

PLACES GAINED AND LOST

Hannes Palang, Piret Paal

Introduction

It was in the early 1920s when J.G. Granö, the first professor of Geography at the University of Tartu, declared landscape as the main and only subject of geography as a science. A similar statement came from C.O. Sauer, the founder of the world-famous Berkeley School of Cultural Geography in the USA. However, they both obviously said it in too low a voice, because there are still many disciplines other than geography studying landscape, and landscape itself has become an inter- or even transdisciplinary concern.

The current paper first focuses on the way landscape has been handled in Estonian geography, and then attempts to expand the approach in line with those used in cultural geography. After that we briefly discuss the different ways of understanding the word *landscape* in different languages, and the concepts of landscape and place. We come up with the suggestion that as each landscape consists of different places, each of these places has its own history and future, both in terms of natural and human factors. The places are gained from nature by man; thus they can be lost again to nature. Finally, we illustrate this with a history of one place.

Landscapes in geography

As landscape is the basic concept of geography (Sauer 1925), it has obtained several different meanings and it has been understood differently (see e.g. Keisteri 1990, Jones 1991, Olwig 2002, etc.). It can be understood as something mental, perceivable, or, *vice versa*, something very realistic, visible. Landscape can be at the same time a general term or a term indicating a certain delimited piece of land with its specific character. The way the term is understood differs in different languages and while translating one has to bear in mind the context in which

the term is being used. Usually the dividing line between different ways of conceiving landscapes lies somewhere in between physical and cultural geography.

In Estonian geography, landscape has mostly indicated something natural, not of human origin (see Palang 1998, Palang, Kaur 2000, Palang *et al.* 2000). The common approach, widely used in the 1980s, states that landscape is a regional unit with similar natural conditions, which has, mainly due to geomorphological features, certain preconditions for its appearance and management (Arold 1991).

The term *landscape* (in Estonian, *maastik*) was brought into Estonian geography by a Finn, Johannes Gabriel Granö, who was invited to become the first professor of Geography at the newly re-established University of Tartu in 1919. For him, landscape did not have the same meaning as it has today. He defined *environment* (in Estonian, *ümbrus*) as the object of geography. This object belongs to the field of natural science, even if the environment perceived by human senses is dealt with. According to the extent of the scenery, the environment was divided into two main parts: the *proximity* (close surroundings) that can be perceived by all human senses, and the *landscape* (far surroundings) that can only be seen. A moving or standing human is the centre of these, but "in geographical research, one has to get rid of the body of the observer, and to explain the qualities of the proximity and the landscape of the studied area, independently of the point of observation and the limited possibilities of the observation" (Granö 1924). Finally, Granö describes landscape as a territorial unit that has the characteristics of defined, visible, constant, far surroundings (Granö 1924).

Granö himself (1922) and later also his disciple, August Tammekann (1933), used this approach to give the regionalisation of Estonian landscapes. The authors pay equal attention to both natural (geomorphology, waters, vegetation) and artificial, man-made (mainly the distribution and shape of rural settlements) features. Differently from Granö, Tammekann also took the genesis of the landscape into account (Roosaare, 1994). At the same time, for several other researchers, the term *maastik* meant something close to its grammatical meaning – a collection of lands.

In 1940, a new chapter in the history began – the country was occupied by the Soviet Union. This also marked a turn in the spread of scientific ideas. The generation of scientists that had shaped the Estonian science of geography fled to the West, and a new start was made with new people. While for Granö and

his disciples landscape included both natural and human features¹, the emerging generation concentrated mainly on the role of nature in landscape. This approach, typical for the Russian school of physical geography, was not something essentially new, since Eduard Markus, one of the leading natural scientists of the pre-war period, had introduced some of the ideas in his studies. Nevertheless, the change resulted not in exchanging the concepts used by Granö's disciples, but in diversification of the concept itself. In 1966, Kallio Kildema and Viktor Masing, reviewing the development of landscape science in Estonia, stated that the word *landscape* still had three different meanings. First, according to the oldest understanding, it indicated the appearance of the area, the colours and the forms in scenery, a *paysage*. The authors added that in geography an approach like this was hopelessly out of date. Second, landscape was a general term to denote territorial units. Third, landscape was described as a territory of a certain size that has a number of characteristic features (Kildema, Masing 1966).

In the 1970s and 1980s, at first, physical geographers tried to get rid of subjectivity in the conception of landscape and focus strictly on natural features, but finally they realised that the attempt had failed. In the first edition of the *Soviet Estonian Encyclopaedia* (ENE 1973), landscape had two meanings, one being the basic unit of defining landscape regions, and the other indicating a territorial unit with interrelated landforms, soils, vegetation, and human features. Differently from Granö, the landscape did not move with the observer, and it was defined by the causal relationships between the parts of the landscape, rather than delimited by the sense of vision. This approach refers to greater specification, desired by Kildema and Masing. However, in the second edition of the encyclopaedia (EE 1992), two new meanings had been added. One of these was the understanding spread in the GDR and Czechoslovakia about a natural-territorial system with interrelated purely natural parts and a number of results of human activities. The other new meaning was of course the "old-fashioned" understanding of landscape as scenery.

The so-called *landscape science approach* was widely used throughout the 1960s and 1970s, reaching its end by the late eighties with the statement that landscape science had completely failed to meet its aims. There were several

¹ The influence of Granö's views on modern geography is still often discussed; see, e.g., Paasi 1984, Roosaare 1994, etc.

reasons for this failure (Roosaare 1989). First, static classifications are unable to handle landscape components that occur as more or less continuous fields with fuzzy borders. Second, units classified on the basis of genesis, the leading component, spatial relations, etc., do not form uniform systems. Third, as it was difficult to integrate time into the study, the dynamics of the system was explained using static and cinematic models, which of course failed.

Elsewhere, landscape has been understood in a slightly different way. In Russian (Soviet) geography, some 8 different definitions appear (Reimers 1990). However, all these treat landscape as a natural geographical complex defined mainly through its natural features. Isachenko (1991) handles landscape as the main category in the hierarchical system of territorial units. He also admits that there also exist larger units that result from territorial integration of landscapes. Milkov (1973) argues for the term *anthropogenic landscape*, which encompasses landscapes created by man as well as geocomplexes at least one component of which is radically changed by man.

Concerning the English *landscape*, Olwig (2000) refers to the dictionaries of English, according to which the term could be understood as

- a picture representing a view of natural inland scenery;
- the art of depicting such scenery;
- the landforms of a region in aggregate;
- a portion of a territory that can be viewed at one time from one place;
- vista, prospect.

One of the world's leading landscape ecologists, Naveh (1995, 2000) defines landscape as a concrete tangible entity of the total human ecosystem. The *ecosphere*, composed of *biosphere* and *technosphere* landscapes, is the largest global landscape unit, and ecotopes are the smallest mappable units of these natural, semi-natural and cultural landscapes.

However, in addition to definitions given by dictionaries, cultural geography has developed its own specific approach to the term. One way to define landscape is that of Emmelin, according to which landscape is "a visual sum of objects at a given place at a given time" (Emmelin 1996). This definition has one weak and one strong point. The strong point is that time is included. Landscape is never ready; it has both a history and a future. We can restore the history by means of old maps, photographs, descriptions, stories, etc. We can also influence

the future of these landscapes by our attitudes, behaviour and management decisions. The weaker part of the definition is that it stresses the visibility of landscape, but excludes all the mental images. But, as Cosgrove states, landscape is a way of seeing rather than an image or an object. "Landscape is a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolising surroundings. This is not to say that landscapes are immaterial. They may be represented in a variety of materials and on many surfaces – in paint on canvas, in writing on paper, in earth, stone, water and vegetation on the ground." (Daniels, Cosgrove 1988.)

In this paper, we use the term *landscape* as a way of seeing, with emphasis on interaction between human beings and nature over time. Hence, besides a physical setting, it definitely embraces cultural aspects like social behaviour and values. After all, of most importance is not how people define landscape but rather the manner of performing their activities in landscape. We depart from three standing points:

- landscape is a reflection of the relationship of man and nature;
- landscape is a reflection of dynamic natural as well as social events;
- landscape is an interface between the present, the past and the future.

Places, landscapes and time

There are two concurring terminologies used in landscape studies. The first uses such terms as *place* and *space*, the other – *natural* and *cultural landscapes*. Without going deeply into the underlying philosophy, let us just remember that in both approaches there is a notion of how humans turn one into the other. Tuan describes how humans create a place out of space by giving it a name and meaning, fusing events, attitudes and places into a whole. So a place can also be understood as an informally organised site of intersecting social relations, meaning, collective memory (Johnston *et al.* 2000).

Similarly, Jones (1991) describes how cultural landscape could be defined by the latter as a subjective, perceivable part of the landscape, consisting of symbols, meanings and understandings. In this case cultural landscape is also immaterial, dependent on context and culture. Something that is perceived as a cultural landscape by one person might not be the one for another.

It is necessary to stress here that in addition to its physical limits, places and landscapes also have limits in time. Cosgrove (1984) takes a Marxist viewpoint

and describes how each socio-economic formation creates its own landscape with its own symbols, magic, policy and history. These landscapes differ from one another in terms of power relations, land use patterns with respective technologies, and values people attach to them. However, a new formation is always not able to erase everything that the previous one has created; it rather adds a new layer of artefacts. As a result we can speak of a landscape as a memory that contains remains of past land uses, remembering past power relations, but it also contains a set of narratives told from generation to generation that largely determine the identity of a place or a landscape.

Vos and Meekes (1999) have distinguished 6 different landscapes in Western Europe; in Estonia, 5 phases could be outlined (Palang, Mander 2000). These are *ancient landscapes* which were shaped by their first inhabitants, who came to the Estonian territory; *estate landscapes* controlled by the Baltic German landlords; *private farm landscapes*, which seem to be the dream landscape for so many of us, where the Estonian farmer controls the land and a strong sentiment of nationalism is embedded in the landscape; and *collective farm landscapes* as symbols of Soviet power. In 1993, the whole landscape logic was turned upside down: fields were not needed any more, forest was more profitable. This logic has led to the current *post-modern landscapes*, where the urban is preferred to the rural, land use is hectic and identity is lost.

Regardless of terminology, it is still people who create the place. A place becomes a place only after it has been given a name; it gets a story (legend, history, etc.). And with the end of the story the place ceases to exist, it returns to its former state of being a space, or a cultural landscape becomes once again a (pseudo)natural landscape.

The Vääлма story

Vääлма is a small farm in the village of Metsaküla in the eastern part of the Kõrvemaa forests in Northern Estonia. The area is boggy with several low islands of dry soil, sand and gravel reaching out of the layers of peat. A long esker stretches east of the area. Bogs and mires are covered with forests extending kilometres eastward and dozens of kilometres in other directions. It is located about 6 km off the nearest main road.

In the beginning of the story it was a forest. One day people appeared who cut

down the forest, turned it into a field and a pasture and sorted out their relations with the landlord to gain a place for their own. Then their descendants created the place that is remembered today as a safe home. Finally the people left or died, the fields were abandoned and grasslands became overgrown, the place names and legends are being forgotten. And after some decades it will be a forest again.

Gaining a place

One way of explaining the emergence of a cultural landscape is to handle it as a mental layer of human knowledge superimposed on the physical surface. People who give names to places make this landscape cultural. The more "local" people get, the more exact the names become. For Vääлма, a folk legend tells:

"A bear came down the hill and settled down on an oats field (Kaerassaare). There he stayed, now and then crossing the end of a river (Jõeotsa) and a sandy area (Liivaku) to go hunting. Once he quarrelled (Riiussaare) with another bear, but they could not sort it out. So they went to a wise man (Targa) to resolve the quarrel. The bear was found guilty; he got angry and died of the plague (Katku)."

ERM, KV-429, 234 < Rakvere raj., Kadrina al., Koidu tn. – Aino Tambek < Juhan Fählmann, s. 1851 (1983).

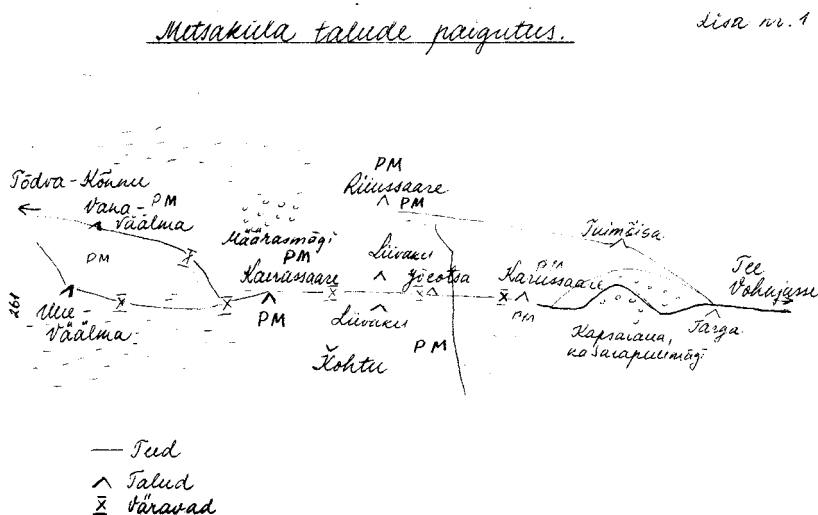


Figure 1. Location of farms in Metsaküla (Aino Tambek 1983).

The above legend illustrates how the separate farms in the Metsaküla village acquired their names (see also Fig. 1). However, two of the farms, Vääлма and Tuimõisa², do not figure in it, because they are considered to be older than the legend (Tambek 1983). The origin of the name Vääлма is not so clear. Varep (1985) has found the name Vääлма (*im Wehlmegschen*) in official documents dating back to 1693. Tambek (1983) tried to reconstruct it as *Vääлма – Vealma* < **vee all maa* (land under water). More probably the name has derived from the family name Wälman < **wäl man* 'good man' in Swedish. This hypothesis is supported by family legends on how a Swedish nobleman once found refuge here and in gratitude granted the place his name.

"In 1720, at the end of the Great Northern War, a Swede appeared at the farm. He married the daughter and they had two children. Finally, when a Russian official arrived to arrest him, he opened a case he hadn't touched since his arrival, took out a Swedish uniform, put it on and left, never to be seen again. Still, a rumour went around that he had been a Swedish nobleman."

ERM, KV-429, 237/8 < Rakvere raj., Kadrina al., Koidu tn. – Aino Tambek < Juhan Fählmann, s. 1851 (1983).

Another approach to cultural landscape lies in defining cultural landscape as a human material input in the landscape. In the Estonian case it usually means turning forests into fields and getting control over the land, taming it. The previous narratives only serve to justify the changes or inaugurate the place.

According to the written history, the Fählmann-Wälman family has lived in the parish of Kadrina at least since 1630, when the forefather, Vääлма Madis, was mentioned in the agricultural revision made by Swedish authorities. According to oral history (family history), after the Great Northern War (1700–21) a landlord had given a piece of land to a Vääлма Madis. In the family stories this free land had been given to Madis and his descendants because he had hidden a Swedish soldier in his household. In general, such stories go back to the Great Northern War (1700–21). This is supported by genealogical data reaching back to about the 1630s, but also by agricultural revisions³.

² Varep (1985) and Tarvel (1983) describe Tuimõisa as the local centre, the estate that was established not later than 1454 and until 1640 was named Põltsamaa.

³ Here and later all agricultural revision data comes from:

EAA F 1864, nim nr 2, s X 202 lk 315; s VII lk 129; s VII lk 106; s VI lk 54; s V lk 42.
EAA F 3, nim 1, s 498, 489, 469.

As this kind of freedom was very exceptional in these times, the life of the family also differed from that of their neighbours. The feeling of freedom has supported a kind of very specific family-centred worldview, where outsiders have never been too welcome. The house that was situated in the middle of swamps and forests was like a nest to the family where everybody could return when times were getting restless or there was a danger in the air. The household has had a central place in the family life and it is no wonder that people still dream of Vääлма even if there is nothing left of it nowadays.

The stories from the later period also support the idea of being something "else," maybe something better than other people around them:

"In 1870, the priest of Kadrina, Johanson, admonished Juhan Faehlmann of Vääлма: "Be a good boy, Juhan, you descend from a Swedish nobleman." Also, in 1930, priest Behrmann and parish clerk August Siiak confirmed that there had been a contract in the archives of the Kadrina church showing that Vääлма had been sold as a farm with rights of primogeniture after the end of the Great Northern War to acknowledge the refuge offered to a Swedish officer."

ERM, KV-429, 238 < Rakvere raj., Kadrina al., Koidu tn. – Aino Tambek < Juhan Fählmann, s. 1851 (1983).

All oral stories describe Vääлма as a free farm and the people as being more than just peasants; contrary to that, all written data show Vääлма as a farm located on a separate piece of land, doing statute labour for the landowner and paying rent. As the area of arable land was not too large (according to the oral sources, 250 dessiatinas, along with hay meadows) and the rent was, therefore, lower, the people were able to develop an enterprise that remained characteristic to the farm for many decades – smithy. Being a smith raised the social status of the farmer and provided him with the money he could save, so that in 1865, the new master, Madis, was able to buy the farm for his own property. A story accompanying the deed tells that:

"When Madis Wällmann went to re-buy his "free farm" (this time without the hay meadows), the landlord of Undla and Kihlevere, Baron von Tellingshausen, told him: "You Madis must not bear this name, this name belongs to noble men!"

ERM, KV-429, 238 < Rakvere raj., Kadrina al., Koidu tn. – Aino Tambek < Juhan Fählmann, s. 1851 (1983).

So 1865 marks the end of the estate landscape in this particular spot. The dream of freedom had come true; the ancient rights, once granted by the King of Swe-

den and later robbed by local German land owners, were restored. Madis and his sons were now in control of their land, which could only increase their pride. This was also expressed in their desire to give their children as good an education as possible. The farm was still busy with smith-work that provided income, but later Madis (1810–81) had to divide the farm between his two sons. Curiously, this also marked the end of using the name Madis – so far every second generation had had one son called Madis.

Creating the place

This was the story of gaining the place. Finally, after all controversies, it also belonged to the people living there officially, according to documents. The time of creating had arrived. This creation is directly related with Bertha (more often called Momma), the granddaughter of Madis the farm-buyer. But before Bertha with her husband and children appeared on the scene, several important changes had to take place in Vääлма.

The second son of Madis, Juhan (1851–1939), inherited the "new" part of the farm called Uue-Vääлма that was 33 hectares in size. He, although having received good education, continued traditional smith-work. In 1878–80 he erected most of the buildings that will later be featured in our story. He married Marie Worteil and they had 3 daughters: Velli (1882–1890), Bertha (1884–1981) and Elsa (1886–?). As education was also considered as a sign of freedom, the daughters Bertha and Elsa got an excellent education for that time, graduating from the Girls' Gymnasium in Rakvere. The importance of education is later described by Bertha's daughter-in-law: "She (Bertha) loved the German language; she spoke it to her sister so that I could not understand. But I did understand some words so they couldn't fully tease me." (Linda Lindam.)⁴

In 1904, she married Anton Lindam (known as Papa). "He was a restless soul, he did business, he was a schoolmaster in different places and ended up being a farmer." (Hinge Rosenberg) The couple lived in Auvere, Võsu, Rakvere, but spent summers in Vääлма. In 1916, the couple left for Semipalatinsk in Kazakhstan to escape mobilisation for WW I, only to return in October 1921 with 4 children and plenty of ideas on how to develop the farm. "The buildings were

⁴ Oral stories were recorded, on October 10–11, 1998, while doing fieldwork and collecting family history.

tumbling down, the smithy had been devastated, grandfather was ill, people feared for their lives." (Hinge Rosenberg.) So it was a very suitable time for Bertha and Anton to take over. From then on, another story starts, the story told by Bertha's grandchildren about the golden home with a Granny, who was a little selfish and strict, but still provided a safe haven and refuge if necessary.

It was time for investing. When Bertha and Anton returned, Anton took over his heritage. "Papa got his money from Liiguste Aru (neighbors condemned that he did it such a long time after). From there he brought rye, changed it for money and that stone house, he got it pretty cheap. It was when that buying mania came over him – it made him quarrel with his brothers, who did not want to recognise him. ...my father also commented: damn the man, he takes away others' rye." (Linda Lindam.)

Bertha's mother died in 1929, her father passed away ten years later. All fieldwork was done by family members: there have never been farm hands, the story says. Rye grew well, Bertha was thrifty, even avaricious, and made money from eggs, butter, milk – they used to have 4–5 cows. While farming had been the main income for Bertha's parents, the new generation got their main income from elsewhere. Smith-work also provided income. Timber was taken from their own forest and in 1929 a new house was erected. Within 15 years Bertha and Anton managed to build up the household so that by 1939 they had been able to buy the former estate in Kõnnu, open a dairy there and moreover, open a shop. Sometimes merchants from the northern coast appeared in Vääлма, doing something in the buildings or hiding something in the nearby woods. The farm was pretty well off. This is the Vääлма that is now remembered in the stories of Bertha's grandchildren.

While the estate time was spent to prove their rights to the landowner, the farm time allowed enjoying the 'something extra' position and demonstrating it to others. "There was not much communication with the neighbours ... there was never too much fun, me with old Endel cackled a song in the woods in the evenings, but rarely was there other noise. [---] Momma played piano and Papa played piano and violin and sometimes they played together – Endel played piano and Papa violin," Bertha's daughter-in-law Linda Lindam told.

Bertha herself was not too good a housewife, but she was a noticeably good hostess. As the people who knew her have told, she could lose herself in a book instead of preparing food or taking care of the animals. Her daughter-in-law

remembers a situation when Anton told her: "You start to prepare food, otherwise she forgets to do it." But if you were a visitor you were treated well and offered excellent food. Some of her products have survived the times and changes and are still prepared by her descendants. As it was mentioned before, she liked to read. Her readings were mostly about God and "...she really did believe in these wonder-stories. She read and cried and told us children these stories," one of her grandchildren recalls. Momma could make a clear difference between others and us. Maybe it does not sound fair, but she clearly favoured grandchildren who had blond hair. So the ones who had darker hair were treated a little bit as outsiders. She was a woman who was proud of her clan and did not care so much for others. In all stories the "soul" of the place is connected to Bertha. She is the one who seemed to be in command; places are remembered according to what Momma had done there. She, on the one hand, pushed her children out (letting them get married and settle down in other places); on the other hand, she always provided a safe haven for those in trouble.

Losing the place

This process became especially evident in the 1940s. The war rolled over the country and those in trouble found refuge on the farm. Some fled from the mobilisation to the German Army, some from Soviet power, some living in towns were afraid of air raids or other military events.

It was a somewhat merry time, the last before the final destruction. The house was full of people. Some elder sons did something half-legal in the woods, younger son Kalju was still here, before leaving for the Finnish army, Aino had two daughters, grandsons Enn, Agu and Ain were born and spent their first years here – the house was full of noise and business.

Väälma was a refuge. Aino and Leo had timber stored for their new house in Kavastu; when by 1943 it was clear that the Russians would return, they took the logs to Väälma and erected a barn instead.

Restoration of Soviet power in 1944 indicated the start of the decline. Land had already been nationalised in 1940, although the owners were given a state guarantee allowing them to use the land "forever." That guarantee lasted only until 1949, when collectivisation started. Anton lost his shop, his shares in the inn, all his property. Finally, in 1948, Anton got a gun and ended his life.

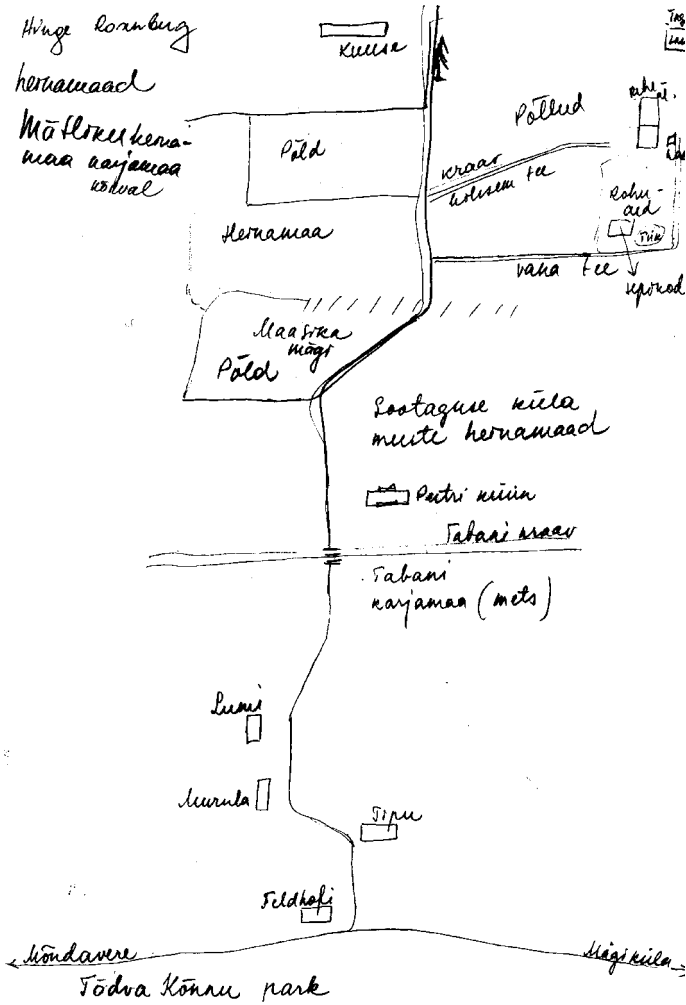


Figure 2. Road to Vääлма from Kõnnu (Hinge Rosenberg, born 1936).

Repression followed Bertha's son-in-law, two of her own sons fled to Sweden in 1944. Son Endel, who had participated in the Finnish War since 1941, returned from the Finnish army and got repressed as well. From 1948 Bertha carried on alone, with Endel occasionally coming over to help – he lived nearby, only some 5 kilometres away in Mõndavere. Instead of the former crowded place full of life, only Bertha, now 66 years old, and her daughter Aino (whose husband Leo had been deported to Siberia in 1950) with her three small children lived on the farm. Finally, in 1951 Bertha joined the kolkhoz.

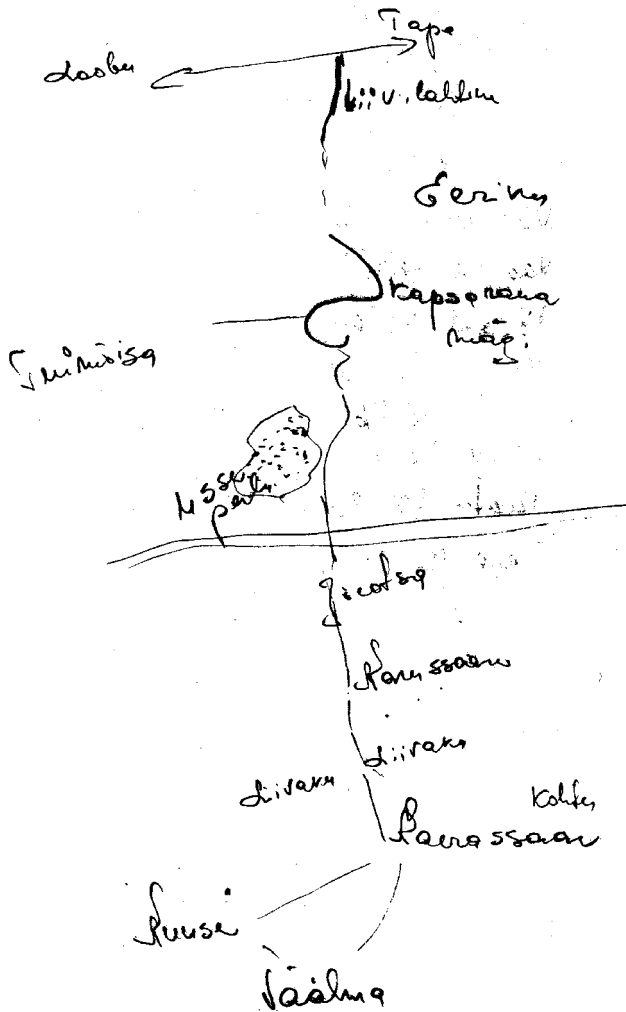


Figure 3. Road to Väälima from Eeriku (Anne Ilves, born 1947).

The kolkhoz cultivated the lands until the end of the 1950s, but as it was a remote and not too fertile place, the fields were gradually turned into grasslands and in the early 1960s stray calves destroyed Bertha's small garden. Bertha herself had only a goat then...

In 1964, Bertha finally gave in, took her goat and moved to Aino's place in Kadrina. The kolkhoz and later Lahemaa National Park mowed the grasslands. The house stood empty until 1973, when Bertha's son Konstantin took the house apart and built it up again in Rakvere.

That was the physical end of Vääлма. Bertha herself died in Rakvere in her house in 1981. Still, as often as possible someone went to visit the place. Now it lives only in memories (see Fig. 2 and 3) and stories. First the narratives describe the demolition of the buildings, later the abandonment of the whole area.

"Bertha had had a piano she used to play. When she left, it was impossible to take it with her. All furniture was left behind and gradually stolen. The last time I saw the piano in the garden. The last pillagers were the Russian soldiers from Kõnnu. For a long time it stayed in the room, but once we went there and it was in the garden, it had no legs and it was completely destroyed." (Hinge Rosenberg.)

But the place also lives in dreams. Here are two of Bertha's grandchildren, Hinge Rosenberg and Aili Paal, telling their dreams:

Hinge: The strangest thing is that some years ago all the time I continuously dreamed of Vääлма.

Aili: I told Piret that I also dreamed about Vääлма, that someone was living under the floor there.

Hinge: I dreamt that there was a bunker beneath the living room and there were things and stuff. There is no house anymore and I dream. Last time when I saw the house the floor of the living room was awry and in one end of the room it had tilted off the joist.

Aili: And I have seen the same dream that people lived not in the house, but in a cellar beneath the house. Some strange people have been there. And then I have seen that we were going there with Dad, and someone was there and I was afraid of some stranger or the place where they lived.



Figure 4. The last winter of Vääлма, 1973.

Conclusions

To replace a summary, let us reproduce here the four conclusions Jones (1991) made about landscapes. First, the concept of landscape has several layers of meaning. Second, there are several unsolved conflicts embedded in the term *landscape*, such as between collective access and individual control, between objective and subjective, between mental and material. Third, the terms *landscape* and *nature* are closely linked. And finally, the terms *nature*, *landscape* and *cultural landscape* can be interpreted only in a historically specific social and cultural context.

Väälma is just one place in Estonia, so important for some people, but nothing special for so many others. The surviving stories tell us that once there had been an impressive place that meant a lot to the local inhabitants. The above-mentioned places and named fields and meadows were significant to people who used to live there. They struggled to gain that place for themselves and lost it, and they still recall it even though nature has taken its space back by losing the landscape and places that had been familiar to the human beings.

Finally, a cultural landscape can be completely erased only when the last story dies.

References

- A r o l d, Ivar 1991. *Eesti maastikud*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus
- C o s g r o v e, Denis E. 1984. *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press
- D a n i e l s, Stephan; C o s g r o v e, Denis E. 1988. Iconography and Landscape. – *The Iconography of Landscapes: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*. Eds. Denis Cosgrove, Stephan Daniels. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1–10
- E E 1992 = *Eesti Entsüklopeedia*, Vol. 6. Tallinn: Valgus
- E m m e l i n, Lars 1996. Landscape Impact Analysis: A Systematic Approach to Landscape Impacts of Policy. – *Landscape Research*, Vol. 21, pp. 13–35
- E N E 1973 = *Eesti Nõukogude Entsüklopeedia*, Vol. 5. Tallinn: Valgus
- G r a n ö, Johannes Gabriel 1922. Eesti maastikulised üksused. – *Loodus*, Vol. I, no. 2, pp. 105–123; no. 4, pp. 193–214; no. 5, pp. 257–281
- G r a n ö, Johannes Gabriel 1924. Maastikuteaduse ülesanded ja maastiku vormide süsteem. – *Loodus*, Vol. III, no. 4, pp. 171–190

- Isachenko 1991 = А.Г. Исаченко. *Ландшафтоведение и физико-географическое районирование*. Москва: Высшая школа
- Johnston *et al.* 2000 = R.J. Johnston, Derek Gregory, Geraldine Pratt, Michael Watts (Eds.). *The Dictionary of Human Geography*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers
- Jones, Michael 1991. The Elusive Reality of Landscape. Concepts and Approaches in Landscape Research. – *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift*, Vol. 45 (4), pp. 153–169
- Kestri, Tarja 1990. The Study of Change in Cultural Landscapes. – *Fennia*, Vol. 168, no. 1, pp. 31–115
- Kildema, Kallio; Masing Viktor 1966. Maastikuteaduse arenguteest. – *Eesti Loodus*, no. 5, pp. 257–263; no. 6, pp. 321–328
- Milkov 1973 = Ф.Н. Мильков. *Человек и ландшафты*. Москва: Мысль
- Naveh, Zev 1995. Interactions of Landscapes and Cultures. – *Landscape and Urban Planning*, Vol. 32, pp. 43–54
- Naveh, Zev 2000. What is Holistic Landscape Ecology? A Conceptual Introduction. – *Landscape and Urban Planning*, Vol. 50, pp. 7–26
- Owrig, Kenneth R. 2002. *Landscape, Nature and the Body Politic: From Britain's Renaissance to America's New World*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press
- Pasii, Anssi 1984. Connections Between J.G. Granö's Geographical Thinking and Behavioural and Humanistic Geography. – *Fennia*, Vol. 162 (1), pp. 21–31
- Planing, Hannes 1998. *Landscape Changes in Estonia: The Past and the Future*. *Disser. Geogr. Univ. Tartuensis* 6. Tartu: Tartu University Press
- Planing, Hannes; Kur, Egle 2000. Kultuurmaastik: mõiste, analüüs ja tõlgendamine. – *Inimesed, ühiskonnad ja ruumid. Inimgeograafia Eestis. Tartu Ülikooli Geograafia Instituudi Toimetised* 87. Eds. Jussi S. Jauhainen, Hill Kulu. pp. 140–151
- Planing, Hannes; Mander, Ülo 2000. Maastiku muutused Eestis. – *Kaasaegse ökoloogia probleemid VIII: Loodusteaduslikud ülevaated Eesti Maa Päeval*. Ed. Toomas Frey. Tartu, pp. 169–179
- Planing, Hannes; Mander, Ülo; Kurs, Ott; Sepp, Kalev 2000. The Concept of Landscape in Estonian Geography. – *Estonia. Geographical Studies*, pp. 154–169
- Reimers 1990 = Н.Ф. Реймерс. *Природопользование. Словарь-справочник*. Москва: Мысль
- Rosaare, Jüri 1989. Miks ei täitunud maastikuteadusele asetatud suured lootused. – *Looduslikud protsessid ja inimõju Eesti maastikes. E. Markuse 100. sünniaastapäevale pühendatud nõupidamise ettekannete lühikokkuvõtted*, Tallinn–Tartu, pp. 44–47
- Rosaare, Jüri 1994. Physical Geography in Estonia: Bridging Western and Eastern Schools of Landscape Synthesis. – *GeoJournal*, Vol. 33 (1), pp. 27–36
- Sauer, Carl Ortwin 1925. The Morphology of Landscapes. – *University of California Publications in Geography*, Vol. 2 (2), pp. 19–54
- Tambek, Aino 1983. Väälna talust läbi aegade ja üldjoontes Metsakülast. Manuscript at the Estonian National Museum

- T a m m e k a n n, August 1933. Eesti maastikutüübid. – *Eesti Loodusuurijate Seltsi Aruanded* XXXIX, pp. 3–21
- T a r v e l, Enn 1983. *Lahemaa ajalugu*. Tallinn: Eesti Raamat
- V a r e p, Endel 1985. Ajaloolis-geograafilisi märkmeid asustuse kujunemisest Lahemaa Rahvusparki lõunaosas. – *Lahemaa uurimused* II. Ed. I. Etverk. Tallinn: Valgus, pp. 5–20
- V o s, Willem; M e e k e s, Herman 1999. Trends in European Cultural Landscape Development: Perspectives for a Sustainable Future. – *Landscape and Urban Planning*, Vol. 46, pp. 3–14

Abbreviations

- EAA – The Estonian Historical Archives
ERM – Estonian National Museum