

LAKESIDE AND MARITIME LANDSCAPES: CASES OF KODAVERE SETTLEMENT DISTRICT (EASTERN ESTONIA) AND PÖIDE SETTLEMENT DISTRICT (SAAREMAA)

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Kodavere settlement district is a lakeside landscape in Eastern Estonia, lying by big inland Lake Peipsi (Peipus). Pöide settlement district is a maritime area on Saaremaa, Western Estonia, lying by the Baltic Sea. The article will introduce the Iron Age landscape in both mentioned settlement districts by the examples of chosen settlement areas and settlement units; the differences and similarities between those landscape types will be described.

Keywords: Lakeside landscapes, maritime landscapes, Iron Age, landing sites/places.

Kodavere gyvenvietė yra įsikūrusi didelio Peipaus (Peipsi) ežero pakrantėje, ežerų kraštovaizdžio regione. Pöide yra jūrinio kraštovaizdžio regiono gyvenvietė Saremos (Saaremaa) saloje (Vakarų Estija), įsikūrusi šalia Baltijos jūros. Straipsnyje, remiantis šių gyvenviečių pavyzdžiais, nagrinėjamas geležies amžiaus laikotarpio kraštovaizdis, aptariami ežerų ir jūrinio kraštovaizdžio tipų panašumai ir skirtumai.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: Ežerų kraštovaizdis, jūrinis kraštovaizdis, geležies amžius, išsilaipinimo vietos.

INTRODUCTION

In the recent decade investigation into Iron Age¹ and Medieval waterborne transport has developed in Estonian archaeology, but only maritime landscapes have been under investigation so far (see e.g. Mägi 2004). However, areas by large lakes should also be considered from the viewpoint of landscapes near big water bodies, and a part of the former Kodavere parish² – Alatskivi settlement area will be used as an example of such a landscape in this article (Fig. 1).

In the article a lakeside landscape of a part of

Kodavere settlement district (Alatskivi settlement area) will be compared with parts of a maritime landscape of Pöide settlement district³. Before turning to case studies lakeside landscapes and maritime landscapes will be compared with each other, because both landscape types are represented in Estonia, but only one of them has been studied more thoroughly before. The purpose of the article is to find out whether an Iron Age landscape by a large lake can function similarly to a landscape by a sea, and for that archaeological sites of an area by a lake will be discussed and compared with analogical sites in a maritime landscape.

¹ 500 BC – 1227 AD: the periodisation of Lang, Kriiska (2001) has been used in the article.

² Church parishes were Medieval administrative units in Estonia. The borders of different parishes have changed to some extent compared with the Medieval period, so have the borders of Kodavere and Pöide parishes, but this change is not relevant from the viewpoint of the present article. Doctoral project of the author comprises the whole Medieval parish area (see Karro 2010a; Kappo 2010), but in this article only one of the settlement areas – Alatskivi – has been considered. For the purpose of clarity the term *settlement district* (see this and *settlement area*, *settlement unit* in Lang 1996, p.604) will be used instead of *parish*.

³ Mägi (2002) does not use such terminology. She has written about sub-districts, which have been divided into manor centers according to historical data.

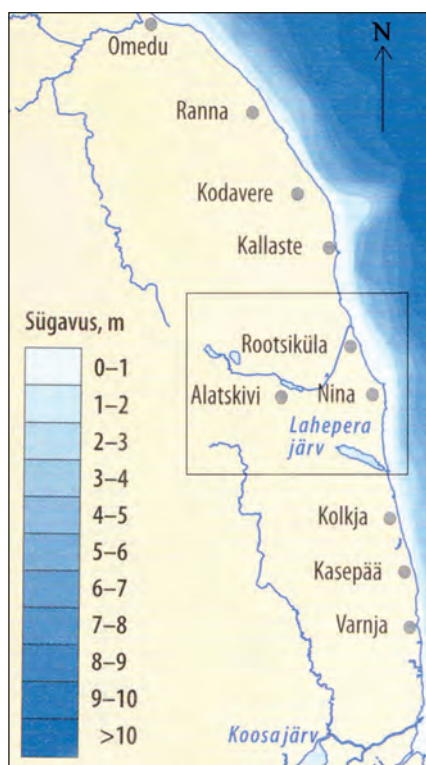


Fig. 1. Kodavere parish area (depth is shown in colours). Bounded area: Alatskivi settlement area. Base map: Raukas 2008, p.95. Drawn by K. Karro.

INTRODUCTION TO CASE STUDIES

Lakeside landscape: Kodavere settlement district, Eastern Estonia

The main research area of the author is Kodavere settlement district by a large lake in Eastern Estonia, and a part of this – Alatskivi settlement area – has been used as an example of a lakeside landscape.

The term *lakeside landscape* has been taken into use by the author. Archaeologist Nikolaj Makarov (2004) has previously used the term *lake pattern* which refers to the settlement archaeological character of the term. The present author wishes to approach more cultural geographical centered way and therefore will be using the term *lakeside landscape*. It has also been argued with the author, and the term *lake landscape* has

been suggested, but the author does not agree, for the term *lake landscapes* would rather refer to something in the lake not by the lake. In conclusion, the term *lakeside landscape* seems the most suitable for the case and is therefore used in the article.

Lakeside landscapes are mainland areas next to and functionally connected to lakes, either large or small. The activities of the people living in those landscapes are different according to the location and the size of the lake. However, the differences between landscape by large and small lakes is not the topic of the present article. The term is elaborated further below in contrast with maritime landscapes.

Kodavere settlement district is the name of the administrative unit created in the area probably in the Middle Ages⁴ and comprising areas north from the Suur Emajõgi River and south from the Omedu River (Fig. 1). One could confuse the parish Kodavere with a village by the same name on the coast of Peipsi (Peipus), where the church was established in the Middle Ages. That is probably why the parish was also named this way. In the Medieval period Kodavere parish belonged to the Tartu bishopric, after the Livonian war in the end of the 16th century was seized by the Polish Kingdom, and in the 17th century was enamored by the Swedish Kingdom (see Roslavlev, Salo 2007, p.75; Jaanits, Moora 2008, pp.415–418).

Earlier name of the area was probably *Soopoolitse* (also the versions of *Sobliz* and *Seplisz* exist), but it is not clear whether the area was a separate county or a part of a larger Vaiga county that encompassed the whole Eastern Estonia in the end of the prehistoric period (Tarvel 1968; Roslavlev 1970, p.51).

Kodavere settlement district has been previously divided into settlement areas by the author (Karro 2010a; 2010b). As had been mentioned above, Alatskivi settlement area will be more thoroughly discussed in the article, because this area is archaeologically more thoroughly studied (Fig. 2). In previous works the author has also separated Kokora settlement area from Alatskivi settlement area (Karro 2010b), but in

⁴ The oldest data from the parish entitled Kodavere date back to the 15th century, though (Ederma, Jaik 1939; Kodres 1999, p.78).

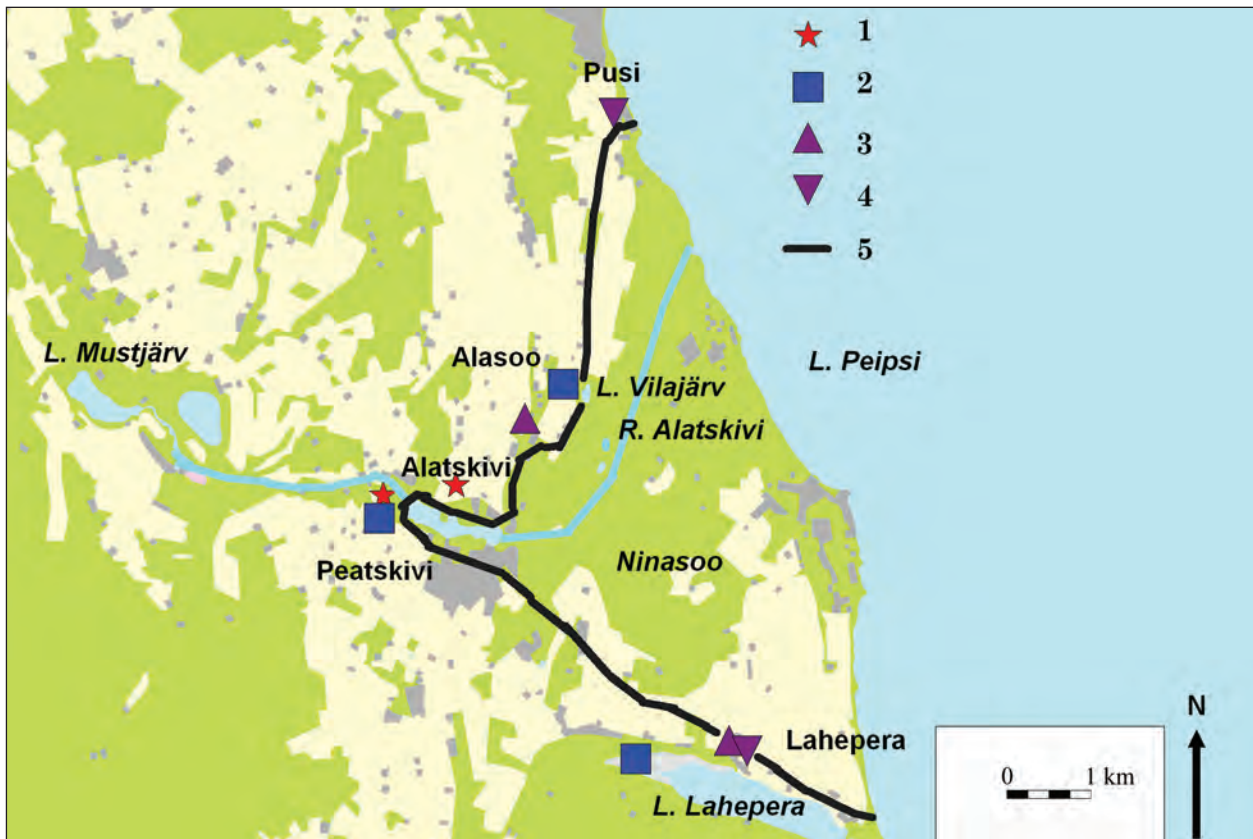


Fig. 2. Alatskivi settlement area. The probable Iron Age coast line and archaeological objects along it: 1 – hillforts, 2 – settlement/harbor sites, 3 – stone graves, 4 – inhumation cemeteries, 5 – the probable Iron Age coast line. Base map: Estonian map (Estonian Land Board), Iron Age coast line based on Либлик 1969, с.13. Drawn by K. Karro.

this article and henceforward Kokora and Alatskivi settlement areas will be considered as one based on the perceptions of local people and folkloric data, but this topic will not be discussed further in the article.

Maritime landscape: Põide settlement district

A *maritime landscape* is an area in mainland or an island which is naturally and culturally dependant on the nearby sea. Mägi (2004, p.130) has used the term *maritime cultural landscape* which is an area some kilometres further from the shore to the near-shore area of the sea and is formed as a result of influences by the sea and human activity, and the same explanation of the concept will be used in the present article.

Saaremaa island, more specifically some areas of Põide settlement district will be used as an example of a maritime landscape in the article (Fig. 3). Põide settlement district was a narrow zone of agricultural lands during the Iron Age, surrounded by small islands (Mägi 2002, p.179, fig. 4). The central hillfort is located in the central areas of the zone, on the edge of the area with the best agricultural soils of the parish and on the shore of former Koigi Lake. The parish has been divided into four settlement areas and these into smaller settlement units based on suitable agricultural soils and 17th century maps (Mägi 2002, pp.183–194).

From the material of Põide only Koigi-Iruste, Uuemõisa, and Asva-Randvere⁵ will be mentioned in discussion (Fig. 3).

⁵ The names of the settlement areas have been partly taken over from Mägi (2002), partly invented by the author of this article according to the toponyms of the Põide area relevant for this article.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH OF LANDSCAPES CONNECTED WITH WATER BODIES

As an introduction into lakeside landscapes it should be mentioned that areas by small lakes have been studied to some extent in Estonia. Archaeologist Gurly Vedru (1997a; 1997b; 1999) has conducted some research on the surroundings of Kahala Lake in Northern Estonia. There has also been some investigation into Maardu Lake in Northern Estonia (Veski, Lang 1996), which mostly has been a cooperation project between geologists and archaeologists.

Maritime landscape on the island of Saaremaa has been studied by archaeologist Marika Mägi and the results have been published in several articles (see e.g. Mägi 2004; 2008; 2009; 2010; in press). Excavations have been conducted on the sites connected with maritime landscapes and the results of the fieldwork have also been published in various articles (Mägi 2005; 2006). In the current article some of these results have been used to compare maritime landscapes with the lakeside landscape of Alatskivi settlement area in the Kodavere settlement district.

In addition to the archaeological material and landscape surveys on Saaremaa, Mägi (2007) also has studied Iru hillfort as a probable landing place or early harbor in Northern Estonia, close to the present Tallinn. Northern Estonian coastal areas further from Tallinn have been studied by Vedru (2001). The topic of maritime landscapes – especially from the viewpoint of the seaman – has been discussed by archaeologist Kristin Ilves (2002; 2004).

Research of maritime landscapes has been in this way conducted in Scandinavia already earlier, and Mägi's studies on Saaremaa have greatly been influenced by the work done there (Carlsson 1991; Christophersen 1991; Crumlin-Pedersen 1991; Ilves 2002). The research of maritime landscapes, the terminology, and methods were firstly created by Christer Westerdahl in the end of 1970s and were published in a monograph (Westerdahl 1987; 1989). He was especially concerned with place names connected with maritime landscapes (Westerdahl

1980). This methodology was also used in both research areas mentioned in the article (about Saaremaa see Mägi 2004, pp.145–146). In the case of Estonia terms concerning sites connected with the sea have in addition to Mägi (2004) been also more thoroughly discussed by Ilves (2004).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH OF KODAVERE SETTLEMENT DISTRICT

Peipsi is the fourth largest lake in Europe (after Onega, Ladoga, and Vänern), comprising a territory of 3555 km². The lake and its catchment area reach to the territories of the present Estonia, Latvia and Russia. Therefore there is a reason to consider Peipsi a large lake with functions more compatible with the sea than with small lakes (like Maardu and Kahala mentioned above).

The lakeside area in question is the western shore of the lake, where agricultural land reaches the closest to the lake. The same phenomenon can also be followed on the eastern shore of the lake. That is the reason why agricultural settlement on both shores of Lake Peipsi has already developed since the Pre-Roman Iron Age as proved by archaeological data available so far.

The western shore of the lake through the Iron Age has not been studied complexly until now, as the present author is doing in her doctoral research. However, there has been some occasional archaeological research about this area earlier. Archaeological inspections have been conducted there in 1970s and 1980s, and a number of archaeological objects have been discovered in the course of them (Lavi 1986; Kriiska, Lavi 1989; Kriiska 1990). Some of the sites have been excavated (Vassar 1936; 1937; Saadre 1937; Selirand 1963; 1993; Aun 1969; 1972; Lavi 1978; 1979; 1981; 1982; 1983; 1998a; 1998b; 1998c; 1998d; Kriiska 1986–1987), but nevertheless, most of the archaeological sites presently known in the area have not been excavated, and the archaeological information collected during inspections might

therefore be insufficient (only surface finds which date them very broadly to Late Iron Age have been collected from most of them). Some of the results have been published by the researchers (АуН 1973; Lavi, Peets 1985; Kriiska, Lavi 1989; Lavi 1999; 2002), but most of the information is unpublished.

LANDING PLACES IN LAKESIDE AND MARITIME LANDSCAPES

Mägi (2004, pp.134–146) has used the same method in finding landing places on Saaremaa as it has been done in Scandinavia earlier. She has described the situation of a landing place in and on landscape (vicinity of stone graves and arable lands, suitable topographical situation, place names), therefore it will not be repeated here. However, there are different terms concerning such places in the landscape (Ilves 2004, pp.173–174). The term of *landing site* has been used, and it marks every place on the coast, on riverside areas, or lakes, with constructions or not, where landing is or was possible (Ilves 2004, p.173). Another term *anchorage* has been used: it denotes a place on a coast or a shore with a suitable topography where people usually do not interfere with the features of the appearance of the site. The term of *landing place* has been used most frequently, and it is such an anchorage, which is used more frequently than the latter (anchorages are usually utilized only in case of need) (Ilves 2004, p.173). Ilves has also mentioned the term of *early harbor*, which is a frequently used specialized landing place, where human interference is needed for functioning, and which developed into a proper harbor in proceeding centuries (Ilves 2004, p.174). There are many possible landing sites on the western coast of Lake Peipsi, and archaeological traces of Iron Age human activity have been discovered from some of them. Therefore it is possible that some of those landing sites have been used as anchorages or landing places; and it is likely that at least one of them became an early harbor by the end of the Iron Age.

Landing places need not be of international use and may have just been used for fishing in the local level. However, some of the landing places discussed in the article were probably used in the context of passing water routes and may have even been of international use, therefore might have been even early harbors. Subsequently, as the actual functions of the landing places in Kodavere settlement district will not be discussed in this article, then the term *landing place* is mostly used for sites of such type. However, Mägi (2008, pp.100–102) has touched the topic of functions of landing places in the case of some of the sites in Pöide settlement district.

Archaeological material of landing places is often similar or identical with the one of settlement sites (Mägi 2004, p.139). Therefore it is quite problematic to differentiate a settlement site from a landing place based on archaeological material. However, the geographical situation should help in distinguishing between those two archaeological objects. On lakeside landscapes finding a good topographical situation of Iron Age might be quite difficult, though, because the changes in the lake coast line are always not that clear as the changes in the sea coast line are believed to be (for the Baltic Sea coast line see Mägi 2004, p.138). Changes in the lake coast are affected by the rise of the water level and, in the case of Lake Peipsi, the land mass upheaval, as well. The case of Lake Peipsi is more difficult because of the different speed of land mass upheaval in North and South Estonia. In fact, as the direction of the regression of the icecap was from south to north, then the southern part of Estonia was free of ice earlier than the northern part. Therefore the upheaval of the land mass is faster in the northern part of Estonia, because it became ice free later (Hang 2001). That makes the reconstructions of the coast line of Lake Peipsi especially difficult.

There is evidence that the coast line of Lake Peipsi might have been different from the present coast line even quite lately. Tõnu Raid (2008) has studied historical maps of the lake and identified quite a

different shape of the lake even as late as the 16th century. He believes that the elongated shape of the lake was due to the one of the first preserved maps of Lake Peipsi from the 16th century that was used as an example during later centuries by cartographers who had actually not even seen the lake themselves. Raid therefore concluded that there is a possibility that the lake was drawn as large as it was when the areas around the estuary of the Narva River were flooded. In fact, according to water level measuring in the 20th century the water level of the lake might change around three meters in a year, and it is quite possible that it had done so in earlier times, too (see also Tavast 2008).

The subject of water levels of Lake Peipsi and the datings of these water levels is complicated, especially when the western shore is concerned. The fluctuation terraces in the southern part of the lake system, Lake Pihkva (Pskov), have been dated by radiocarbon, and the fluctuations of the water level in Late Weichselian and Holocene periods has been more accurately presented (Hang *et al.* 1996, p.129), but on the western shore only the terraces on different levels have been considered as the evidence of fluctuations of the water level.

In fact, Lake Peipsi has seven levels of different period shorelines, but none of them has been dated by radiocarbon (Либлик 1969, с.6). According to the distribution of archaeological objects, it seems that the fifth coastal formation is relevant when the Iron Age is concerned. In fact, the sites connected with human settlement (settlement sites, burial places, hillfort, roads) have been erected and formed on or near this shoreline level (40–41.5 m above the present sea level) and therefore it is possible that the water of the lake has reached to this area during the Iron Age. Consequently, the Iron Age coast line was in some places many kilometres away from the present coast line, which is a common feature with the Pöide coast line.

However, it may not be that simple. Based on the discussion mainly about Lakes Pihkva and Lämmijärv parts of the Peipsi system⁶ it has been stated that in the Subatlantic chronozone (500 BC – now; Aber 2011, table 11:1), that is of interest in this article, the water level rise of the lake continued, and the shores were subject to extensive paludification (Hang *et al.* 1996, p.126). So, it is possible that Iron Age human settlement just concentrated on the part of the coast where the paludification did not influence it. This would mean that the interpretation of Alasoo site as a landing place becomes doubtful, but it does not change the interpretation of the Lahepera site. However, as the main hypothesis in this article is that the shoreline might have been at the height of 40–41.5 m above sea level during the Iron Age, the proceeding interpretations will emanate from this possibility.

Irrespective of the exact location of the Iron Age shoreline of the eastern coast of Lake Peipsi, different processes of the last Ice Age have influenced the formation of the area's physical ground. The lake depression bank reaches the height of 50.5–51.5 m above the present sea level and is considered the first shoreline level by geologists (Hang *et al.* 1996, p.126). Lower areas of the settlement district are two former post-glacial river valleys which start from one of the small inland relic lakes Lake Mustjärv (see Fig. 2 for this and following land forms) about 4 km off the present coast and continue towards Lake Peipsi. One of the valleys presently (and also on earlier maps) contains the Alatskivi river and a bog called *Ninasoo* (meaning “nose bog; small islet/peninsula bog” in Estonian), the other contains a relic lake *Lahepera* (meaning “end of bay” in Estonian) at the very Peipsi-side end of it. Between those valleys a higher area can be found and is presently named Nina (meaning “nose” or geographically “small islet” or “peninsula” in Estonian). So, it is quite possible that in earlier times Nina used to be an island

⁶ Lake Lämmijärv is the narrowest part of the lake system, south from Peipsi, and Lake Pihkva is the southernmost wider part of the system (see e.g. Hang *et al.* 1995, p.122, fig.1).

or a peninsula. However, on the 17th century map it is already a part of the mainland (Fempte 1684), what cannot be said about two earlier islets Kõrkvere and Saare on the eastern coast of Pöide. Those two used to be islands according to Mägi's reconstruction of coast line and historical maps (Mägi 2002, p.183).

It is quite clear that the area with a quite a low ground (from Alatskivi to Nina and Lahepera) described in previous passage has changed quite much during centuries, and micro-toponyms also refer to it. The importance of (micro-)toponyms has been emphasized by Scandinavian researchers like Westerdahl (1980) and Carlsson (1991), and such practice has been conducted by Mägi (2004, pp.145–146) on Saaremaa as well. In addition to mentioned toponyms *Alasoo* should also be explained. This means “low bog, lowland” in Estonian, and also refers to a lower ground where previously might have been a bog or a lake even earlier. After all, *Alasoo* lies next to two lakes (one of them, Lake Vilajärv, with a settlement / possible earlier landing site next to it has been marked on Fig. 2), which are considered as relics of the broader Peipsi.

The problem of prehistoric landing places' locations at the same place with later coastal villages should also be mentioned. Therefore, the earlier cultural layer might be destroyed in the course of later building activity (Mägi 2004, pp.135–136). This tendency seems to be especially present in the described lakeside landscape in Alatskivi settlement area, for ancient cultural layer has often been discovered from the hearts of the present villages, and earlier layers might therefore be destroyed in the course of long settlement.

HILLFORTS AS CENTRAL SITES

Hillforts in both settlement districts will next be discussed. The central hillfort in Pöide was erected in the middle of the zone of agricultural lands next to a former lake by the name of Koigi (Mägi 2002, p.183). The central hillfort of Kodavere settlement district was established in Peatskivi, which is the area of the best agricultural soils in Kodavere parish (Fig. 2). The first manor was also formed in Alatskivi, less than a kilometre to the east of the hillfort. According to archaeological data the oldest agricultural settlement was probably established in Peatskivi, where also a hillfort was later founded. This situation can be compared with the situation in Pöide, where the hillfort was erected on the border of the best agricultural soils by a lake of that time, and the hillfort was connected with a former sea bay via the lake (Mägi 2002, pp.187–188, fig. 7). The central hillfort in Kodavere parish was situated close to the Iron Age shore according to the most believable shoreline reconstruction. The oldest finds from the hillfort are from the Pre-Roman Iron Age, when there was probably a naturally fortified settlement on the knoll (Ауһ 1974)⁷. Roman Iron Age pottery (textile ceramics) has been discovered from the settlement site by the hillfort (Kriiska 1986–1987; Kriiska, Lavi 1989), which implies that the settlement by the knoll might have been founded later. However, the excavations at Peatskivi settlement site were rescue excavations and the results may be insufficient. The hillfort was also in use during the Roman Iron Age (Ауһ 1974). The hillfort in Pöide dates back to the 1st half and the middle of the Viking Age, and Mägi (2002, p.187) assumes that Iruste manor was closely connected to the hillfort. Later inhabitation has also been detected in Peatskivi knoll: it was taken into

⁷ Let it be mentioned as a remark that in Randvere-Asva area, which will be discussed in another kind of comparison below, there was also a fortified settlement dating to the Bronze Age and Pre-Roman Iron Age in Asva, too (Mägi 2002, p.193, fig. 9). Asva was used to lie on a sea coast, but was abandoned when the sea regressed. In the 6th–9th centuries a small hillfort was lying on the former Bronze Age fortified settlement site (Lõugas 1967; Mägi 2008, p.86).

use again at the end of the 1st millennium AD, and the strongest defense structures were erected in the 11th century. The hillfort was abandoned in the 12th century (Aun 1974). Another hillfort/fortified manor (?) has been found from the northern bank of the Alatskivi river, nearer to the later manor centre (the later manor was built on the southern bank of the Alatskivi river), and it is possible that it was the place of the Late Iron Age and Medieval predecessor of the Alatskivi manor⁸. It is also likely that due to the upheaval of the land mass the Peatskivi hillfort, which probably used to be a trading place of some level, was already too far from the shoreline and difficult to approach from the lake, and a new centre was established in Alatskivi on the northern bank of the river, which is towards east from the Peatskivi hillfort. The same might have happened to Pöide hillfort, when due to similar geological reasons Koi-gi Lake dried and the sea became unreachable for the people living in the settlement unit at Iruste in Pöide settlement district.

HARBOR SITES AND PLACES ON THE IRON AGE SHORELINES OF ALATSKIVI SETTLEMENT AREA AND PÖIDE SETTLEMENT DISTRICT

There has been Early Iron Age inhabitation in Alatskivi settlement area. As mentioned, Early Iron Age ceramics has been found from Peatskivi hillfort and settlement site, and stone graves with Roman Iron Age artefacts have been discovered from Alasoo and Lahepera settlement units (Karro 2010a; 2010b; Kappo 2010) which also lie on the former coast line of Lake Peipsi (Fig. 2). It is quite likely that there used to be landing places in both of these sites, but the

geological situation implies that the site in Alasoo was probably impossible to function as a landing place after the Middle Iron Age. Archaeological material from the stone grave (Aun 1972) supports this opinion (Kappo 2010). However, the landing place in Lahepera probably functioned later as well, for the stone grave consisted of artefacts from the Viking Age and Latest Iron Age, too. The dead were stopped to be buried to the stone grave probably in the 11th century, which was the time when the inhumation cemetery to the east of the stone grave was established (Lavi 1977; 1978a; 1978b; Kappo 2010).

Cultural layers with settlement artefacts have been discovered close to the stone graves and the probable shore line of the Iron Age, but they have not been excavated; only surface finds have been collected. In the case of Lahepera the surface finds suggest Late Iron Age (Lavi 1986), and the finds collected from the cultural layer of Alasoo have been lost (Kriiska 1990). However, it is quite clear that the stone grave on higher coastal slope in Lahepera, as well as in Alasoo, must have been clearly visible from those places where the cultural layers of settlement character have been found (for the methodological point see Mägi 2004, pp.140–142). However, the only well datable objects nearby the settlement sites are stone graves, but it is not clear whether the landing sites were already used as landing places in Early Iron Age.

What is more, as mentioned above, the present Lahepera lake used to be an estuary of a river valley, and the coastal swell formed in front of its outflow to Lake Peipsi is definitely younger than 10 000 years (Liblik, personal comment to the author, 1 September 2011), which in archaeological context probably means that in the Iron Age Lahepera Lake could have been a bay of Lake Peipsi. The name of the lake

⁸ The place names *Alatskivi* and *Peatskivi* also refer to different types of ground: *Alatskivi* means „lower stone“ and *Peatskivi* refers to „upper stone“. The names were derived from the fact that there used to be water mills on the Alatskivi river in historical times and the term *kivi* („stone“ in Estonian) refers to a mill. It should be mentioned that the ground is a lot lower on the southern bank of the Alatskivi river where the later manor centre was established (in Alatskivi), than on the northern bank of the river where the possible predecessor of the manor was. The ground is highest in Peatskivi, where the oldest agricultural settlement has been discovered (Fig. 2).

also refers to a bay (see above). A bay with such a shape is a naturally suitable place for a harbor. It is more likely and more firmly supported by archaeological finds (Late Iron Age inhumation cemetery) that Lahepera was used as a landing place in Late Iron Age.

The described sites can be compared with Tornimäe and Viltina in Pöide (Mägi 2002, pp.189, 193, fig. 8, 9), where also landing places have been discovered. Both of the areas are similarly on the edge of the probable Iron Age settlement district as are Lahepera and Alasoo in Kodavere. Viltina was in use as a landing place in the 11th–12th centuries and was then abandoned, but Mägi (2007, p.129; 2008, p.101) also suggests the existence of an earlier landing place on the other slope of the bay. However, Tornimäe was used in the 9th–10th centuries and had a more intensive cultural layer than Viltina. What is more, Tornimäe has been considered the central landing place of Pöide settlement district (Mägi 2005, p.72; 2008, pp.100–101). Lahepera could be considered the central landing place of the Alatskivi settlement area, because according to the artefacts from the burial complex the site was important in the landscape for centuries. This is the first difference between a lakeside and a maritime landscape: in lakeside landscapes some possible landing places seemed to have been in use for a longer period due to the remaining natural conditions. When the sites of Tornimäe and Viltina were possible to use for a few centuries, then Lahepera was probably usable for a longer time when the dating of the burials is considered. Alasoo was not in such a good natural place, for it was probably impossible to use already after the Middle Iron Age⁹. However, the possibility to use the site as landing places was still longer than in the case of Tornimäe or Viltina. Of course,

it is not certain that these sites were used as landing places for all of those centuries of suitable natural conditions. And, it should also be emphasized that in case of Alasoo and Lahepera we are dealing with landing sites, that probably developed into anchorages and maybe also landing places, but at the present stage of research it is impossible to make any more specific conclusions about this. It is also possible that, as Mägi (2008 p.101) suggests about Viltina, the landing places were sometimes out of use because of the change of society.

THE LAND AND THE WATER BODY

Previously physically comprehensible aspects of lakeside and maritime landscapes were compared, but the landscape as such always consists of a cognitive part, which can be physically elusive, but still provides an additional value to the comparison of the two coastal landscape types. The proceeding discussion is based on oral conversations with the people who presently live on those coastal landscape types. It is possible that the way locals perceive their landscape has remained the same over the centuries as the traditional activities of the people (fishing, agriculture, trade) have largely remained the same, too. Thus, the subsequent discussion represents one way of seeing the phenomenological difference between lakeside and maritime landscapes.

Either maritime or lakeside landscapes are landscapes which are understood as not only natural and cultural, but a system where natural, cognitive and temporal components are connected (Palang 2001). Landscape does not exist outside of human mind (Vedru 2002). Tilley (1994) has also emphasised that landscape consists of places, connected by paths

⁹ It seems that at some point a landing site in Pusi at the present coast of Lake Pepsi was taken into use, and an inhumation cemetery has been discovered there about 150–200 m from the present coast line. At the moment there is a private boat harbor but there was quite frequently used harbor until the Soviet period. A harbor has also been marked at that place on the 17th century map. As the ground has been very severely altered there in the course of deepening the harbor, then it is unlikely that any cultural layer that would indicate a settlement/landing place has preserved there.

and stories between them. This is the main viewpoint the landscapes described in the article are understood from. According to Cresswell (2004, p.7) places are meaningful locations, and place names help to turn something physical and geographical (locations) into something historical and social (Tilley 1994). Landing sites are places in this sense, and either lakeside or maritime landscapes can be considered landscapes as such systems, which comprise physical (land forms, villages, landing sites, hillforts, paths, etc.) and cognitive (place names, individual and collective perceptions, folklore, etc.) aspects. Landing places are the main type of places that will be discussed in the article, but settlement pattern also consists of other features, e.g. villages, hillforts, graves, that will be discussed in connection with landing places.

The water body, either a sea or a large lake is something physical and very dominant in the landscape, therefore it plays an important role in the lives of the people of its shores. A lake or a sea is for that matter an inseparable part of the mainland connected with the water body. Furthermore, the water body and the mainland coastal area constitute a common landscape – a lakeside or a maritime landscape. Geologically the water body can be a different land form, but from the viewpoint of the inhabitants the water body is an essential part of their landscape.

Landscape consists of numerous geographical locations, while some of them become meaningful (places). Such places are connected by paths, but some of those paths may run along water bodies, and such paths often connect landing places. Of course, landing places can also be connected with settlements and religious sites by mainland paths, but when the most dominant water body is concerned then for a person living on its shores it probably consists of different paths connecting some important places on the shores but also on islands (if they exist). This may be considered a second difference between maritime and lakeside landscapes. As large as the lake is, it has quite a limited span, in

other words, lake is a closed system from where only rivers are a way out. Therefore, it is possible that at least for those who had sailed off the lake by rivers, there was a perception of a water body even larger (a sea), while the perception could be opposite when sailing off the sea to a lake. So, it is likely that at least some part of the population living on the shore of Lake Peipsi sailed to the opposite shore of the lake (ca. 50 km) and therefore perceived the closedness of the lake.

Saaremaa is an island and can therefore be considered a closed piece of land, while the lake is a closed body of water. The distance between the western shore of Estonia and the eastern shore of Muhu Island (which was probably a cluster of islets in the Iron Age) is quite short, even shorter than the distance between the opposite shores of Lake Peipsi, but it is possible that for the people living on those islets the islets were closed pieces of mainland in the middle of the open water, while Kodavere settlement district was not surrounded by water. It is possible that the people living on an island or an islet were more dependent on the water surrounding them – as there was very little suitable agricultural soil on small islets on the eastern coast of Saaremaa, the people were more dependent on fishing and also trade. Thus, people on an island might have been directed to the mainland while the people on the shore of a large closed lake might have been more directed to the lake and also via the lake to the sea. In other words, for the people on an island sea was a path to mainland (which from agricultural point of view was an important source of food) but also an open and infinite extension of the living place. For the people on the shores of a lake the lake was on the one hand a path to the sea, but on the other hand a limited body of water with probably quite familiar other shore.

Natural conditions of Põide at least in the end of the Iron Age comprised a zone of agricultural land surrounded by smaller islands, and Saare and Kõrkvere settlement units used to be separate islands (Mägi 2002, p.183). Therefore it is possible to say

that Põide was surrounded by the sea, which cannot be stated about Kodavere. Kodavere used to be (and is) a zone of agricultural lands by Lake Peipsi, bordered by a zone of forests and bogs in central Estonia and rivers in north and south. Consequently, both settlement districts were naturally separated areas and therefore needed communication routes with neighboring areas. However, Kodavere was bordered with a large lake only from the eastern side and it is not clear whether the waterway along River Suur Emajõgi was also used by the people of Kodavere, because there was a wide area of bogs between the agricultural lands of Kodavere parish and the river.

The openness to and of the sea might have also been expressed by the foreigners who came to use the landing places on the shore. For the local people the foreigners probably came from 'far away', while it is believable that the connections between the people living on the opposite shores of Lake Peipsi might have been quite frequent, which is also expressed by the common types of artefacts found from both shores of Lake Peipsi (see e.g. Хвощинская 2004). However, the same types of artefacts found from Kodavere settlement district and Põide settlement district refer to a possibility of a water way which passed the island of Saaremaa, northern coast of Estonia and continued along Lakes Peipsi and Pihkva (Сорокин 1999; Mägi 2010; Karro 2010). There is only a question, when the route was taken into use as a trade route.

One of the possibilities to sail from Scandinavia to Southern Europe was along Lake Peipsi, but there were also other possibilities, and it seems that those other possibilities were used more frequently than Lake Peipsi, because the western shore did not seem to have been a politically or economically important area at least in the Latest Iron Age and Early Medieval period, which is covered by the chronicle of Henry the Latvian. No Kodavere settlement district hillforts have been mentioned in the chronicle. When the location of Põide settlement district (Mägi 2002, p.171, fig.1) is concerned, it was also not right

by a passing international trade route, but it is still believable that the coast of Saaremaa was visited by foreign travellers more often than the coast of Kodavere, and this can be listed as the third difference between those landscapes, although this difference is due to geographical locations.

While there was not enough mainland for long mainland routes on Saaremaa, then there probably were mainland routes out of Kodavere settlement district. It is also possible that due to frozen lake it was possible to use the lake ice as a mainland route during certain period in a year, as well. There is documentation (Mey 1927, pp.7–8 in Ilves 2004, p.170) of a case from 1459 when it was possible to ride a horse from Estonia to Sweden, so it is likely that such occasions occurred earlier as well, and Lake Peipsi definitely freezes in the winter and probably did so in the Iron Age, too. As Lake Peipsi is shallower than the Baltic Sea and also not salty then it probably froze even faster than the sea.

CONCLUSIONS

As can be concluded from the discussion above, maritime and lakeside landscapes can be compared with each other and methodology used in maritime landscapes can also be adapted to lakeside landscapes. However, there are differences between lakeside and maritime landscapes from the viewpoint of coastal inhabitants, and some natural conditions can be different in those landscape types, but it seems that the ways how physical landscapes were used were similar.

The main differences are mostly due to different geographical locations of the two described settlement districts: one of them lying on the largest island to the west of the Estonian coast, which was probably passed by sailors coming from or on their way to Scandinavia, while the other of them lying on the eastern part of Estonia by a large lake, which was just one of the possibilities of proceeding to Southern Europe, and North- and South-western Russia. Therefore the first difference is that

the landing places in Pöide settlement district were probably used more frequently, therefore consisting of more archaeological evidence of their usage period.

The second difference can be considered more universal and could potentially conform to some other maritime and lakeside landscapes as well. Namely, the bottom relief of the shore of Lake Peipsi is much steeper than the bottom relief of the coast of the Baltic Sea, therefore it is possible that for landing places that were used mainly for fishing no specific human interference was necessary, because those places were already natural landing sites. So, it is possible that steepening the bottom of the lake for more efficient harbors might have been a quite late activity. Due to a steeper bottom relief the landing place of Lahepera on the western shore of Lake Peipsi was for topographical reasons probably used for a longer period than the landing sites in Pöide settlement district, where landing places seem to have changed places after the usage period of a few centuries.

Thirdly, according to one point of view the people on the shore of a sea may see the water body differently than the people on the shore of a lake.

Parts of two settlement districts – Pöide on Saaremaa as a maritime landscape and Kodavere in Eastern Estonia by Lake Peipsi as a lakeside landscape – were compared from the viewpoint of lakeside and maritime landscapes. A severe difference between those areas lies in the abundance of archaeological and historical data: Kodavere settlement district is archaeologically much less studied than Pöide settlement district, therefore fieldwork needs to be conducted in Kodavere to ascertain the hypotheses discussed in the article. However, the main hypotheses given are in accordance with the present state of research.

The locations of hillforts in those areas were

compared: in both settlement districts the hillforts were erected in the area of the best agricultural soils, but exit to the sea or the lake was also important. Excavated landing places in Pöide settlement district (Viltina and Tornimäe, Asva was also mentioned) and some landing sites in Kodavere settlement district (Alasoo and Lahepera, Pusi was also mentioned) which, considering their natural and cultural location in the landscape, could have been landing places during some period were discussed and compared.

The importance of the usage of water routes was also analyzed. It seems that a water route passed Saaremaa and went along Lake Peipsi. Neither Pöide nor Kodavere were probably by very frequently used parts of the water route: Pöide settlement area was not directly by the international route, and the way along Lake Peipsi was probably not used so frequently as other possibilities of sailing towards Southern Europe. It is not certain, though, when the trade route passing Saaremaa and Kodavere settlement district was taken into use. It is possible that the trade route along Lakes Peipsi and Pskov and also along rivers of the Peipsi–Pskov catchment area were used more for inter-regional transport and trade.

To (dis)confirm some of the hypotheses stated in the article, more archaeological research needs to be conducted in Kodavere settlement district.

Acknowledgements

This paper has been supported by the Estonian Ministry of Education target-financed project no. SF0130033s07 Landscape Practice and Heritage and from the European Union through the European Regional Development Fund (Centre of Excellence CECT), and ETF grant no. 9027. The author would also like to thank Marika Mägi for allowing to use the map from her article (Mägi 2002, p.179).

Translated by the author

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ABBREVIATIONS

AB – Archaeologia Baltica

AI – Ajaloo Instituudi arheoloogiarhiiv (Archaeological archives of the Institute of History)

AVE – Arheoloogilised välitööd Eestis (Archaeological Fieldwork in Estonia)

EAA – Eesti Arheoloogia Ajakiri (Estonian Journal of Archaeology)

MT – Muinasaja Teadus

TATÜ – Eesti NSV Teaduste Akadeemia toimetised. Humanitaarteadused

EŽERŲ IR JŪRINIS KRAŠTOVAIZDIS: KODAVERE (RYTŲ ESTIJA) IR PÖIDE (SAREMOS SALA) GYVENVIEČIŲ PAVYZDŽIAI

Krista Karro

Santrauka

Straipsnyje nagrinėjamas geležies amžiaus (500 m. pr. Kr. – 1200 m. po Kr.) ežerų kraštovaizdis, pasitelkiant Kodavere gyvenvietės, esančios Rytų Estijoje greta Peipaus (Peipsi) ežero, pavyzdį (1 pav.). Šis kraštovaizdis gretinamas su jūriniais, kadangi šalia didelių ežerų esančios teritorijos yra panašesnės į jūros pakrančių nei į nedidelių ežerų kaimynystėje plytinčias teritorijas. Pastarosioms estų literatūroje jau yra skirta dėmesio (Veski, Lang 1996; Vedru 1997a; 1997b; 1999), o ežerų kraštovaizdis nėra plačiau nagrinėtas. Archeologė M. Mägi tyrinėjo Saremos salas (Vakarų Estija) jūrinių kraštovaizdį (pvz., 2004; 2008), remdamasi skandinavų archeologų sukurta metodika (Westerdahl 1987; 1989; Carlsson 1991; Christophersen 1991; Crumlin-Pedersen 1991). Šiame straipsnyje stengiasi tokią metodiką pritaikyti ežerų kraštovaizdžio tyrimams.

Kodavere gyvenvietę ir jos apylinkes (1, 2 pav.) Š pusėje riboja Omedu upė, V pusėje – Kääpa upė ir miškingi plotai, P pusėje – Suur Emajõgi upė ir pelkynai. Ši teritorija buvo suskirstyta į plotus (Karro 2010a; 2010b), ir vienas jų – Alatskivi – buvo pasirinktas šio straipsnio objektu kaip ežerų kraštovaizdžio tyrimų pavyzdys. Palyginimui pasirinktas Pöide gyvenvietės ir jos apylinkėse esančių Koigi-Iruste, Uuemõisa ir Asva-Randvere žemdirbystės plotų dabartinėje Saremos saloje, kurie aptariami M. Mägi (2002), jūrinis kraštovaizdis (3 pav.).

Ežerų kraštovaizdžio terminu apibūrinama teritorija šalia ežero, kurios gyventojų veikla yra glaudžiai susijusi su ežero ištekiais: žvejyba, prekyba, kontaktai su kito kranto gyventojais. Teritorijos dydis priklauso nuo pakrantės pasiekimo vandens keliu galimybės. Vandens keliai gali su ežeru sieti net ir gana toli nuo pakrantės išsikūrusias bendruomenes.

Jūriniu kraštovaizdžiu vadintina jūros pakrantėje plytinti teritorija. Su vandeniu susijusi veikla lemia išsilaipinimo vietų, kurios tarnauja kaip laivų ar valčių prieklauskos, taip pat čia žvejojama, prekiaujama, susisiekama su kitu krantu, įkūrimą pakrantėse. Tokių vietų išsidėstymas po geležies amžiaus smarkiai kito.

Geležies amžiaus jūros kranto linija yra atkurta pagal buvusį kranto kontūrą, tuo tarpu Peipaus ežero pakrantę rekonstruoti yra sudėtingiau. Egzistuoja keletas gana prieštaringų teorijų. T. Liblik (Либлик 1969, c.6) nuomone, Peipaus įdubą juosia septynios ankstesnių krantų linijos, tačiau nė viena jų nėra datauota radiokarboniniu metodu. Sprendžiant pagal paviršiuje surinktus radinius, greičiausiai visi vėlyvojo geležies amžiaus – viduramžių laikotarpiams datuojami pakrantės kaimai bei II–III a. datuojami krūsniniai kapai (Alasoo ir Lahepera) yra išsidėstę ties penktąja kranto linija (40–41,5 m virš jūros lygio), todėl ją galima laikyti geležies amžiaus kranto linija. Tačiau naujesnė teorija (Hang *ir kt.* 1996, p.126) siūlo atsižvelgti į tai, kad nepaisant holoceno pradžioje prasidėjusio nuolatinio vandens lygio kilimo, poveikis kraštovaizdžiui labiau išreikštas ežero P dalyje (Pskovo (Pihkva) ežeras), tuo tarpu Š dalyje žemės pluta kilo intensyviau, todėl pakilęs ežero vandens lygis kraštovaizdžio nepakeitė. Taigi šiame straipsnyje iš esmės remiamasi T. Liblik pateikta rekonstrukcija.

Abi gyvenvietės ir jų apylinkės išsidėsčiusios šalia vandens kelių, tai byloja apie poreikį pakrantėse įkurti išsilaipinimo vietas (terminiją žr. Ilves 2004). Reikia turėti omenyje, kad tinkamos tam vietos nuo geležies amžiaus pakito. Alatskivi gyvenvietės atveju nagrinėjami visų laikotarpių, kuriems priskiriama tyrinėjimų metu aptikta archeologinė medžiaga, objektai, todėl tyrimas apima ir ankstyvąjį geležies amžių. M. Mägi daugiausia tyrinėjo viduriniojo geležies amžiaus 2-osios pusės – vėlyvojo geležies amžiaus gyvenvietes, todėl palyginti abiejų regionų ankstyvojo geležies amžiaus situaciją yra sudėtinga.

Vis dėlto kranto linijos kaita ir tam tikri archeologiniai radiniai leidžia daryti prielaidas apie Alatskivi gyvenvietės galimas išsilaipinimo vietas ir ankstyvojo geležies amžiaus laikotarpiu. Apie šį laikotarpį Pöide gyvenvietėje šiek tiek užsiminta ir M. Mägi darbuose (Mägi 2002; 2008).

Alatskivi gyvenvietės apylinkių galimos išsilaipinimo vietas Alasoo ir Lahepera nagrinėjamos lyginant jas su panašiomis vietomis Tornimäe and Viltina vietovėse Pöide gyvenvietės aplinkoje. Taip pat aptariami abiejų gyvenviečių apylinkėse esantys piliakalniai.

Galiausiai į jūrinio ir ežerų kraštovaizdžio gyvenvietes pažvelgta fenomenologiniu aspektu, kuris remiasi straipsnio autorės bendravimu su dabartiniais vietiniais gyventojais, vis dar užsiimančiais tradicine veikla (žvejyba, žemdirbyste). Abu minėti vandens telkiniai gali būti laikomi ir pažinimo keliu, vedančiu iš taško A į tašką B. Panašu, kad ežeras yra suprantamas kaip uždaras vandens telkinys atviroje sausumos teritorijoje (ežeras užima tik dalį sausumos), o jūra laikoma atviru telkiniu, supančiu sausumą, ir pastaroji yra uždara.

Apibendrinant galima teigti, kad abu kraštovaizdžio tipai yra panašūs, o aptartajam ežerų kraštovaizdžiui tyrinėti gali būti taikoma tokia pati metodika, kaip ir jūrinio kraštovaizdžio tyrimuose. Nors abiejuose kraštovaizdžiuose vanduo gali būti suvokiamas skirtingai, fizinis pakrantės naudojimas abiem atvejais yra toks pats. Vis dėlto geologiniai skirtumai lemia ežero pakrantės eksploatavimo savitumą: Lahepera atveju, įlankos kaip išsilaipinimo į krantą vietos naudojimas, tikėtina, truko ilgesnį laiką nei bet kurios kitos tokios vietos pakrantėje prie Pöide. Kadangi ežero dugno reljefas yra statesnis, uosto įrengimas greičiausiai nereikalavo didelių pastangų. Taip pat galima spėti, kad vietovės šalia galimų vandens kelių (Mägi 2010; rengiama spaudai) kraštovaizdis susidūrė su panašia žmogaus veiklos įtaka, kaip prie tikėtinų vandens maršrutų esančios Pöide gyvenvietės aplinka.

ILIUSTRACIJŲ SĄRAŠAS

1 pav. Kodavere parapija (spalvos rodo gylį). Pažymėta teritorija: Alatskivi gyvenvietės plotas. Žemėlapis pagrindas: Raukas 2008, p.95. *K. Karro brėž.*

2 pav. Alatskivi gyvenvietės aplinka. Spėjama geležies amžiaus kranto linija ir ties ja išsidėstę archeologiniai objektai: 1 – piliakalniai, 2 – gyvenvietės/uostai, 3 – krūsniniai kapai, 4 – griautiniai kapiny-

nai, 5 – spėjama geležies amžiaus kranto linija. Žemėlapis pagrindas: Estijos žemėlapis (Estijos žemės taryba), geležies amžiaus kranto linija pagal Либлик 1969, c.13. *K. Karro brėž.*

3 pav. Pöide gyvenvietės aplinka (pagal XVII a. kadastrinius planus): 1 – vėlyvojo geležies amžiaus krūsniniai kapai, 2 – piliakalnis, 3 – XVII a. dvaro sodyba, 4 – parapijos bažnyčia, 5 – uostas, 6 – apytikrė kranto linija prieš 1000 m., 7 – ariama žemė, 8 – XVII a. keliai (Mägi 2002, p.179, fig. 4).

Vertė J. Žukauskaitė