FIELD INVENTORIES IN SOUTH-EAST ESTONIA IN 2012 AND 2013: ARCHAEOLOGICAL MONUMENTS AND SACRED NATURAL SITES

HEIKI VALK, ALLAR HAAV, ANU-LIIS AUNROOS, ALO ERVIN, AHTO KAASIK, PIKNE KAMA, ANDRES KIMBER, KRISTJAN SANDER and KRISTIINA ZADIN

Tartu Ülikool, Ajaloo ja arheoloogia instituut, Arheoloogia osakond (University of Tartu, Institute of History and Archaeology, Department of Archaeology), Jakobi 2, 51014 Tartu, Estonia; heiki.valk@ut.ee

MARJU KÕIVUPUU

Tallinna Ülikool, Eesti Humanitaarinstituut, Maastiku ja kultuuri keskus (Tallinn University, Estonian Institute of Humanities, Centre of Landscape and Culture), Uus-Sadama 5, 10120 Tallinn

INTRODUCTION

The registration of archaeological monuments has not been systematic in Estonia. Far not all archaeological monuments are state protected and numerous indications refer to non-registered sites both in the archaeological and folklore archives. Although the historical, cultural and scientific value of non-protected objects is not smaller than of those protected by the state, the National Heritage Board has traditionally directed its limited resources to the management of sites which have already been included in the National Register of Monuments. The last systematic search for archaeological sites was undertaken only in the 1920s when students of Tartu University made archaeological descriptions of all Estonian parishes. This work was greatly based on information sent by numerous correspondents to Jaan Jung and the Estonian Literary Society during the late 19th and early 20th century.[1] So far state authorities of heritage protection are not charged with systematic search for archaeological monuments in the landscape, this is rather an academic hobby of a small group of archaeologists involved in field archaeology.

In 2012 and 2013 systematic field inventories in nine parishes of south-east Estonia were carried out. The work took place in 2012 in Vastseliina, Räpina, Põlva, Hargla, Karula and Tartu-Maarja, in 2013 in Võnnu, Põlva, Kanepi, Tartu-Maarja and Kambja[2] (Fig. 1) and was finished in the eight firstly named parishes. The field inventory of sites was organised in the framework of the project 'Archaeology, authority and community' (www.aac-project.eu) (Valk 2013), in Estonia–Latvia–Russia cross-border cooperation programme 2007–2013, and budgeted by the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument.

[1] These letters are stored in the archives of AI and designated as Mss, i.e. the 'manuscript' of Jung.
[2] In Kambja parish work was limited to the inventory of sacred natural sites and the inventory in Kanepi could not be finished.

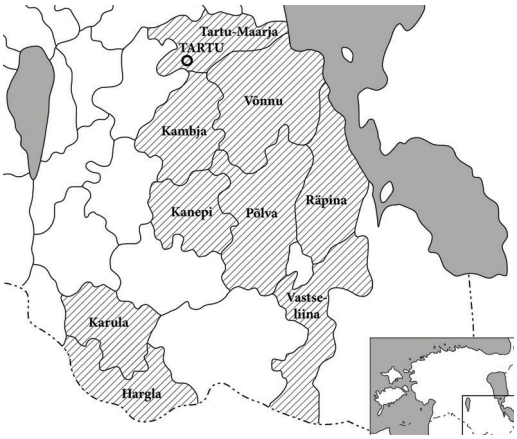

Fig. 1. Parishes of field inventories of 2012–2013 in south-east Estonia.
Jn 1. Kagu-Eestis 2012.–2013. a inventeeritud kihelkonnad.
Drawing / Joonis: Maria Smirnova

For preparing fieldwork, two databases developed at the University of Tartu: those of 1) place-related archaeological information, processed by the Archaeological laboratory (TÜAK) and 2) of sacred natural sites, processed by the Centre for Sacred Natural Sites were used. Much information was obtained also from the database of place-related lore, developed at Estonian Folklore Archives (EKM). It appeared that in the parishes where fieldwork was planned, only about a quarter of cemeteries and sacred natural sites reflected in archaeological and folkloric archive data are being protected by the state (Table 1).

Fieldwork was carried out in two blocks: 1) in spring, to find the occupation layers of settlement sites (in the parishes of Karula, Räpina, Vastseliina, Tartu-Maarja and Kanepi) and 2) in summer and autumn, to check archive records with data on archaeological monuments. The inventories were organized and directed as follows: Räpina – Kristjan Sander (MA student); Vastseliina – Kristiina Zadin (MA student), Karula – Pikne Kama (PhD Student), Tartu-Maarja – Andres Kimber (MA student) and Andres Vindi (TÜ), Kanepi – Alo Ervin (MA student), Anu-Liis Aunroos (BA student) and Andres Vindi. Works in Hargla were directed by Marju Kõivupuu (senior research fellow, TLU) and Kristiina Tiideberg (PhD student, TLU), and in Kambja by Marju Kõivupuu. Ahto Kaasik (TÜ, Centre for Sacred Natural Sites) organized fieldwork in Võnnu and Tiit Kaasik (SA Hiite Maja) in Põlva parish. Maps for fieldwork were prepared by Riina Juurik (TÜ, MA) and Maarja Olli (PhD student) and, concerning settlement sites, by Allar Haav (MSc).

THE MAPPING OF 17TH CENTURY SETTLEMENT SITES

Important source materials for finding the medieval or post-medieval settlement sites are Swedish cadastral maps of the late 17th century. To contribute to field inventories, data about settlement pattern from the old maps were transferred to modern maps of land use. Although farmsteads are clearly depicted on the historical maps, the determination of their exact locations on modern maps is not so simple. As the historic maps themselves are not very precise and are based on a number of smaller area plans – thus introducing more uncertainty –, the standard GIS georeferencing method based on 'rubber-sheeting' was not a viable choice. When preparing the fieldwork, it became clear that the most accurate parts of the maps were the field systems – an unsurprising detail considering the economic reasoning behind the Great Swedish Cadastre responsible for these maps. Yet these past field systems do not provide any clear control points for the georeferencing process.

Table 1. Monuments in parishes surveyed in 2012–2013: state protected sites, sites mentioned in archival notes and newly discovered sites.

Tabel 1. Muistised 2012.–2013. a inspekteeritud kihelkondades: kaitsealused paigad, arhiiviteadetes mainitud paigad ja välitöödel avastatud seni teadmata muistised.

Compiled by / Koostanud: Heiki Valk

Vas = Vastseliina, Har = Hargla, Krl = Karula, Plv = Põlva, Räp = Räpina, Võn = Võnnu, TMr = Tartu-Maarja

	Stately protected sites / Kaitsealused muistised	***Unprotected sites mentioned in archive notes / Arhiiviteadetes kajastuvad mittekaitsealused muistised***	***Formerly unknown sites registered first in 2012–2013 / 2012–2013 esmaregistreeritud muistised***	***Total / Kokku***
Sacred stone / Püha kivi	Vas 6 Plv 5 Räp 1 Krl 1 Har 2 Võn 2 ∑: 17 (24%)	Vas 10 Plv 6 Räp 11 Kan 1 Krl 5 Har 3 Võn 6 ∑: 42 (58%)	Plv 10 Kan 2 Har 1 ∑: 13 (18%)	72
Sacred tree(s) / Pühapuu(d)	Vas 5 Kan 1 Räp 1 Har 2 Võn 4 ∑: 13 (14%)	Vas 4 Plv 20 Kan 6 Räp 20 Krl 6 Har 9 Võn 13 ∑: 78 (83%)	Plv 1 Kan 1 Võn 1 ∑: 3 (3%)	94
Sacred spring / Püha allikas	Vas 3 Plv 2 Kan 1 Võn 2 ∑: 8 (17%)	Vas 1 Plv 4 Kan 2 Räp 6 Krl 6 Har 2 Võn 5 TMr 1 ∑: 27 (59%)	Plv 8 Kan 1 Võn 2 ∑: 11 (24%)	46
Sacred hill / Püha mägi	Vas 3 Plv 1 Kan 1 Räp 1 Võn 1 ∑: 7 (14%)	Vas 4 Plv 15 Räp 4 Krl 1 Võn 8 TMr 2 ∑: 34 (69%)	Plv 6 Kan 2 ∑: 8 (16%)	49
Other sacred site / Muu pühapaik	Vas 5 Räp 1 ∑: 6 (20%)	Vas 6 Kan 4 Räp 4 Har 3 ∑: 17 (57%)	Plv 1 Kan 2 Võn 4 ∑: 7 (23%)	30
Cemetery / Kalme	Vas 15 Plv 16 Kan 20 Räp 7 Krl 10 Har 4 Võn 36 TMr 10 ∑: 118 (33%)	Vas 23 Plv 30 Räp 28 Krl 48 Har 22 Võn 58 TMr 19 ∑: 228 (65%)	Räp 1 Vas 4 Kan 1 Σ: 6 (2%)	352
Total / Kokku	***169 (25%)***	***426 (66%)***	***48 (7%)***	***643***

To overcome this problem, a method using MapInfo Professional 10, Adobe Photoshop and, later on, Quantum GIS 1.7, was devised that would not rely on inaccurately mapped natural objects such as lakes. Making use of the fact that many field systems of the 17th century were continuously in use in the turn of the 19th and 20th century, either directly as fields or indirectly, as marked by local roads, hedges, ditches, etc., the digitised and georectified pre-WWI topographic map, so-called *verst*-map[3] was used as a reference. The elements of the 17th century maps, such as roads and field boundaries for each village were traced in Photoshop. A respective area from the *verst*-map was then used as an underlay with the scale bar from the Swedish-era map providing a scale of considerable accuracy. The transparent layer consisting of traced lines was then adjusted so that it would fit the underlaying map. This time-consuming process consisted mostly of map translation (moving on the x, y axis) and rotation, and to a lesser degree minor scaling of the traced layer so that the best fit could be found. More than often some boundaries aligned perfectly while roads or rivers were grossly offset. After the seemingly best fit was found, the areas of settlement sites were digitised in GIS software as vector polygons (Fig. 2). Acknowledging the potential errors resulting from the process, the polygon areas were increased if the perceptible uncertainty was greater and the pinpointing of housing area on the map was less accurate. Over 700 of these polygons from 7 parishes were digitised. The resulting georeferenced GIS vector layer that could be overlain on modern map layers, such as the digital Estonian Basic Map, was then distributed to survey teams. In general, the method of digitising the old maps was experimental and did not make use of the proven method of rubber-sheeting style georeferencing, which would have added some rigour into the process. Yet the approach produced results with seemingly better fit and, retrospectively, satisfactory accuracy for the field survey.

Fig. 2. Potential areas for finding settlement sites, marked on modern maps as polygons.
Jn 2. Asulakohtade võimalikud leiualad, tähistatud kaasaegsetel maakasutusplaanidel polügoonidena.
Drawing / Joonis: Allar Haav

[3] The WMS service of the National Land Board of historical maps was used.

During field inventories, carried out mostly in spring and autumn time, 99 settlement sites were discovered: 23 in Vastseliina, 26 in Karula, 2 in Tartu-Maarja, 32 in Räpina and 16 in Kanepi parish. Most of the sites date from the medieval period, but from Karula also 4 Early Iron Age sites, including those with textile-impressed pottery, were found. In Kanepi, hand-made pottery was found from 9 sites, furthermore, from 3 of those no wheel-thrown earthenware (which appears in the 11th century) was discovered. The fieldwork was often complicated by absence of cultivated land, especially in the hummocky Karula parish. As noted before (Konsa 2001, 6), several settlement sites have not left behind a strong occupation layer that could be distinguished by darker soil. Especially in the case of older, Iron Age settlement sites, the colour of soil did not differ from that of soil from fields around them.

The method of transferring the locations of settlement units / farmsteads from Swedish maps to maps of modern land use turned out to be fruitful. Thus, in Vastseliina parish from 98 visited sites, designated with polygons as possible locations of monuments on modern maps, 26 turned out to be settlement sites and from 21 sites fragments of wheel-thrown pottery were found.

CHECKING ARCHIVAL DATA IN THE LANDSCAPE

Archaeological and folkloric archives contain mainly information about medieval or prehistoric graves/cemeteries, sacred natural sites (stones, trees, groves, springs, hills) and sites of Catholic chapels, either medieval or post-medieval (i.e. from the time of Polish rule (1582–1625), but also data about earlier stray finds. The aim of the field inventories was to find these sites in the landscape and to present data on preserved sites to the National Heritage Board.

In 2012 and 2013, all in all, information on 310 objects reflected in archaeological and folkloristic archives, but not included in the National Register of Monuments, was prepared for fieldwork teams to be checked on the landscape (Table 2) – 114 cemeteries, and 196 natural sacred sites (stones, trees/groves, springs, hills and other or undetermined sites).[4] Among these, 121 (39%) were found to be preserved, the locations of 55 sites (18%) remained somewhat uncertain or could be only approximately localized in the landscape. 112 sites (36%) were not found and 22 (7%) had definitely perished. Some archive records (*ca.* 5%) turned out to be erroneous on the basis of the information obtained from the local people and some sites were of a different kind than suggested by the archive data. Finding the sites was complicated due to profound changes in the landscape, settlement pattern and population during the Soviet time. Several farms or even villages mentioned in the archive note did not exist any more and the large land-improvement or melioration work, carried out in the Soviet time, had often changed the landscape. Some villages were totally deserted or populated only temporarily, in summer time. Village inhabitants were often of non-local origin, and were not familiar with local history or tradition.

In areas with bigger discontinuity of population the awareness of people of tradition-based oral lore and places reflected in it was considerably poorer. Especially complicated was the situation, for different reasons, in Karula and Tartu-Maarja parishes, and in a large part of Kambja parish. While in Tartu-Maarja most of the places noted in archive records were not known at all, in Kambja the knowledge about the sites was

[4] Data on several definitely perished sites, mentioned as perished in the old archive notes, or on sites which had been visited in the course of recent fieldwork were not distributed to fieldwork teams for checking.

Table 2. Results of checking archaeological archival data in south-east Estonia in 2012 and 2013. Data on sites to be found are based on the database of place-related archaeological information and place-related lore.
Tabel 2. Arheoloogiliste arhiiviteadete kontrollimise tulemused Kagu-Eestis 2012. ja 2013. aastal. Andmed kontrollimist vajavate teadete kohta põhinevad arheoloogiateadete ja pärimusliku kohainfo andmebaasil.
Compiled by / Koostanud: Heiki Valk
Vas = Vastseliina, Har = Hargla, Krl = Karula, Plv = Põlva, Räp = Räpina, Võn = Võnnu, Võnnu, TMr = Tartu-Maarja

	Surely localised sites / Lokaliseeritud paigad		***Vaguely and unsurely localised sites / Ebamääraselt ja ebakindlalt lokaliseeritud paigad***		***Unfound / unlocalized / unvisited Leidmata / lokaliseerimata / külastamata***		***Perished / Hävinud***		***Total number of notes to be checked / Konrollitavaid teateid kokku***	
	No / Arv	***%***	***No / Arv***	***%***	***No / Arv***	***%***	***No / Arv***	***%***	***No / Arv***	***%***
Sacred stone / Püha kivi	Vas 2 Plv 15 Kan 1 Har 2 Krl 1 Võn 2		Vas 2 Kan 1 Har 1		Vas 5 Räp 1 Plv 3 Kan 2 Har 1 Võn 6		Vas 1 Räp 1 Plv 2			
	∑: 23	47%	∑: 4	8%	∑: 18	37%	∑: 4	8%	49	16%
Sacred tree(s) / Pühapuu(d)	Räp 1 Plv 1 Kan 1 Har 3 Võn 6		Vas 2 Plv 1 Kan 1		Vas 2 Kan 3 Võn 11		Har 2 Plv 6 Kan 2			
	∑: 12	29%	∑: 4	10%	∑: 16	38%	∑: 10	23%	42	14%
Sacred spring / Püha allikas	Plv 11 Kan 3 Har 1 Võn 8		Vas 1		Plv 2 Kan 1 Har 2 Võn 1 TMr 1					
	∑: 23	74%	∑: 1	3%	∑: 7	23%			31	9%
Sacred hill / Püha mägi	Plv 8 Võn 6		Vas 2 Räp 4 TMr 1		Vas 2 Võn 4		Plv 2			
	∑: 14	48%	∑:7	24%	∑: 6	21%	∑: 2	7%	29	9%
Other sacred site / Muu pühapaik	Vas 1 Räp 3 Plv 2 Võn 13		Vas 2 Plv 1		Vas 2 Plv 3 Kan 4 Võn 11		Vas 1 Kan 2			
	∑:19	42%	∑: 3	7%	∑: 20	44%	∑: 3	7%	45	15%
Cemetery / Kalme	Vas 4 Räp 6 Plv 12 Kan 3 Har 2 Krl 2 TMr 1		Vas 6 Räp 2 Plv 21 Kan 3 Krl 2 TMr 2		Vas 13 Räp 3 Kan 3 Har 20 TMr 6		TMr 3			
	∑: 30	28%	∑: 34	32%	∑: 39	37%	∑: 3	3%	114	37%
Total / Kokku	***121***	***39%***	***55***	***18%***	***112***	***36%***	***22***	***7%***	***310***	***100%***

limited with information about their location and former function, but no narrative tradition had preserved, as a rule. Both parishes are, in fact, the hinterlands of Tartu, greatly inhabited by newcomers preferring to live in the countryside, but close to town. In these parishes, the vicinity of town also had contributed to the modernisation of life and the decline of oral tradition. In Kambja the long traditions of modern culture, based on mid-19th century origins, could be noted. There people interested in history

highly evaluated e.g. local educational history and choir singing, but were distanced from the traditions of oral culture. In Karula discontinuity was caused by the Soviet deportations of the 1940s and state farm economy that fostered immigration. The share of found or probably identified sites depended both on the exactness and quality of archive notes, as well as on the presence of local inhabitants of older generation. Local people with their place memory stretching back to before the forced collectivization of 1949, i.e. to the time of private farms, were the best sources of information. However, living most of the life time in the region, no matter whether the person was of local or non-local origin, did not mean knowing the tradition yet.

As people who had arrived in the Soviet time or later usually did not know the lore and tradition of the sites, the fieldwork was greatly based on looking for elderly people of local origin.[5] A different methodology was used in Hargla where field inventory was organized by a person of local background who had conducted earlier fieldwork (1989–1991) there and knew the situation and people. As the population of the parish was aged and not numerous, and as the area was familiar to the group leader, questions were asked from selected people of local origin who knew the tradition. Among this group recollections of ancient cemeteries, church and chapel sites and sacred natural places had well preserved.

In general, oral tradition about archaeological sites was not significant any more, being located mostly on the fringes of memory landscapes. Information on sites was collected by fragments and people were often more eager to tell about World War II events, post-war 'forest brothers' and current political issues. In general, memories about burial sites existed, but the presence of definite toponyms (e.g. *Kabelimägi, Kirikuase*) gave a stronger foothold for getting information than questions of general character. In spite of the rapidly vanishing tradition, information was gained also about sites which have never been documented before (Table 1). Thus, e.g. in Põlva parish data about three cemeteries with bone finds (Mooste, Ihamaru, Loosu) and a stone heap used for offering (Lutsu *ahivars*) were recorded. Data about formerly unknown burial sites were gained in Räpina, Vastseliina and Kanepi parishes, about a formerly unknown offering stone in Vastseliina (*Raamägi*) and about a sacred spring in Hargla. In Kambja, an offering stone at formerly known sacred spring (Uniküla *Raudläte*) was discovered. New data was most poor in Tartu-Maarja parish.

INVENTORY OF SACRED NATURAL SITES

In the parishes of Hargla, Räpina and Võnnu (2012), and Põlva, Kanepi and Kambja (2013) also the inventory of sacred natural sites was carried out applying a special methodology, elaborated for the State Programme of Historical Sacred Natural Sites.[6] The work took place in cooperation between the Centre of Sacred Natural Sites, SA Hiite Maja and the project 'Archaeology, Authority and Community' (TÜ). The main aim of the inventory was to check all archive data indicating to sacred natural sites, in order to find the places in the landscape. In the framework of the inventory the appearance and borders of all sites, their geomorphological and botanical features, human impact upon them and folkloric evidence were documented. Data was collected about their former and present use, life stories and meanings of sites, as well as about related religious and magical practises.

[5] The most informative person was Jaak Veskimägi from Tiksi in Kanepi parish. A lot of valuable information was provided also by Arnold Kuld, Kaagjärve, Karula parish.

[6] The first stage of the Programme, budgeted by the Ministry of Culture through the National Heritage Board in 2008–2012 was run by the Centre for Sacred Natural Places at the University of Tartu.

As sacred natural sites have no specific external features, their identification is based on oral data. In preparation for the fieldwork, data from different databases, archives, museums, books, etc. was collected and analysed (e.g. concerning Võnnu parish, the number of reviewed different data collections reached 40). The fieldwork was preceded by establishing a local network for cooperation and organizing local information days. During these meetings contacts were established with local people, and information about key persons to be interviewed was collected.

As data about the sacred natural sites are brief and fragmentary in written sources, the first stage of the fieldwork concentrated on interviewing local people to get additional information about the sites, and to find formerly unknown monuments. The interviews were based on methodology aimed to get as reliable, neutral and detailed information as possible. Full-scale inventories of sacred natural sites – in such case information was asked from as many people of local origin as possible –, were carried out in Võnnu and Põlva parishes whereby in Hargla, Räpina, Kanepi and Kambja the work was more limited, being restricted to questioning people in the close vicinity. The number of people interviewed and the number of hours recorded was 230 and 99 in Põlva, 279 and 144 in Võnnu, 32 and 1 in Hargla and 69 and 26 in Räpina.

The results of the full-scale inventories, carried out in Põlva and Võnnu, testify that the percentage of sites found is directly bound with the number of people interviewed (Table 3). Thus, fieldwork should not be limited to questioning people living in the close surroundings of sites. A full-scale inventory has made it possible to increase the percentage of found sites from 20–30% to almost 60% from the total number of sites, finding of which was the destination of the fieldwork (i.e. sites of unknown location, but still recorded in some vague data). Possibilities to make inventories of sacred natural sites are, however, declining, since the number of local-born inhabitants of older generations is rapidly decreasing.

SACRED SITES AND THEIR PRESENT-DAY MEANINGS

The results of the fieldwork show that presently it is still possible to find, on the basis on living oral tradition, about a half of the monuments reflected in archaeological and folkloric archive records. The tradition is more strongly preserved about springs, and less about trees and groves (Table 2). Springs are remembered more, probably, because

Table 3. The efficiency of the inventory of sacred natural sites in parishes with full-scale (thorough interviews with elderly native inhabitants of the parish) and questioning limited only to locals living close to the sites.
Tabel 3. Looduslike pühapaikade inventeerimise tulemuslikkus täiemahuliselt (põliselanike lausküsitlus üle kihelkonna) ja piiratud mahus (küsitletud paiga läheduses elavaid kohalikke) uuritud kihelkondades.
Compiled by / Koostanud: Ahto Kaasik

Parish / Kihelkond	***Character of field inventory / Välitööde maht***	***Number of sites known before fieldwork / Enne välitöid teada olnud muististe arv***	***Found and visited sites / Leitud ja inventeeritud paigad***		***No. of people inquired / Küsitletute arv***	***Amount of collected material in pages / Kogutud materjali hulk (lk)***
			No / Arv	***%***		
Räpina	partly	43	10	23%	69	195
Hargla	partly	28	9	32%	25	55
Põlva	full-scale	75	44	59%	230	500
Võnnu	full-scale	62	36	58%	279	750
Total		***208***	***99***	***48%***	***603***	***1500***

of the practical use of water. In some cases also respect towards sacred spring can be observed. Trees are generally being forgotten quite soon, probably because of their short life time and following disappearance from the landscape.

The attitude towards the inventory of sacred natural sites and its objects was either neutral or positive and people were eager to help and show the places. However, living narrative tradition on the sacred natural places and their use has greatly vanished. Sites that had repeatedly been mentioned in publications, even if mostly or fully perished (e.g. Linte *Maarjamägi* in Räpina, *Ristikiriku mägi* in Kambja), were known more widely. In some cases places were known but no memories of their sacredness had preserved, or places had perished and existed only in the memory of old people. Sometimes sites were remembered but their exact location was unknown.

Several sacred natural places had been destroyed in the Soviet time. Most of the respondents disapproved the reckless damage of sites but there were no signs about initiative to restore or clean the partially damaged objects. In two cases, the formerly sacred site is used as a garbage dump by the locals. Two formerly sacred springs had containers of water for public use (cheap cups and jugs) but that does not necessarily indicate the present-day sacredness of the place.

In rare cases, however, votive coin gifts were found at sacred natural sites. In Kanepi parish, the sacred oak *Kuku tamm* in Karste village (Fig. 3) is frequently visited by the locals. Although the original tree has been standing nearly dead for a long time, two young oaks have taken over its sacredness. The offering stone of Kuutsi in Hargla is also important for local people (Fig. 4). The parishes of Hargla and Kambja, visited by the same team, revealed also some regional differences. For the older oral tradition, mainly recorded before WWII, it is characteristic that in case of different diseases people looked for help from sacred natural sites in Kambja, but from local healers in Hargla. In Kambja information about the sites is more limited, more sites have been forgotten or disappeared. In addition to the vicinity of Tartu, a certain role belongs here to the Herrnhut Brothers who were active there since the 1720s. In the older tradition the role of the Herrnhuters in the destruction of sacred natural sites is noted, differently from other investigated parishes. In Tartu-Maarja the sacred natural sites were almost fully forgotten. The reason might also be the vicinity of town and the location of the parish church there.

Fig. 3. *The sacred oak of Kuku is dead, but its significance has transferred to two young oaks.*
Jn 3. *Kuku ohvritamm on surnud, kuid selle tähendus on üle kandunud kahele noorele tammele.*
Photo / Foto: Alo Ervin

In Räpina, Hargla, Põlva, Võnnu and Kanepi parishes people also were asked about the present-day meaning and use of the sacred natural sites. In Räpina one respondent told that on certain days of folk calendar, food was brought on offering stones. Some old sacred sites have been used for making Midsummer Eve fires or for village feasts (e.g. *Linte Luhamägi*

Fig. 4. Offering stone of Kuutsi at Hargla Horstipalo is still important for the locals.
Jn 4. Hargla Horstipalu Kuutsi ohvrikivi – kohalikele endiselt tähtis.
Photo / Foto: Marju Kõivupuu

Fig. 5. The inventory of sacred pine at Lalli grove in 2013.
Jn 5. Lalli hiiemänni inventeerimine 2013. aastal.
Photo / Foto: Marju Kõivupuu

until very recently). Besides widely celebrated holidays like Christmas or Midsummer (St John's day or *jaanipäev*), May fires (*maituled*) were more frequently mentioned. In some cases, St George's day fires (*jürituled*), All Souls' Day (*hingedepäev*) and autumn's souls-visiting time (*hingedeaeg*), Easter, St Catherine's day (*kadripäev*) and St Martin's day (*mardipäev*) were also mentioned in connection with sacred natural sites. In Vastseliina and Hargla also the old village cemeteries deserted in the 18th century are still sometimes visited without any specific reason, on special days of folk calendar or of local history.

SPECIAL AND SIGNIFICANT PLACES

Among the visited sites, some can especially be outlined, as special or significant – being broadly known or having preserved their meaning also in the present time. The most famous sacred natural place in Kambja parish, *Ristikiriku mägi* (Eng. 'Hill of the Church of the Cross'), the site of a Catholic chapel and possible former sacred grove, was fully destroyed by sand quarry in the Soviet time. During the fieldwork it was established that in the vicinity of the hill there was also a medieval and post-medieval settlement site. Nowadays the most significant sites are the sacred pine at Lalli grove site (Fig. 5) and the cross tree of Pranglilaane, included also in the presently planned new pilgrimage route starting at St Birgitta's monstery in Tallinn and ending in the ruins of Vastseliina Castle.

In Räpina parish the most noteworthy sites were sacred trees at Kõrveotsa farm and on Maarjamäe Hill in Linte village – the only surviving sacred trees with tradition recorded already in the 19th century. The Kõrveotsa tree is a power-

ful elm, according to the landowner – the last tree of a sacred grove (*hiis*) of the same name: '*After the Great Nordic War* [1700–1710/21]*, when priests had fled from Räpina or died of plague, the locals started to visit the Kõrveotsa grove again.*' Legend tells that the site was once surrounded with a fence and that milk was offered there. The custom ceased when the new generation started to take the offered money. According to the owner's family tradition, the grove was chopped around 1840. The person behind it ran the local Naha pub, urged its clients to visit the church and built a house, subsequently burnt down by the locals, beside the grove.

The sacred hill and cemetery Linte *Maarjamägi* has been destroyed by a gravel pit, except for a small knoll with a great lime-tree. It formed a well-known pair with adjacent *Luhamägi* which has been marked as an archaeological site for long. The archival record for both these hills is extensive. A folklore note from 1866 tells that a woman had only recently offered her smallest child to the spirit called *näkk*[7] there, to get money for this gift. The lime tree of *Maarjamägi* stands out among Estonian sacred trees for a number of nails hammered into its trunk, some of them of blacksmithing handicraft. In the present-day Meeksi and Räpina communities of Räpina parish, the *Pulmakivi* ('Wedding Stone') in *Naha varik* is widely known. In the past, it was a place where wedding processions stopped but this custom seems to have been ceased and the stone is not known as sacred any more.

In Vastseliina parish a site called *Raamägi* can specially be noted. The sacred willow mentioned in a folklore note was not remembered any more but a supernatural creature living under the offering stone and throwing spoons towards people approaching it was mentioned.

The most broadly known site in Hargla parish is the site of *Katri*'s (St Catherine's) church where *kolkhoz* cattle sheds and a pig farm were built in the Soviet time. The place is bound with legends about gold and the Swedish times. In Hargla parish the tradition of family-based offering sites, bound with the cult of Tõnis (popular derivate of St Anthony) on St Anthony's day on 17 January (*tõnisepäev*), and sacred trees must be outlined. Judging by material collected in 1989–1991, farms/families of that area probably had also individual offering places where the mistress brought a swine head or bacon on the morning of St Antony's day, to grant the welfare of the pigs.

In Kanepi parish a healing spring in Koigera must be noted. The far-famed folk healer Laine Roht (1927–2013), better known as Kaika Laine, had given importance to it sometime during the Soviet time, but before that the spring was not known for healing qualities. As of late, the site is lapsing into oblivion and disuse again.

The most remarkable site from Tartu-Maarja parish is the cemetery in Tammistu village, close to the former schoolhouse, demolished in 1990. It was found with a help of a local person, who believed that the victims of the plague were buried there. In addition, the place was said to have a bad aura and elderly people used to tell ghost-stories about it.

INFORMATION ON BURIAL RITES

Also some information about burial rites of archaic origin or having some connections with the archaeological record was collected. Grave goods were remembered or practised in Räpina and Hargla parishes. In Räpina, four respondents told they had seen or heard about contemporary grave goods. These could be divided into three groups:

[7] This term usually designates a water spirit, but in the case of *Luhamägi* there is no water body nearby.

1) coins (under the pillow or in a pocket); 2) artefacts connected with the personal habits of the deceased (small bottle of vodka, playing cards, a copy of 'The Good Soldier Švejk'); 3) personal artefacts of the deceased (a wimple, small brooches belonging to the clothes, finger- and earrings). In one funeral, a relative from neighbouring Rõuge parish told that 'something from everything' must be added, and so a little comb, a coin and some more artefacts were put into a pocket of the deceased.

In Hargla personal objects of emotional value are still being placed into the coffin. The custom of covering the coffin with a home-made blanket is also remembered and followed. According to the presently living family traditions, a child gets a blanket when reaching the age of maturity and another when getting married. One of these blankets or some other will be kept for the funerals. If there is no home-made blanket, the coffin is covered with a festive blanket or a shroud (*surnulina*). In some funerals the blanket is covered by a shroud bought from the funerary bureau. In Hargla and Kanepi also some other ancient customs (guarding the unburied dead, repeated offering food during the funerals, giving gift to the first person to meet the funeral procession) are still being practised or at least remembered.

In Võnnu parish, almost all respondents gave a positive answer to the question about grave goods. Among those money (incl. silver coins under the head), a purse, needle and yarn, knitting needles and a ball of yarn, ball-point pen, notebook, bottle of alcohol, comb, handkerchief, fowl feather, box of chocolates, packet of cookies, photo (of the family), pocket-format Bible, songbook or a leaflet with funeral songs were mentioned. It was noted that something, e.g. tools or money was always given, that the dead body was covered by a blanket and that items important for the dead person, those bound with the hobbies or missing in this life (e.g. chocolates) were added into the coffin. In Põlva parish almost always a comb, songbook, sheet of funeral songs, bible or prayer was mentioned. Also the clothing of the dead was important: burial without a belt was believed to cause home-wandering. It was not allowed to have stockings unfastened and it was not allowed to have shoes but soft footwear instead. The head of a male person had to be uncovered and covered (with a wimple) in case of a female. Oral data from Lona Päll (Estonian Folklore Archives).

Having ritual meals on the graves is an ancient custom that has preserved in Estonia in the context of Orthodox Setomaa district (Valk 2006). In Lutheran areas it is reflected only in rare folklore notes or in the tradition of offering food to the grievers at the cemetery gate after the burial – a custom still surviving in Võrumaa (Torp-Kõivupuu 2003, 77–78). However, according to one note, in Ristipalo Lutheran cemetery in Räpina, eating can be seen on about half of the Lutheran graves during the Commemoration Day of the Deceased (*surnuaiapüha*).

A special archaic tradition, characteristic for south-east Estonia, is the custom of cutting crosses in tree trunks during the funerals (Kõivupuu 2009). During the fieldwork information was collected also about the 'cross-trees' – the results of this practise. A cross was cut by a male person, mostly a relative of the deceased when the funeral procession stopped on the way to the cemetery. Thereby usually a drink (*naps*) was offered to people.

The tradition of cross-trees has modified in the investigated parishes. In Hargla it is still an integral part of burial customs until now and the cross-forests of the parish belong to the largest in south-east Estonia. In Saru(palu) – Hargla cross forest there

grow *ca.* 450 cross-pines, aged 120–150 years, on a span of 1.5 km, with more than 700 crosses cut in their trunks (over 50 have been added since the count in 2000). In addition, there are 3 other places with cross-trees, with a smaller number of trees and crosses and in 2012 also a new place of cutting crosses was discovered. In Hargla the tradition of cutting crosses is preserved most vividly; it is threatened only by the demographic changes and depopulation of villages.

In Põlva parish cross-trees were recorded in 34 locations. The largest of the sites is Rosma Ristipalo forest where, in spite of cutting approximately half of the trees in 2006 in the course of road re-construction, 235 cross-trees were counted. In Kanepi 178 cross-trees were recorded in 21 different places. The cross-forest of Erastvere by the Erastvere–Ridali road was most noteworthy with 35 trees and over 100 crosses. Some of the cross-tree forests have been chopped, e. g. in Kaagna. A most noteworthy tree with a metal cross on its trunk was discovered in Jõksi village (Fig. 6). In Kanepi, the custom was chiefly accounted for protection against the revenants, commemoration of the late person or just thought to be an old custom.

In Räpina parish 94 cross-trees were recorded in 5 different locations. The cross-forest of Rahumäe was especially remarkable with 67 trees and 130 crosses. 17 people, mostly from the southern part of the parish, also told about the meaning and preservation of the custom in length. South of Räpina the custom was at least occasionally observed until the end of the Soviet occupation and in some places, it is still active today. When asked about the most recent funeral during which the custom was observed, the time before World War II and the 1950s were mentioned in two cases, the 1970s and 1980s, in seven cases. Four people remembered that the last case was more recent (dates ranged from 1995 to 2008). Three respondents told that the cross was usually cut by the godson, in one case the godfather and in one case a person, not being relative to the deceased. Two persons thought that cutting down a cross-tree could bring bad luck. In Räpina, the predominant explanation for the custom was the need to rest the horses. Four people told that cutting the cross was against the revenants (all had seen cross-making in 1970–1995), one person considered it to avoid a subsequent funeral in the near future and once just 'commemoration' was mentioned.

Fig. 6. *A cross-pine in Jõksi has seven crosses, including the unique one made of sheet metal.*
Jn 6. *Jõksi ristimänd seitsme ristiga, üks neist metallist.*
Photo / Foto: Alo Ervin

The tradition of cross trees is presently being sporadically practised also in Kambja parish, in spite of being somewhat opposed by the church, but when compared with the investigation of cross-trees in 2000, their number has considerably reduced because of broadening of roads and forest cutting. However, 3 new cross-trees with crosses max 5–6 years old were added. In Vastseliina parish the tradition of cross-trees has also locally survived, but in Võnnu it ended, as a rule, in the 1970s. In Karula the tradition is forgotten and reflected only in some faint memories.

Thus, the tradition has especially preserved in Hargla, Põlva and Kanepi parishes. In Räpina, Vastseliina and Kambja cutting crosses has become rare but not ended, and is sporadically also being practised. Among the reasons for the decline of the custom, the change in the lifestyle was most widely named. The deceased are not brought to the cemetery from home any more, the horses have been replaced by cars, and the people are less connected with the church.

CONCLUSIONS

The fieldwork of 2012–2013 proved the great value of archaeological and folkloric archive materials and historical maps for finding archaeological monuments, including sacred natural sites. The results of the work give evidence of the most urgent need for checking archaeological information recorded in the archives. As the tradition is known by people of local origin, and as villages are rapidly getting depopulated and losing their old local-born inhabitants, the checking of old archive notes becomes more and more complicated every year. During the following decades the local people, born in the time of private farms, i.e. before collectivisation – but just this social group bears the main information – will disappear. To preserve the heritage, threatened not so much by physical destruction, but by getting forgotten, lost and unidentifiable, systematic checking of archived archaeological data is urgently needed.

The experience of the fieldwork of 2012–2013 shows that the efficiency of the fieldwork is directly bound to the number of people questioned and interviewed whereby not only the closest local people, but as many local-borne inhabitants of the parish as possible should be visited. Presently, based on oral memory, it is still possible to find about a half of the unprotected sites mentioned in archaeological and folkloric archives. In addition, information is gained also about sites which are not noted in the archived data at all.

As the possibilities to find and protect the unprotected heritage are rapidly decreasing, the identification of archaeological monuments needs a definite and permanent stately attention, support and strategy. An essential tool for protecting the heritage is the continuation of the State Programme for Sacred Natural Sites, planned to be re-launched in 2015 (its first stage was in 2008–2012). The methodology of its fieldwork includes, in addition to the inventory of sacred natural sites, also checking data referring to other archaeological sites and identification of their location in the landscape.

Acknowledgements: Fieldwork was carried out in the framework of the project 'Archaeology, authority and community', budgeted by the ENPI Estonia–Latvia–Russia cross-border cooperation programme 2007–2013 (ELRI-191). The research was supported by

the European Union also through the European Regional Development Fund (Centre of Excellence CECT) and by institutional research funding IUT20-7 of the Estonian Ministry of Education and Research. Inventories in Hargla parish were additionally supported by institutional research support grant IUT3-2.

REFERENCES

Konsa, M. 2001. Aruanne 2000. aastal Karula rahvuspargi alal toimunud arheoloogilisest inspektsioonist. (*Manuscript in TÜ AK.*)

Kõivupuu, M. 2009. Hinged puhkavad puudes. Tallinn.

Kõivupuu, M. 2013. Pärimus maastikul, maastik pärimuses: Hargla kihelkonna näitel. – Mäetagused, 55, 7–27. http://www.folklore.ee/tagused/nr55/koivupuu.pdf

Kõivupuu, M. 2014. Pärimus maastikul, maastik pärimuses: Hargla ja Kambja kihelkonna näitel. – Maastik ja mälu: pärandiloome arengujooni Eestis. Ed. by L. Kaljundi & H. Sooväli-Sepping. *Acta Universitatis Tallinnensis. Socialia.* Tallinn, 441–475.

Torp-Kõivupuu, M. 2003. Surmakultuuri muutumine ajas: ajaloolise Võrumaa matusekombestiku näitel. Tallinn.

Valk, H. 2006. Cemeteries and ritual meals: rites and their meaning in the traditional Seto world-view. – Old Norse Religion in long-term perspectives. Origins, Changes and Interactions. Ed. by A. Andrén. Lund, 141–146.

Valk, H. 2013. Eesti arheoloogia aastakirja aitas kaante vahele europrojekt „Arheoloogia, võim ja ühiskond". – Tutulus. Eesti arheoloogia aastakiri 2012, 2–3.

MAASTIKUINSPEKTSIOONID KAGU-EESTIS 2012. JA 2013. AASTAL: ARHEOLOOGIA JA LOODUSLIKUD PÜHAPAIGAD

Heiki Valk, Allar Haav, Anu-Liis Aunroos, Alo Ervin, Ahto Kaasik, Pikne Kama, Andres Kimber, Marju Kõivupuu, Kristjan Sander ja Kristiina Zadin

Muististe väljaselgitamine ja riikliku kaitse alla võtmine on Eestis toimunud võrdlemisi süsteemitult ja juhuslikult. Paljud muistised, mis kajastuvad arheoloogilistes ja rahvaluulelistes arhiiviandmetes, ei ole riikliku kaitse all (tabel 1). Kuigi kaitse all mitte olevate muististe teaduslik ja kultuuriline väärtus ei pruugi olla väiksem kui kultuurimälestiste registrisse kantutel, ei ole arheoloogiapärandi sihiteadlik väljaselgitamine ühegi asutuse, sh riiklikul tasandil muinsuskaitse korraldamiseks kutsutud ja seatud Muinsuskaitseameti selgelt sõnastatud tööülesandeks. Taasiseseisvunud Eestis on see toimunud on see toimunud arheoloogide ja arheoloogilhuviliste algatusel, valdavalt teaduslikest huvidest lähtuvalt.

2012. ja 2013. aastal kontrollis Tartu Ülikooli arheoloogia kabinet, osaliselt koostöös TÜ looduslike pühapaikade keskusega ning TLÜ maastiku ja kultuuri keskusega, Eesti–Läti–Vene piiriülese koostöö programmi projekti "Arheoloogia, võim, ühiskond" raames arheoloogiamälestistele viitavaid teateid üheksas Kagu-Eesti kihelkonnas – Vastseliinas, Räpinas, Põlvas, Kanepis, Karulas, Harglas, Võnnus, Tartu-Maarjas ja Kambjas (jn 1). Lõpuleviidud välitööd võimaldavad teha kokkuvõtteid kaheksa esmanimetatu osas.

Otsiti esmajärjekorras pärimussidusaid ja pärimuses kajastuvaid muistiseid – kalmeid ja looduslikke pühapaiku. Vastseliinas, Räpinas ja Karulas püüti maastikul leida ka asulakohti, peamiselt 1680. aastate kaartidel olevaid andmeid kontrollides. Rootsiaegsetel kaartidel oleva info sidumiseks Eesti kaasaegse põhikaardiga töötati välja omaette metoodika (jn 2) ning viiest kihelkonnast leiti kokku 99 asulakohta.

Pärimussidusate muististe otsimiseks suunatud välitööde ettevalmistamisel tugineti TÜ ja Muinsuskaitseameti koostöös arendatavale arheoloogilise ja pärimusliku kohainfo andmebaasile, mis kobarandmebaasina liidab andmeid TÜ arheoloogiateadete andmebaasist ja looduslike pühapaikade andmebaasist, samuti Eesti Rahvaluule Arhiivi kohapärimuse andmebaasist. Ilmnes, et viimase sajandi vältel pärimusandmetes mainitud kalmetest ja looduslikest pühapaikadest on kaitse all vaid ligi veerand. Maastikul kontrolliti arhiiviandmetele tuginedes teateid, mis viitasid 310 kaitse all mitte olevale kalmele ja looduslikule pühapaigale (tabel 2); lisaks leiti välitöödel kuuldud pärimuse põhiselt 44 muistist, mille kohta varasemad arhiiviandmed puuduvad (tabel 1; sh pole arvesse võetud Kagu-Eestis arvukaid ristipuid). Arhiiviteadetele tuginedes õnnestus maastikul lokaliseerida 121 ja ligikaudselt lokaliseerida 55 pärimuses kajastuvat muistist (vastavalt 39% ja 18% kontrollitavatest teadetest); 112 muistist (36%) jäi leidmata ja 22 (7%) oli kindlalt hävinud (tabel 2).

Elav, traditsioonipõhine pärimus muististe kohta on kadumas. Seda kannavad peamiselt vanemad, sõjaeelsel ajal sündinud elupõlised kohalikud, keda küladesse on jäänud vähe. Teadmised on säilinud ebaühtlaselt, Tartu lähiümbruses on pärimus suures osas kustunud. Kuigi inimeste suhtumine muististe otsimisse oli toetav, paikneb muistisepärimus enamasti mälumaastike äärealadel ning looduslikud pühapaigad, kuigi neid veel mäletatakse, on argielus oma tähtsuse ja tähenduse kaotanud. Vaid üksikud paigad, valdavalt need, millest publikatsioonides juttu, on tänini laiemalt tuntud.

Välitööde raames inventeeriti ka kuue kihelkonna – Võnnu, Põlva, Hargla, Räpina, Kanepi ja Kambja – looduslikud pühapaigad. Inventeerimise eesmärgiks on välja selgitada ja kirjeldada võimalikult kõik säilinud looduslikud pühapaigad, st dokumenteerida ja koondada andmed nende paiknemise, piiride, pinnavormide, koosseisu ja üksikobjektide, taimestiku, kasutusloo, sihtotstarbelise kasutamise, kõrvalise inimmõju ning seotud pärimuse kohta. Võnnu ja Põlva kihelkonnas oli tegemist täiemahulise inventeerimisega, kus ei piirdutud olemasolevate arhiiviteadete kontrollimisega, vaid püüti vanema püsielanikkonna lausküsitlemise teel saada teavet seni teadmata pühapaikade kohta. Välitööde ettevalmistamisel koondati olemasolevad andmed eri andmebaasidest, arhiividest, muuseumidest, kirjandusest jm teabeallikatest, loodi koostöövõrgustikud ja tehti eeltööd kohtadel. Inimesi küsitleti TÜ looduslike pühapaikade keskuses koostatud küsitluskava ja uurimismetoodika põhiselt.

Koguti andmeid ka arhailiste, arheoloogilises ainesega haakuvate traditsioonipõhiste matusekommete (hauapanused, kalmudel söömine) ja nende tähenduse kohta. Haua- ja kirstupanuste traditsioon püsib Võrumaal tänini. Põlva ja Hargla kihelkonnas kestab ka matuste ajal matuserongi peatumise ja puusse risti lõikamise komme. Teistes uuritud kihelkondades on tava üldiselt hääbunud või hääbumas, kuid seda veel mäletatakse.

Välitööde tulemused kinnitavad arhiiviteadete suurt allikaväärtust arheoloogiapärandi väljaselgitamisel. Samas on pärimuses kajastuvate arheoloogiamälestiste ja looduslike pühapaikade leidmise perspektiiv murettekitav, sest traditsiooni tundvate taludeaegsete põliselanike arv kahaneb maal kiiresti. Seniste välitööde põhjal on leitavate paikade arv otseses seoses küsitletavate inimeste arvu ning intervjuude mahuga. Põliselanike lausküsitlemisel (s.t kui ei piirduta üksnes arhiiviteadetes mainitud paikade lähiümbruse elanikega) on veel praegu võimalik ligikaudu pool arhiiviteadetes kajastuvaid paiku maastikul üles leida ning välitöödel saadakse infot ka senistes arhiivimaterjalides mittekajastuvate muististe kohta.