of finding a spouse that still spoke Livonian were directly dependent on the size of the free movement area within the parish. The manor lords tried to stop their young women from marrying peasants from other manors in order to prevent the outflow of labour, a shortage of which was common after the Great Northern War, from their economic units. Legal measures were introduced to prevent the manor lords' arbitrary actions. Upon the demand of the College of Justice for Livland and Estland Affairs, on 15 January 1747 the superior court of the provinces ruled that peasant girls did not have to get permission from their manor lords before marrying peasants from other manors (Andresen 2004: 138). However, this decision may not have been of much impact, because in the 18th century there was practically no way to hinder the manor lords in the Baltic Governorates of the Russian Empire from taking arbitrary action.

## 2. The area in which the Livonian language was spoken in the Salaca region during the first half of the 18th century

A document dated 26 October 1739, which basically describes the rights of Rīga citizens, includes an aside that explains that the Livonian language continues to be spoken in some regions of Pärnu District (*welche noch jetzo in einigen Districten im Pernauschen gebrauchet wird*) (Bulmerincq 1903: 550). Based on the first atlas published of the Russian Empire, Salaca Parish belonged to Pärnu District at that time (*Russischer Atlas 1745*: Nr 3). Pärnu District included the coastal area south of the Vitrupe River, the shores of the Salaca River almost up to Rozēni Manor, and the centre run of the Svētupe River almost to Pāle. Therefore, the areas where Livonian is known to have been spoken later are in Pärnu District, although they are apparently not the only linguistic islands that existed at that time. For instance, the village of Līciems in Aloja Parish, which was located at the mouth of the Iġe (Ihge/Iddel) River, was not within the boundaries of Pärnu District. The village of *Idelmunde*, which was still listed by its translated German name in the ploughland audit of 1630, was listed under its new Latvian name of *Liebezeem*, i.e., “Village of Livonians”, in the 1738 revision, and the name *Liebezehm* appears in the census registers for Vīķi (Zarnau) Manor starting in 1795 (Vegesack 1932: 16; LVVA 199.1.525: 5). Līciems (Liezen), the modern name of the large village, which can be traced back to 1738, connects the settlement with Livonian identity. All the more because, in the 1770s, Livonians that still spoke Livonian lived in Mazsalaca Parish, which was even further east of Līciems and was located on the eastern edge of Aloja Parish. Information about this has been recorded by parson Johann Ludwig Börger (1778: 58) of Ērgeme (Ermes) Parish.

Thus, based on current information, it is possible to surmise that the majority of the Livonian linguistic island in Salaca may have belonged to the southern part of Pärnu District, but its administrative border cannot be equated with the border of the Livonians’ settlement area at that time. In addition, based on the scant information available today, it is impossible to define the area where the Livonian language was alive at the household level. The descriptions of the language and culture of the 18th-century Salaca Livonians was first made available in 1767 by August Ludwig von Schlözer, a professor without chair at the University of Göttingen. He had been named to be a member of the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences and Professor of Russian History in

1765 by Russia's Empress Catherine the Great. Based on his correspondents, Schlözer (1771: 303) determined that the Livonian settlement was comprised of 150 farms at Vecsalaca and Svētciems Manors: on the shore of the Salaca River half a German mile (3.75 km) from its mouth and on the Svētupe (*Sweet-Uppe*) River on a one-German-mile (7.5 km) strip of land from Kuiķule (*Kulkelsdorf*) village to the Baltic Sea. Based on this specification, Heinrich Georg von Jannau (1828: 44), a pastor and linguist, later calculated that, in the late 1760s, the total number of Salaca Livonians who spoke Livonian and were living at both manors may have been up to 560. Jannau confirmed that the local toponyms were already Latvian in his day, but, for instance, people still remembered the Livonian name of *Pö joggi* for the Svētupe River and the Livonian name of *Kui[v] külla* for Kuiviži village on the northwest coast of the parish (Jannau 1828: 50).

August Ludwig von Schlözer's data comes from two manors, which in 1765 comprised most of the landholdings in Salaca (*Sahlis*) Parish (see Büsching 1773: 370). Vecsalaca Manor (*Alt-Sahlis*, 12  $\frac{3}{4}$  ploughlands, or *Haaken-Zahl*), which belonged to the widow Maria Lovisa von Medem (née Leijonancker), dominated the northern part of the parish. Svētciems Manor (*Neu-Sahlis*, 13 ploughlands) in the southern part of the parish, which belonged to Johann Christian von Dunten, was about the same size. Schlözer received information about the Livonians living at these manors from his correspondents. However, there was apparently no equivalent information about the three larger economic units on the southern border of the parish. These units included Ķirbiži Manor (*Kurbis*, 5 ploughlands) and Bīster Manor (*Bisterwolde*, 2 ploughlands) that belonged to Georg Dietrich von Aderkas. These properties had been inherited by Aderkas, formerly a lieutenant in the Swedish Army, who set out to update and reconstruct the manor (Zilgalvis 2012: 74). The Ķirbiži region was also a Livonian settlement area, but there is no data for this period about Livonian culture or Aderkas's ethnological interest in the peasants. In May of 1638, when Fabian Aderkas bought the property, this economic unit, which combined three villages and two inns, was still named after the Vitrupe River (*Wittersbeck*). The beachfront area of the manor was part of Salaca Parish, while the manor centre and agricultural nucleus were in Liepupe Parish. At that time, at least one of the coastal villages, namely *Ranneküll*, i.e., "Coastal Village", still had a Livonian-language name that described its location. Even today the first part of the name of the cape Rankuļrags has survived from the Baltic Finnic toponym. In the mid-18th century,

*Karbzma* became the name for the central village or manor in the Ҷirbiži area. And the *ma* (i.e., land) suffix in this name alludes to the possibility that the earlier Livonian language tradition may still have existed in this region.

### 3. Possible Livonian families at Ҷirbiži Manor

After centuries of relative residential immobility, people did not usually move to strange villages where they had no ties. The resettlement of Livonian coastal residents to this area after the abolition of serfdom may allude to the possibility that a Livonian community still existed on the territory of Ҷirbiži (Kürbis) Manor in the first half of the 19th century. Namely, on 8 June 1839, 26-year-old *Fritz Laiwing* with his wife *Greete*, son *Ernest*, and daughter *Anne* are recorded to have moved from Svētciems Manor (*Neu-Salis*) to Ҷirbiži Manor (LVVA 199.1.226: 81op-82). Therefore, it can be assumed that Fritz Laiving had relatives or acquaintances in Ҷirbiži Manor.

It is known that Jurre, Fritz's father, had been brought over from Svētciems Manor after 1795, but no details about the background of this man who died as a lodger on Kraukļi (*Kraukel*) farm on the shore of the Svētupe River in 1831 were recorded (LVVA 199.1.400: 86op). The surname of Jurre and his sons was *Laiwing*, which is the Salaca Livonian equivalent of 'boatman' or the title of 'skipper'. In the 1760s, the word for boat in the language of the Salaca Livonians was recorded as a *laia* (Schlöder 1771: 376). The word *laiva* ('boat') has also been adopted into the Latvian language, while *laev* and *laiva* denote a larger vessel in the Estonian and Finnish languages, respectively. A Latvian form of the name Laivin/Laiving has survived in the Latvian form (*Laiweneek*) and is also defined as 'boatman'. The name of Jurre's widow, who attended communion at the Ҷeguļi farm in 1838, was recorded in the Salaca Church records as *Eewa Laiweneek* (LVVA 235.15.358: 193). However, this was not Eva Laiving's new name, because *Ewa Laiwin(g)*, who died on 10 January 1845, was recorded under her former name in the death records and her daughter (the manor's nursemaid) also had this same earlier name and is recorded as *Anne Laiwin* in 1843 (LVVA 235.15.358: 381; 235.4.2204: 22). The fact that his sons were hired as farmhands on farms where Livonians gathered also alludes to Jurre Laiving's Livonian background (LVVA 199.1.400: 67op, 69op, 95op; 235.15.358: 484). Jurre's younger son *Jahn Laiwing* lived together

with his mother on Ʒeguļi farm, and this was the farm from which the mistress of the house and her mother were invited to the manor to act as Livonian linguistic guides (Sjögren 1849: 469).

There were no other families named Laivin/Laiving at the other manors (Vecsalaca, Ainaži, Ʒirbiži) in Salaca Parish. Seemingly, more than a single surname existed in Jurre's family, and when Jurre and his brother left their original home, they lost their past identity to the extent that they chose different surnames based on their occupations. For instance, Jurre's younger brother *Matsch*, who worked at Svētciems Manor as a servant (*hoffjunge*) in 1795, and thereafter became a mason (*maurer*), adopted *Kelle*, i.e., 'trowel', as his surname (LVVA 199.1.400: 7op, 49, 91op). Indrik, the name of Jurre and Matsch's father, was not a very popular first name in Salaca Parish and is encountered more often in the south around Limbaži and Vecmuiža. Jurre's surname, which was exceptional in Salaca Parish, is encountered more often in the southern region. Thus, in 1834, *Jacob Laiwin*, a 29-year-old overseer of the tenants at Viļķene (Wilkenhof) Manor resettled his family in Limbaži parsonage (LVVA 199.1.507: 207op-208, 232op-233). During the early 19th century, in addition to Jehkab/Jacob Laiwin, peasants with the same surname also lived on farms named *Cattrinen/Kattrin*, *Kungur*, and *Jespar*, which were all at Viļķene Manor, located on the upper course of the Arupīte, a southern tributary of the Svētupe River (LVVA 199.1.507: 13op, 39op, 47op, 66op, 134op, 199op).

*Pritz and Greete Laiwin[g]* who moved to Ʒirbiži (Kürbis) Manor had their third child, a daughter named Edde, baptised in the Salaca Church on 19 September 1843. (LVVA 235.4.2202: 13). At the time, their home farm was recorded as *Zuhke/Zuhka*, where, according to the 1834 audit records, the head of the household was Jakob Ohsolinbeck and the farmhand was Otto Kuhske. The latter's name, as well as that of the other peasants who lived on this farm for two generations (LVVA 199.1.226: 31op, 69op), means 'spruce' in the Salaca Livonian language (*kusk* – Jannau 1828: 182). And is 'kuusk' in Estonian. The fact that ties existed between the residents of this farm and Salaca Parish is also confirmed by the move made from *Zuhke* farm to Vecsalaca Manor by Ansche Lossmann's seven-member family and Mikkel Strasdin in 1832 (LVVA 199.1.226: 49op, 69op).

Before the 1850 census, Fritz Laiving resettled on Jaun Kalmann's farm, where a peasant family named Prēdīt (*Prediht*) also lived (LVVA 199.1.226: 131op-132op). The Livonian background of the Prēdīt family is confirmed by the fact that, in 1846 *Krist Preeding*, the 59-year-

old head of the household at *Purring* farm, and his 54-year-old wife *Anne* were among the Livonians presented to the Sjögren research team (Sjögren 1849: 469). Sjögren apparently made a mistake when recording the surname *Preeding*, because in the other sources the name is consistently recorded as *Prēdīt* (*Preediht*, *Предитъ* – LVVA 199.1.400: 236; 232.1.542: 433op-434). Another family had the same name in Kuiviži village at Vecsalaca Manor, where the descendants of *Otto Preedit*, who was born around 1752, occupied the *Jaekes/Jehkes Krisch* farm from the late 18th century on (LVVA 199.1.399: 9op, 44op-46, 90op-91, 167op-169). Individuals with the same name could also be found at the other farms at Vecsalaca Manor, and on 6 May 1846, Krist Prēdīt's oldest son Martin, who was 30 years old, along with his wife *Nadascha* and his three daughters, was entered into the parish register as the head of household of *Purring* farm at Svētciems Manor (LVVA 199.1.400: 126op-130, 183op).

Krist Prēdīt's ancestry is not clear. In the 1820s, when new farms were being established, *Christ*, a boatman at Svētciems Manor, acquired a new farm named *Purring* (LVVA 199.1.400: 8op-9, 60op, 98op-99). The farm may have been named after the word for sailing (*purit* – SLW: 156) or sails (*purīd* – LELS: 260), which alludes to *Christ*'s occupation as a boatman. However, *Preedit* was the surname they adopted. It is possible that the name *Purring* was already in use in this area, because, in the 1850s, the widow *Edde Purrin*, who had been born in 1789 at Viļķene Manor, also lived on *Zuhka* farm at Ķirbiži Manor (the same farm where Fritz Laving's family lived) (see LVVA 235.15.363: 323op).

From the aforementioned examples, we can see a pattern of families with similar Livonian names being associated with seafaring. The Weides, Martinsohns, and Leelkalns, who were well-known at Ķirbiži Manor, were among the families with Livonian roots that were actively involved with seafaring on the coast between Salacgrīva and Häädemeeste in the 19th century. First, they had worked in the Ķirbiži Manor centre. And in 1832, Martin Weide went from there to Limbaži with his five sons (LVVA 199.1.226: 56, 58op-66op). According to the 1834 census, the Martinsohns ran the coastal *Dzeņi* (*Dzenne*) and *Meleki* (*Melleck*) farms at Ķirbiži Manor and the Leelkalns ran the *Ievalti* (*Ewaldt*) farm on the shore of the Vitrupe River (LVVA 199.1.226: 58op-59op, 67op-69).

Searches for possible ties between the peasants at Ķirbiži Manor and the manors in the northern part of Salaca Parish are based on the assumption that similar surnames may have indicated familial connections. As a

counterargument, examples can also be provided of the names chosen by brothers that separated into several families. These surnames are derived from popular farm names, highly ranked professions, etc. In these cases, the similarities are not the result of any familial ties. In general, it is clear that definitive answers regarding familial relations cannot be provided only by surnames. At the same time, the repetition of less popular surnames cannot be ignored when this connection is supported by other indirect sources and context. In summary, the aforementioned ties are mostly indirect and do not provide proof of the survival of a Livonian community at Ҷirbiži Manor at the turn of the 19th century, or the century before. However, they do allude to the use of Livonian surnames in this region. This, in turn, allows us to assume that the Livonian identity had survived at Ҷirbiži Manor until the 19th century. By this time, the survival of the Livonian language was dependent on social attitudes, as there is no information about formal education being provided in the Livonian language. When an educational tradition and written language are lacking, there are also very few written sources regarding the survival of a language. Therefore, the lack of definitive information about a Livonian community in Ҷirbiži may also be explained by the lack of an immediate need or interest in collecting such material. The area where the Livonian language was in use during the 18th century cannot even be definitively linked to the families' settlement areas because we know that the speaking of Livonian was publicly discouraged by the clergy and manor owners starting in the 18th century. We do not know whether this also took place at Ҷirbiži Manor, but pastors had an impact on everything that happened throughout their parishes.

#### **4. The impact of the church on the language usage of the Livonians**

In 1782 and 1795, a systematic personal census was started in the Baltic Governorates. But the state church continued to be the leading collector and preserver of personal data in Livland and the church registers (books of metrics) were consistently updated with various data. However, the Salaca Parish registers from the late 18th century, which were related to the peasants, have not survived. All that is available is a rewritten copy of a German sub-parish register that dates from the 20th century. Based on this, it is known that the Orajõe border guards also belonged to the German congregation of Salaca Parish (entries from



1785, 1787, 1790, 1791 and 1793) along with the postal inspector of Treimani (*Dreymannsdorf*), mentioned in 1794 (see LVVA 235.5.16: 134op-137). Therefore, the influence of the Salaca Parish church was evident from Orājō to Ķirbiži even in the 19th century. According to the church registers, which have survived in their entirety since 1834, the peasants from Orājō and Ikla continued to have their children baptised by the clergy of Salaca Parish. For instance, in 1834, this was done by families named Weide, Grand, Eiken, Pajo, Behr, Kalmet, Dischler, and Grenz; and families named Grand, Leppe, Allikas, Johansohn, Eiken, and Dreimann in 1846 (LVVA 235.4.2193: 1–9; 235.4.2205: 6–12). This practice continued even when an independent Lutheran parish was established in Häädemeeste in 1862. The Salaca Orthodox parish, which started maintaining its register in 1849, also includes peasants from Orājō Manor (LVVA 232.1.542: 423op, etc.).

The historical parish parsonage was located on the northern shore of the Salaca, on the border between two manors. Apparently, the direct supervision of the peasants was stronger in the centre of Vecsalaca Manor, which was located nearby, and weaker than among the peasants and manor centre on the shores of the Svētupe. It could logically be assumed that the pastor went there less often – primarily on visitations or when there was a special need. Beginning in the autumn of 1742, the congregations were served by a pastor named Johann Conrad Burchard (LVVA 235.5.16: 157op). It is known that during his 25 years of service Burchard acquired a certain proficiency in the Livonian language, because he sent A. L. Schlözer the first missive about the use of Livonian in Salaca Parish. Pastor Burchard's letter to the academician dated 23 July 1767 includes 103 words and expressions used by the Salaca Livonians (see Schlözer 1770: 370–373). And thereafter, at least until 1774, J. C. Burchard made additional notes about the local Livonian language (Winkler 1999: 141, 185).

Friedrich Gustav von Dunten, the parish magistrate and lord of Svētciems Manor, which is further south of the Salaca River, undertook to record the language of the local peasants at the behest of Immanuel Justus von Essen, the head pastor and director of the consistory school of Rīga Cathedral. To this end, he took a couple of his Livonian peasants to Rīga, where Pastor Essen was able to study their vernacular (Schlözer 1770: 379). F. G. v. Dunten used his connections, which were apparently more extensive than those of the local pastor, to record the Livonian language, and the manor lord supplied the expert with direct sources. Unfortunately, it is not known who the translator was at this

meeting. Pastor Essen sent another missive with 145 Livonian words, expressions, and grammatical forms to Schlözer on 4 February 1769 (see Schlözer 1770: 376–378). His writings also include a description of the Salaca Livonians at the end of the 1760s and a discussion of their origins.

The research and ethnographic description of the Livonian language suffered a setback when a new pastor came to the parish. J. C. Burchard, the Salaca pastor, who by this time had served his congregation for a total of 35 years and four months, died on 8 March 1778 (LVVA 235.5.16: 157op). And a few years later, I. J. von Essen, the head pastor in Rīga also died (20 November 1780). There were other enlightened men of letters who were interested in Livonian, but their numbers were never large. In 1789, Gustav von Bergmann, a pastor and printing shop owner in Rūjiena whose father had compiled the first Latvian-language catechism, published the Lord's Prayer translated from Latvian into Livonian (see Winkler 1994: 45). However, there was no follow-up to this undertaking and the Lord's Prayer had remained the only example of its kind in Bergmann's publication (Winkler 1994: 392). Life also became tougher for 'enlightened' people in 1790s, because, in order to hinder the impact of the French Revolution on Russia, almost all private printing shops were closed and strict censorship was imposed.

The language of the church services had been unified based on that which was used in the larger regions, and thus, the church services in Salaca Parish were traditionally held in Latvian (Schlözer 1771: 303). However, in the 1770s, this did not yet mean that the use of Livonian was banned in church or that their native language could not be taught to Livonian children. Based on later recollections, Livonian was still the spoken language in the entire parish – at both Vecsalaca and Svētciems Manors (Jürgenson 1846: 23). Ignatius Franz Hackel, who was confirmed as the Salaca pastor in 1778, started rooting out the language. It is not known whether this activity was based on instructions from the manor lord, who was the church warden, or the fact that Hackel did not understand Livonian and was therefore distrustful of it. In any case, Pastor Hackel banned the speaking of Livonian from the pulpit, and insofar as the church organised education in the rural areas, teaching Livonian to children was also prohibited (Sjögren 1849: 471). Anton Friedrich Büsching (1786: 137), who had served as a cleric in St Petersburg for four years and gathered information on Baltic Governorates for the scientific geographical anthology that he edited, also writes that the old Livonian language was still spoken in the Salaca region, but that

the Livonians who lived there could not use their language in school or church. The parsonage and the parish church were located near the mouth of the river, and therefore, the Livonians who lived on the shores of the Salaca inevitably came under close scrutiny by the new pastor. In addition to the pastor, the Latvians also bore malice against those who spoke Livonian, and taking advantage of the new situation, gladly scoffed at them (*gern spotten*) (Büsching 1786: 137). Therefore, the peasants who did not care about Livonian culture or had various other motives, supported the new shepherd of the congregation.

Thus, by the 1780s the situation had changed to the point that speaking Livonian was inadvisable and under attack. No local Livophiles emerged to record the language and customs of the Livonians. This apparently resulted from the very negative attitude toward the Livonians who spoke Livonian, which predominated during the tenure of Ignatius Franz Hackel who served as pastor in Salaca Parish from 1778 to 1836.

## 5. The division of Salaca Manor

At the time when the peasants' way of life was greatly dependant on the manor regulations, there was a limited amount of communication beyond the boundaries of each manor. Therefore, it is quite significant that the nucleus of the Livonian community, which lived at a large manor that dominated the parish and the Salaca Livonians' linguistic area, was divided in half in 1738. George von Diepenbrock, a public prosecutor (*Prokurator-Fiskal*) and owner of Salaca Manor, died on 21 October 1732 (LVVA 235.5.16: 155op). His widow Johanna Dorothea von Diepenbrock (née Kellermann von Friedenfeld) established a new manor called Neu-Salis (Svētciems) on the southern portion of the old manor, where she went to live. And she sold the northern portion and heart of the old manor (Vecsalaca, Alt-Salis), along the Čūskmuiža (*Kusemanshof*) sub-manor, to Major Otto Christopher von Medem. After the death of Medem's widow Maria Lovisa (née Leijonancker) on 16 November 1771, the manor was inherited by her daughter Martha Dorothea, who had been born at Vecsalaca Manor in 1743 (LVVA 2728.1.538: 292). On 16 August 1758 Martha Dorothea married Gustav Wilhelm von Fersen (1735–1781), a Saxon chamberlain and lieutenant-colonel, who dedicated himself to a career in Holstein, Denmark as well as the Governorate of Livland where he became district magistrate (EAA 1674.2.74: 17op; LVVA 2728.1.538: 118–119).

G. W. v. Fersen, who has risen to be a Danish major-general died at the age of 45 and, on 17 April 1783, Martha Dorothea von Fersen married his younger brother, Major Friedrich Hermann von Fersen, a hero of the Russo-Turkish War (EAA 1674.2.74: 17). F. H. v. Fersen was the owner of Saue Manor in Harju District in North Estonia and, until 1786, spent most of his time developing that manor, which he renamed Friedrichshof. Thereafter, his enthusiasm was redirected to the redesign of Vecsalaca Manor. However, F. H. v. Fersen died in July of 1798 in Vecsalaca where he had been active for over ten years (LVVA 235.5.16: 159). Large-scale construction there and at Pāle Manor, which belonged to Vecsalaca, was taken over by Martha Dorothea, who had been widowed again, and her daughter Anna from her second marriage (LVVA 2728.1.538: 121–122; EAA 1674.2.74: 17op). Anna married Major Otto von Medem who died early (at the age of 39) at the end of 1808 (LVVA 235.5.16: 160).

Meanwhile, the new manor (Neu-Salis, Svētciems) established by Johanna Dorothea von Diepenbrock in 1738 in the southern part of the former Salaca Manor differed from the New-Salaca properties that had already existed in the 17th century. Mainly because the 18th-century manor also included the village of Ainaži in the northwest corner of the parish. This separate piece seems illogical, but it apparently resulted from a wish to divide the manor's community of Livonian fishermen and seafarers into equal parts. This was done village by village and since the fishing village located at the mouth of the Salaca was apparently larger than all the other fishing villages on the shores of the old mouth of the Svētupe as well as its new mouth (Jaunupe), as a result the sizes of the two fishing communities at both manors were more or less equalised; Ainaži was only connected to the new manor by the sea.

On 14 March 1743, Johanna Dorothea von Diepenbrock died and Svētciems Manor was inherited by her daughter Anna Gertrud, who had married Johann Christian von Dunten, an Ensign of the Guards, in 1737 (LVVA 235.5.16: 156, 151). J. C. v. Dunten, who retired as a Captain of the Guards, came from an area where Livonian culture had also survived for centuries. Since 1677, his family had owned Dunte (Ruthern) Manor in Liepupe (Pernigel) Parish (see Hagemeister: 153). Anna Gertrud died on 16 May 1758 and on 10 October 1759, Lieutenant Gotthard von Reck, the lessee of Svētciems also died. (LVVA 235.5.16:

1560p). Therefore, Johann Christian von Dunten was forced to take over the running of the manor until his second son Friedrich Gustav von Dunten had completed his military service as a lieutenant and moved to Svētciems in 1769 with his wife Maria Catharina (née von Reusner). Gustav's father transferred the manor to him and F. G. v. Dunten was elected to be the parish judge (Ordnungsrichter). However, the hoped-for stability in the running of the family's property did not last long. George Johann, the manor lord's oldest son died in 1778 and a shortly thereafter three of his younger daughters also died. At the same time, Friedrich Gustav von Dunten, the manor lord himself, fell ill and after suffering for five years, died on 17 February 1783 (LVVA 235.5.16: 1580p). Having lost his 40-year-old son, Johann Christian von Dunten was forced to start running the manor again until his grandson Johann Andreas von Dunten could take over. However, the latter was unable to maintain his ownership of Svētciems Manor and develop it. On 6 October 1795, the 21-year-old J. A. von Dunten pledged the manor to Baron Kasimir Meyendorff von Uexküll (1749–1813), a lieutenant general and owner of Mazstraupe (Klein-Roop) Manor. The 60,000-thaler pledge<sup>1</sup> was not redeemed, and on 19 July 1800, Meyendorff, who had been the Governor of Livonia and Military Governor of Finland, sold Svētciems Manor to Captain Ernst Reinhold von Berg for 75,000 thalers (Hagemeister: 176). At the same time, Ainaži, which had belonged as a separate parcel to Svētciems Manor, was transferred to Mazstraupe Manor.

## 6. The two different paradigms of the divided manor

In addition to Vecsalaca Manor, as of 8 September 1770, Gustav Wilhelm von Fersen also acquired ownership of nearby Pāle (*Sepküll*) Manor, naming the poorhouse he established in Rīga after this manor (EAA 1674.2.74: 170p). Vecsalaca and Pāle Manors were located side by side and the culture of the Salaca Livonians was still quite prevalent in both areas. The parsonage was located in the centre of Vecsalaca Manor and the local pastor, who was familiar with the culture, lived there. On 23 July 1767, Johann Conrad Burchard, the long-time pastor of Salaca, sent A. L. Schlözer in Göttingen a letter, which included 103 Salaca Livonian words and expressions (see Schlözer 1770: 370–373).

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1 The Alb[erts]-thaler was in circulation until 1810; one thaler was equal to 2 roubles in banknotes or (Bank) Assignations.

The notes on the local language that he subsequently made in 1774 have also survived (see Winkler 1999: 141, 185; Pajusalu 2007: 213). However, this initiative was apparently limited to Pastor Burchard, who died on 8 March 1778 (LVVA 235.5.16: 157op). And we lack any other notes or information indicating an interest in the Livonians' language or culture at this manor from later periods. It is possible that the reason for the lack of interest is that G. W. v. Fersen, the chamberlain that owned the manor, came from outside the Livonians' area of settlement and his connection to the local culture was not very strong. In addition, the next pastor rather than being an intermediary for Livonian culture was its enemy.

The interest in the different people who lived at the manor did not increase when G. W. v. Fersen, who had risen to be Danish major-general died at the age of 45, and Martha Dorothea von Fersen married Friedrich Hermann von Fersen, her first husband's younger brother on 27 April 1783. F. H. v. Fersen (1741–1798), who had made his career in service to Russia, had acquired Saue Manor and built a new Baroque manor house there. However, in 1786, he transferred his enthusiasm from Saue, which he had renamed Friedrichshof, to the redesign of Vecsalaca Manor, where the scale was considerably larger. Fersen pledged Saue Manor to Carl Friedrich von Rehbinder, the owner of Saku Manor, for 35,000 roubles and in 1792, Count von Rehbinder became the owner of Saue Manor. By that time, Vecsalaca had been developed into a manor centre with a showy and grandiose cultural infrastructure.

The artist J. W. Krause, who was in the service of Count Ludwig August Mellin, the best-known cartographer of the late 18th century, has left behind a detailed description of Vecsalaca Manor from September 1793 and the achievement of Baron Friedrich Hermann von Fersen in designing its centre in accordance with the fashion trends and ideals of the day (Krause 1818: 117–135). The developments related to the French Revolution, which resulted in the Terror and the masses taking the law into their own hands, caused a great setback for the ideas of the Enlightenment. The educated people of Europe were again searching for order and normality. Simplified notions about the societies of the past fit perfectly with their strict rules and hierarchies. On the other hand, the search for ideals also resulted in the rejection of reality, which, with its diversity, seemed too complicated or unsuitable. The Livonians, who had been forced into becoming peasants and excluded from education did not fit into the system adopted during the Age of Enlightenment, in which it was the old cultural nations that created order and culture

and carried them forward. Classical Greco-Roman culture was glorified and, in the Baltic Governorates, German Romanticism was popular as well. At Vecsalaca Manor, there was an *Arcadia* or idyllic garden with shepherds, surrounded by a stream called the River Styx from Greek mythology. In addition, Friedrich Hermann von Fersen built theme parks called *Thuiskon* and *Walhalla* along the manor's main avenue, which were based on Germanic mythology and included Thor's throne and Freya's cradle. "Castle ruins", which included a knights' hall and chapel built of painted wooden boards, also towered over the manor's fields (Krause 1818: 124–125).

Only the maritime museum established at the manor was related to the local seafaring tradition. Seafaring and fishing had been the traditional occupations of the Livonians and this was apparently still true in the 18th century. Baron Fersen, who had six large seagoing ships, continued this tradition. We do not have any direct information about the Livonian families at Vecsalaca Manor, but according to the census registers from the early 19th century, the following people were listed as being in the service of Vecsalaca Manor: fisherman *Nicke Lachs* and boatmen (*Boots-schiffer*, *Schiffer*) *Jahn Brandt*, *Otto Straus*, *Martin Straus* and *Martin Kraukle*. Their names include both German names (Brandt, Straus) as well as surnames used in both local languages, and therefore, do not provide any information regarding the heritage of the peasants with these names. Of the loan words, the name Lachs was recorded by the register writer in the German form, but this may have been altered by the writer. Lachs, i.e., lax, had the same meaning in all the local languages (German *Lachs*; Livonian *lass*; Latvian *lasis*) and Kraukle, i.e., 'raven', existed in both Livonian and Latvian (Livonian *kraukel/kraukil/kroukel*; Latvian *krauklis*). However, Jurre Laiving and Krist Preedit, the two boatmen from Svētciems Manor mentioned above, who are known to have been associated with the recording of the Livonian language at the manor, can definitely be identified as Livonians. Indeed, the only trustworthy contemporary information from Salaca regarding Livonians whose identity had clearly survived comes from the territory of Svētciems Manor and the village of Ainaži that belonged to the same manor.

Research on the role of the Livonians in local maritime history might have resulted in the appreciation of their culture. In addition to seafaring, a serious cultural history approach could also have provided information about the contribution of the Livonians to the commercial development of the district of Livonia during ancient times. All the more

because this activity had provided a connection between Old Livonia and the Scandinavians and Germans, as it had brought them to these shores. In his work, *Allgemeine nordische Geschichte*, A. L. Schlözer determined that the peasants (*Liv, Lib*) that still spoke Livonian were quite probably the indigenous people of Livland (Schlözer 1771: 303). At Vecsalaca Manor, it was also known to everyone that the indigenous people from the ‘old Livonian tree’ (*alten Livischen Baum*) still lived there and, amongst themselves, spoke an ‘ancient language’ (*uralthe Sprache*) (Krause 1818: 128). However, a place could not be found for them in the neoclassical heritage hierarchy, thereby rendering the culture of the Livonians meaningless. The Vecsalaca manor lords admitted that the Livonians did their work impeccably, and yet they were treated with intolerance. This is apparent from the notes of J. W. Krause, who admired his hosts, and wrote that the Livonian peasants were deceitful (*tükischer*) just like the rest of the riffraff (*Racaillen*), and considered themselves to be better than others (Krause 1818: 128). Krause had been told about the Livonians’ habit of banding together, only speaking with one another, and the fact that they avoided riding on ‘public transportation’, i.e., the wagons with benches that transported the manor workers.

The fact that the Livonians did not communicate in Latvian was an apparent reaction to the hostility expressed toward their language that had been initiated by Pastor Hackel, and by this time, had already lasted for about a decade. Krause, who had been a tutor at the manors of Livonia, also researched the upbringing methods of the peasants and found it noteworthy that young Livonians gathered in large numbers and preferred their own company. Compared to the manor lords’ children, who were raised by nannies and tutors rather than their parents, Krause believed that the Livonian peasant families, where the children apparently accompanied their mothers, were uncultured. He compared them to turkey families that moved around together until the chicks were grown (Krause 1818: 128). Krause’s choice of this word, which referred to these domestic birds that kept together and stood up for each other, did not have a very positive connotation. And instead of taking a form from the generally used High German, Krause used the word *kalkunn* (which was used by the Livonians and had been adopted from Low German, Dutch, or the Scandinavian languages) in this context,



not the High German word *Truthuhn* or *Türkische Huhn* (see Bertau 2014: 113).

The manor owner of other half of Svētciems Manor, which was located south of the Salaca River, had a different attitude toward the Livonian peasants. At least when it came to Friedrich Gustav von Dunten, who had assumed ownership of the manor in the late 1760s. He was a local and due to his position as the owner of Svētciems Manor and his election as the parish judge, he had to communicate with the peasants and was therefore more informed about their lives than the Vecsalaca manor lords. In addition, Friedrich Gustav von Dunten was among those in the larger circle of learned men that gathered around the Rīga publisher Gottlob Christian Frölich, who had served with him in the Russian Army (see *Handbuch: 114*). G. C. Frölich published works in the local languages – in both Estonian and Latvian.<sup>2</sup> This was appropriate and not unusual during the Age of Enlightenment, as was the fact that Dunten brought a few of his ‘best’ Livonians to Rīga, so that more educated men could research their language usage during the winter of 1768/69 (Schlözer 1770: 379). From this undertaking, it is possible to conclude that the culture of the Livonians was well-known at Svētciems Manor and that it was considered valuable. Since Dunten had introduced the Livonian linguistic guides to Immanuel Justus von Essen, the head pastor and inspector of the consistory school of Rīga Cathedral, but had not collected Livonian vocabulary himself, it is not known whether he was proficient in the language of the peasants. However, he recognised the need to research and record it.

Below we will see that all the 19th-century information about the speakers of Livonian in Salaca Parish comes from Svētciems Manor and Ainaži. The fact that Livonian culture survived at Svētciems Manor and Ainaži, which was connected to the manor until 1813, may have resulted from a lower level of innovation on the part of the owners, who had more of a long-standing connection with these places than those who bought the section of the manor that was sold off. Large development work was not undertaken at the manors of Livonia until the second half of the 18th century, because Livonia had suffered an economic decline after the Great Northern War, which had caused a labour shortage at the manors. At Svētciems Manor, development was not started until after the arrival of Friedrich Gustav von Dunten, although his period of

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2 G. C. Frölich published a hymnal and prayer book in Latvian in 1764, Martin Luther’s catechism in South-Estonian in 1764 and in Latvian in 1773, the reprint of a pericope in South-Estonian (*Josephus Flavius’e Ewangeliumma- nink Epistli-Lu*) in 1765, etc.

greatest activity was limited to the years from 1769 to 1777 before he fell ill. Thus, greater reorganisations were not carried out at this manor for objective reasons and the existing culture of the manor continued without any great changes.

### **7. The area where Livonian was used in the late 18th and first half of the 19th centuries**

In the mid-18th century, Salaca Parish was united with Rīga District, and as a result the contact between Salaca and Orājõe that remained in Pärnu District was severed. In 1680, there was a Salaca Inn (*Salis Kroch*, *Salis Krog*) in Orājõe, and a hundred years later, an inn in Ainaži with the same name (*Salis Krug*) but then it was within the new border of Rīga District (see Witt 1680; Danckerts 1696; Stoll 1779). During the provincial reform by Catherine II, the territory of Rīga District was reduced and Salaca Parish was included in Valmiera (Wolmar) district, which was established in 1783 (see Pistohlkors 1784). The district borders became increasingly important as freedom of movement became restricted until emancipation from serfdom, and since the areas formerly associated with the centre of Salaca Parish were now located behind new administrative borders, the close communications between the Livonians' linguistic islands were reduced.

More permanent than the administrative borders were the clerical divisions and, therefore, the attitude of the pastors toward the indigenous people in these linguistic islands was important to the Livonian peasants of Salaca. The antagonism of Ignatius Franz Hackel, who served as parson of Salaca Parish from 1778 to 1836, and the administrative measures he enacted to promote the extinction of the Livonian language dealt a great blow to Livonian-language speakers. Due to the scarcity of information, it is difficult to decide how quickly the linguistic discrimination in Salaca Parish produced the desired results. In early 1815 in Rīga, Dr Otto von Huhn, who was interested in geography, compiled a questionnaire with 41 questions and sent it to the parish priests (Linnus 1939: 150). Pastor Hackel from Salaca also answered the questionnaire and wrote that one can still meet Livonians in his parish, who are the best peasants, but speak a peculiar language amongst themselves and mostly marry other Livonians (Cimermanis 2003: 18). Based on this, we can conclude that the Livonians had not abandoned their own language by 1815 and maintained their Livonian identity by, at least, finding

spouses from among their own ethnic group. Their language had probably been excluded from public discourse and survived until the early 19th century as a language for communicating amongst themselves.

Diedrich Heinrich Jürgenson was the first Estonian to have an academic interest in the language of the Livonians. As the Estonian language lecturer at the Imperial University of Tartu and member of the recently established *Gelehrte Estnische Gesellschaft* (Learned Estonian Society), he was sent by the curator of the university to make an audit of the elementary schools in the local educational area. The elementary school in Limbaži was the only school in the historical settlement area of the Salaca Livonians, and apparently Jürgenson did not meet a single Livonian speaker there. Seventeen Livonians, who were the only ones to still speak their native language, were found by Jürgenson in the summer of 1839 at Svētciems Manor (Jürgenson 1846: 24). The attitude toward the Livonian language in Salaca Parish had changed by this time, because between 1836 and 1850 the priest who served as pastor was one for whom the Livonians' culture was neither strange nor threatening. Pastor Theodor Ludwig von Vegesack had come from Viļķene Manor (Wilkenhof) on a tributary of the Svētupe River, which was in the historical settlement area of the Livonians. In any case, the pastor's brother, Dr Carl Otto von Vegesack (1807–1870), who became the owner of Svētciems Manor in 1841, invited Johan Andreas Sjögren, a member of the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences to the manor to study the language of the Livonians. The latter arrived in 1846, but by this time, there were so few speakers of Livonian left that, according to Sjögren's data (1849: 470), there were only six farms where more than one speaker of the language could be found. He was introduced to 16 men and six women who still spoke Livonian at Svētciems Manor, and according to Sjögren, in 1813, there had also been some speakers of Livonian in the village of Ainaži, which was had been separated from Svētciems Manor (Sjögren 1849: 469). According to local tradition, one of the Ainaži Livonians was the last person to speak Livonian in Salaca Parish. In 1867, a new rooster was installed on the steeple of Lielsalaca Church, and a document was placed in the tin ball attached to it. The document indicated that, although ten years earlier there had been more local speakers of Livonian, the language had died along with *Matsch Lielmesch*, an elderly peasant from the village of Ainaži (Noriņa 2014: 107). He had been born on *Sappat* farm in Ainaži, which had been run by his father *Ange* (*Andreas*), son of *Ahren* (LVVA 199.1.134: 3-3op). When *Ange* had died in 1806, his son *Matsch* was still a minor

and *Kriste* (*Krist Kalning*), an older farmhand who was only 6 years older than *Matsch*, became his stepfather. By 1811, *Matsch* was running *Sappat* farm, and his brother *Adam*, who was a servant in the Ainaži inn, moved to Mazstraupe, and only his sons returned to Ainaži from there. At that time when surnames were being assigned, *Matsch*, who had remained on *Sappat* farm in Ainaži, along with his sons and his brother *Adam*'s sons (*Jaeck*, *Krist*), were given the surname of *Leelmesch* (LVVA 199.1.134: 14, 20op).

*Matsch Lielmesch* was far from a recluse, but according to surviving information, his wife Ilse, who came from Svētciems Manor, his three sons (*Krist*, *Gust*, *Jehkab*) and five daughters, as well as his numerous grandchildren, no longer spoke Livonian. The old Livonian mentioned in the document placed in the ball on the spire of church was said to be 75 years old. According to the 1795 census register, *Matsch Lielmesch*, who lived on *Sappat* farm in the village of Ainaži, was 8 years old at the time, and in 1811, he was 24 (LVVA 199.1.134: 3), i.e. his age should have been 80 years in 1867. In fact, *Matsch* was younger, as according to the personal register, he was born on 9 March 1791 (LVVA 235.15.363: 357) and according to the death records, *Matsch Leelmesch* died at the age of 76 on 5 September 1867 (LVVA 235.7.347: 183).

## 8. Conclusion

Of the Livonians who lived in Salaca Parish in the 18th century, it was the community at Svētciems Manor, which was primarily owned by manor lords who were locals or from the same region, which kept its native language alive the longest. Pastor Ignatius Franz Hackel, who was responsible for education in the parish, had made it his goal to destroy the ancient and unique culture of the peasants. And supported by the authorisations granted to him by society and his long term of service, he achieved this goal. And yet, Salaca Parish was not an uninformed hinterland outside the orbit of spiritual life, where the ideas of the Enlightenment were totally unknown. Rather, the issue was the ineptitude and insularity of the few educated people in the area, because information about Livonian culture, which was of academic interest, was covered in the German-language scientific periodicals, but there was a lack of new entries. Friedrich Hermann von Fersen, who erected grandiose cultural monuments at his Vecsalaca Manor characteristic of the era, emphasised in the course of these activities that his household

was the cultural outcome of Antiquity and Germanic traditions. However, he helped extinguish a living Livonian culture that was still vital at the time. In conclusion, the Age of Enlightenment did not have only a positive impact on developments throughout the Baltic Governorates.

In the 18th century, it was not possible to modernise society in a balanced way without destroying the diversity inherent to a vital culture. The developments during the Age of Enlightenment were challenging for the Livonian peasants of Salaca, and compared to earlier periods, the survival of their cultural and linguistic uniqueness depended solely on the local manor lords and the pastors who were installed in their positions with the approval of the manor owners. However, this was far from the best alternative, because together with the triumph of the new mentality, a rift between educated and enlightened people themselves developed. The cultural emancipation of the Livonians was hindered by serfdom. And the distance of Salaca Parish from the centres of the governorate and district, which in turn prevented the development of a greater concentration of educated people, beyond just the pastor and manor tutors. Thus, ethnologists or advocates for peasant education did not develop locally.

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**Archive notes**

ARKT = Eesti Rahvusraamatukogu arhiivkogu kaardiväljaannete kogu / National Library of Estonia archival collections (reference codes of) –Archives.

EAA = Eesti Ajalooarhiiv / Estonian Historical Archive, Tartu (reference codes of) Records. Inventory series. Archives: Pages.

Est. = Tartu Ülikooli Raamatukogu Estica kogu / University of Tartu Library Estica collection (reference codes of) Inventory series–Archives.

LVVA = Latvijas Valsts vēstures arhīvs / Latvian State Historical Archive, Rīga (reference codes of) Records. Inventory series. Archives: Pages.

TÜR KhO = Tartu Ülikooli Raamatukogu käsikirjade ja haruldaste raamatute osakond / University of Tartu Library Manuscripts and Rare Books Department (reference codes of) Records. Archives: Pages.

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**Kokkuvõte. Aldur Vunk: Seosed valgustusaja ja liivi keele püsimise vahel Salatsi kihelkonnas.** Valgustusliikumise mõju Balti kubermangudes ei väljendunud kõikjal positiivsete arengute kaudu ja 18. sajandil ei suudetud ühiskonda kaasajastada tasakaalustatult, hävitamata elutervele kultuurile omast paljusust. Valgustusaeg koos samal ajal süvenenud pärisorjusega oli Salatsi liivi talupoegadele mitmeti väljakutsuv; võrreldes varasema ajaga sõltus nende kultuurilise ja keelelise omapära püsimine kohalikest mõisnikest ja nende heakskiidul ametisse pandud pastoritest. See polnud aga kaugeltki parim võimalus, sest koos uue mentaliteedi võidulepääsemisega oli suurenenud lõhe ka haritud ja valgustatud inimeste eneste vahel. Liivlaste kultuurilist emantsipatsiooni takistasid seisuslikud tõkked ja Salatsi kihelkonna kaugus nii kubermangu- kui ka kreisikeskustest ei võimaldanud siia koonduda rohkematel haritlastel kui pastor ja mõisnike koduõpetajad. Liivlaste identiteedi väga oluline nõrgenemine valgustusaja kestel Salatsi kihelkonnas on tuvastatav nende asustusala kirjeldatud piirkonna kiires kahanemises 18. sajandi teisel poolel ja 19. sajandi alguses. Ometi polnud Salatsi kihelkond valgustusajal vaimse elu orbiidilt kadunud ja täielikku pimedusse mattunud kolgas, kus valgustusideed oleks olnud täiesti tundmatud. Pigem suurenes sellel ajastul haritud inimeste iseteadlike suundumiste osakaal ja palju sõltus ka Salatsi kihelkonna väheste haritlaste huvidest. Samal ajal kui saksakeelses teadusperioodikasse jõudis teadmine akadeemilist huvi pakkuvast liivlaste kultuurist, algas selle väljenduste mahasurumine. Aastatel 1742–1778 kihelkonnakogudust teeninud pastor Johann Conrad Burchard saatis Peterburi Teaduste Akadeemia liikmele August Ludwig von Schlözerile liivi keele alase kaastöö ja jätkas selle keele uurimist Salatsi kihelkonnas. Tema järeltulija, pastor Ignatius Franz Hackel, võttis aga eesmärgiks liivi talupoegade iidse ja omapärase kultuuri hävitamise, mis ühiskonna poolt tema kätte antud volituste ja pika ametiaja (1778–1836) toel ka teoks sai. Lisaks pastoritele oli suur osakaal talupoegade elu suunamisel mõisnikel. 1738. aastal poolitatud Salatsi mõisa kahes pooles olid tingimused liivi kultuuri säilimisele erinevad. Salatsi kihelkonnas elanud liivlastest kasutas oma emakeelt kauem Svētciemi mõisa kogukond. Seda mõisa pidasid 18. sajandil valdavalt kohalikud või samast piirkonnast pärit mõisnikud ja väljapaistvaim neist oli Riia literaatide suhtlusringkonda kuulunud kihelkonna sillakohtunik Friedrich Gustav von Dunten. 1769. aastal mõisa üle võtnud parun Dunten korraldas samal aastal kohalike talupoegade keele jäädvustamise Riia Toomkiriku



ülempastori ja konsistooriumi koolijuhi Immanuel Justus von Esseni juures. Samal ajal Vecsalaca mõisas suurejoonelisi ja ajastule iseloomulikke kultuuri-monumente püstitanud parun Friedrich Hermann von Fersen rõhutas küll oma majapidamise kuulumist antiikse ja germaani kultuuri mõjuvälja, kuid aitas ise kaasa seal veel elujõulise liivi kultuuri väljasuretamisele.

**Märksõnad:** liivlased, Salaca kihelkond, Vecsalaca, Svētciems, Ķirbiži, 18. sajand, liivi keel

**Kubbövöttõks. Aldur Vunk: Sidtõkst sieldõmäiga ja līvõ kīel pīlimiz vail Salāts mõgõrs.** Sieldõmäiga likkimiz mõj 18. āigatsadā Baltijs iz ūo set pozitīvi. Sieldõmäiga īdskubs vārgõdāigaks vōļ Salāts mōařintijizt pierāst lālam. Nānt kultūr ja kīel pīlimi tānkiz mōiznikīst ja pāpīst. Bet se vōimi sugīd iz ūo amā pařimi, sīestõ põřg kovāld rovzt eņš vail kazīz jo sūrõks. Līvlizt identitēt 18. āigatsadā lopāndõks pūol ja 19. āigatsadā īrgandõksõs ei jo vōjlizõks, sīestõ jo piškizõks ei mō, kus ne jelīzt, ja Salāts immõrkouļ vōļ kougõn sidāmist. Salāts immõrkouļ umīřigid iz ūo tāužiņ pimdõ kūož, kus sieldõmäiga mõtkõd āb vōlkt vōnnõd tundtõbõd. Sīel tīž āigal, ku saksā tieudlizt āigakērad sizzõl pāzīzt tieutõd iļ līvõd kultūr, īrgiz ka līvõd kultūr mōzõ pīkstimi. Pāp Johann Conrad Burchard sōtiz Pētõrburg Tieud Akadēmij nōtkõmõn August Ludwig von Schlōzerõn eņš tuņšlimiztīe iļ līvõ kīel ja jatkīz līvõ kīel tuņšlimiztīedõ Salāts immõrkouļš ka pierrõ. Bet tām tagāntuļļi, pāp Ignatius Franz Hackel, īrgiz artõ līvõ kultūrõ nei ku set sōitiz. 1738. āigasts Salāts mōizõ sai jagdõt kōd jagūks. Sīe Pivākilā jags līvõ kēļ sai kōlbatod amā kōgim. Mōiznikā Friedrich Gustav von Dunten tigtiz līvõd kultūrõ. Bet nāgřõbõks Vanāsalāts mōizõ barõn Friedrich Hermann ābřiz artõ līvõd kultūrõ.