

Department of Estonian and Comparative Folklore

Department of Ethnology,
University of Tartu



Studies in Folk Culture

Volume III

Everyday Life and Cultural Patterns

International Festschrift
for Elle Vunder

Tartu 2004

Studies in Folk Culture

Studies in Folk Culture

Volume 1

Everyday Life and Cultural Practice
in the American West

Edited by [Name]

UNIVERSITY PRESS

Department of Estonian and Comparative Folklore,
Department of Ethnology,
University of Tartu

Studies in Folk Culture

Volume 3

Everyday Life and Cultural Patterns
International Festschrift for Elle Vunder

Ed. by Ene Kõresaar & Art Leete



TARTU UNIVERSITY
PRESS

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Supported by the Estonian Cultural Endowment, the Development Foundation of the vice-rector of the University of Tartu, Ministry of Education and Research of Estonia (state targeted project "The Discourse of Everyday Life and the Dialogue of Cultures", and the project "Everyday Culture: Aspects of Terminology and Critics of the Sources" of the state program "Estonian Language and National Memory").

Editorial address:

University of Tartu

Phone: +372 7 375 654

Fax: + 372 7 375 310

E-mail: artleete@hotmail.com

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ISSN 1736-1192

ISBN 9985-56-978-4

Tartu University Press

www.tyk.ut.ee

Order nr 503

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Introduction

The third issue of the series “Studies in Folk Culture” ensures the consistency and continuity of publishing the journal. The publication of the journal, jointly by the Department of Estonian and Comparative Folklore and the Department of Ethnology of the University of Tartu, is of great symbolic importance, reflecting current academic processes taking place in Estonia. We do not aim at dividing academic disciplines dealing with culture issues, but rather, we try to reach a new quality of examining the cultural processes of different peoples through interdisciplinary cooperation. Among Estonian ethnologists, Prof. Elle Vunder has played a central role over the last ten years, and the research topics addressed in this issue have also been her major research work.

In 1965–1968, Elle Vunder was a researcher at the State Ethnography Museum (presently the Estonian National Museum) and in 1971–1988, she was the research director at the Estonian Open Air Museum. During these years and afterwards, E. Vunder has also done scientific research at the Institute of History, ESSR Academy of Sciences. She has been connected with the University of Tartu since the year 1989, in 1994 E. Vunder was elected the Professor of Ethnology of Tartu University.

The current volume “Everyday Life and Cultural Patterns” includes the articles by Professor Elle Vunder’s colleagues, friends and students. The book consists of four parts, each of them addresses a certain field of Elle Vunder’s scientific activity.

Everyday life of traditions

The first part of the volume is most directly connected with Elle Vunder's long-term research interests. The links between daily routine and traditions have a central role in understanding and analysing folk culture, the aspect, which has also been highlighted by many other researchers. Many of the authors in this volume have also addressed these issues.

It is a real pleasure for us to start the volume with the article by Professor **Bo Lönnqvist** (Jyväskylä). For a long time, he has been a friend and supporter of the Department of Ethnology, Tartu University. Bo Lönnqvist analyses these problems from the position of the foreigner who has come into contact with the revitalisation of Estonian manor culture in the 1990s.

Lönnqvist's approach is intriguing. He poses a question: how is it possible that Estonians are now proud of the culture that they perceived to be a feudal and oppressive system in Estonia and a hindrance to the development of the country only 70 years ago? What is modern Estonia searching for in this period of history? What has attracted more attention and what has been neglected?

Lönnqvist provides an overview of the manor culture studies and memoirs of landlords during the 1990s, showing that the current wave of the revival and "return" of manor culture in Estonia is part of the post-communist reconstruction of Europe. The author also points out the difference between the aristocratic culture in its modern Estonian form and the life of the nobility that is preserved in the recollections of the exile Balts. Contemporary Estonia emphasises the collective. Thus, the history of the nobility and the buildings represent a European cultural form that should be preserved. The texts published in Germany, however, represent the individual family memories of something that can never be regained.

Prof. Emer. **Nils-Arvid Bringéus** (Lund) proceeds with the subject of legal protection of wooden buildings in Sweden in the 20th century and current heritage protection trends. As with Elle

Vunder, the author has long museum work experience (see Vunder 1976, 1982; Vunder & Paiken 1982). The author shows, among other things, how the accentuation of heritage protection – being, for example, technical in Sweden, but aesthetic in Denmark – affects the overall looks of urban areas. Bringéus also analyses the guarantees made both privately (by individuals) and conceptually (national or regional concepts) following the architectural heritage protection principles. The author also shares his personal experiences on how to combine and mix protection of architectural heritage and today's comfort and convenience, the topical issue also in present-day Estonia.

Professor **Attila Paládi-Kovács** (Budapest) provides an analysing overview of the guild traditions in Hungary and the impact of nomadic craftsmen on Hungarian folk culture. Elle Vunder has examined the changes in traditional folk art on the basis of the routes of nomadic craftsmen in Estonia (Vunder 1990, 1992ab, 1993a, 1994d). Paládi-Kovács dissects the daily routine of nomadic craftsmen and the impact of the phenomenon on the overall processes of everyday life in Central and Eastern Europe. From the late Middle Ages to the late 19th – early 20th century, the guild system and guild customs have linked Hungary to European industrial society. Journeying enabled the countries of Eastern Central Europe to keep pace, to adopt new technical knowledge and innovations and to follow the currents of European civilisation. Journeying contributed to the spread of technical innovations. Besides the specialised knowledge of their trade, the itinerant journeymen spread the traditions of guilds and industrial society, as well as old and new customs, forms of behaviour and fashions of the urban middle class. This involved not only furniture styles and clothing fashions but also the teachings of Protestantism, the ideals and organisational forms of anti-capitalist movements and even the middle-class taste for coffee and tea.

While Professor Paládi-Kovács deals with the role of nomadic craftsmen in the innovation processes of folk art in the Central Europe, Professor **Art Leete** (Tartu) studies the modernisation processes initiated by the state among native peoples of the Soviet

North in the 1920–40s. Professor Elle Vunder has analysed modernisation processes in peasant culture in Estonia (Vunder 2001, 2003a). At first sight, these processes seem to have a lot of similarities between them, yet the subjects of the state's leading role and the peasants' reactions to it have not been researched thoroughly (presumably because researchers were convinced of the progressive nature of progress and the need for it). Art Leete addresses, in his article, the ideological project involving settlement, medicine and hygiene issues. Sedentarisation, introducing professional medical care and a "civilised" hygiene were materialistic projects of the Soviet authorities that, to a great extent, were meant to change the worldview and identity of indigenous peoples of the North. The idea is in accordance with a materialistic viewpoint on the effects of basic material factors of culture on its mental, spiritual aspects. The aim of this paper is to give an overview of the descriptions of northern peoples' medicine, hygiene and houses by the Soviet authors in the 1920–40s, and also describe their ideas concerning the reforms aimed to change the situation in these fields. The author examines the impact of these "little reform projects" on northern peoples' lives and worldview and also the role of these reforms in provoking resistance among northern indigenous groups.

The first part of the volume concludes with Professor **Oudi Tuomi-Nikula's** (Pori) survey of traditional handicraft as tradition and invention. The link between the author and E. Vunder is their long-term interest and passion for traditional handicraft (Vunder 1968, 1969, 1972, 1973, 1981, 1983, 1988, 1990, 1992ab, 1993ab, 1994cd, 1996a). Because of her interest in the relations between tradition, innovation and invention, Vunder has posed the question about the 'traditionality' of Estonian folk costumes and folk art, in general, in the context of nationality in the 20th century (Vunder 1994c, 1997a, 1998cd). Professor Tuomi-Nikula's article offers an intriguing insight into the concept 'traditional handicraft', involving related and relevant concepts, and the author asks: How to understand traditional folk art nowadays (in Finland), how traditional craftsmen themselves see it and whether 'traditional

handicraft' is an apt term for some of their works. As an example, take the project carried out in Satakunta, Finland. The author shows how complex is the modern interpretation of "traditional handicraft", if both notion and practice are considered. The author claims that there will be no more 'traditional handicraft' in its original meaning in the future. Its essential characteristics – continuity within families and generations, as well as regionality – belong to the past, and the concept itself has also changed. Therefore, Tuomi-Nikula suggests that new contemporary terms should be introduced to illustrate these changes, proposing the term "traditional products", to differentiate them from pieces of fine art and design.

Culture and memory patterns

Nowadays, traditional handicraft is one of the sources and objects of nostalgia, the idea that has found its expression also in ethnological research in Estonia – both in how research objects are defined and how research and fieldwork are being carried out (Vunder 1998ac, 1999, 2000, 2003b). At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, the study of Estonian (and, more broadly, East European) folk culture took as its starting point a Herderesque 'going to the roots,' approach and was tightly interwoven with an awakening nationalism. At the beginning of the 20th century, the idea of preserving peasant culture grew out of the perception of urban intelligentsia claiming that folk culture was an important resource for national liberation and the rediscovery of cultural identity. In traditional culture, they saw a past characterised by harmony and closeness to nature. Folk art and traditional folklore genres have come to represent Estonian national culture throughout the 20th century and across a range of ideologies and political systems. This includes the fact that culture deemed 'authentically Estonian' in the nationalist campaigns of the 1930s and in the folklore movement beginning in the 1970's, as well as

what, according to official Soviet cultural politics, was referred to as 'socialist in content, national in form'. Even though ethnology underwent a great methodological development since becoming a scholarly discipline in the 1990s, Estonian ethnologists still implicitly regarded national culture as a vanishing but harmonious and timeless resource, which in its authentic form belonged to the era preceding the 20th century, which was modified and began its decline at the turn of the 19th century, in the context of industrialisation and urbanisation, and which was almost completely destroyed by the Soviet occupation. (cf. Viires, Vunder 1998)

In her article "Everyday Life, Objects, and Nostalgia" **Pirjo Korkiakangas** (Jyväskylä) analyses everyday life interpretations of Finnish researchers and their connections with nostalgia. The author claims that there have been relatively few changes in how people see the role of an ethnologist in society over the decades. The ethnologist is expected to keep abreast of the times and any attendant changes, but simultaneously probe into the past. The strengthening of cultural identity is the starting point for ethnologists as preservers, recorders, and researchers, based on the past and a respect for historical actors. The description of essential tasks associated with the peasant way of life and their realisation contains – in the light of modernity – the ingredients needed to foster nostalgia: everyday issues were manageable and everyday living was simple and rarely questioned. Pirjo Korkiakangas outlines the essential methodological questions which arise during a thorough examination of the concepts of everyday life and folk culture and their links with nostalgia: What are we talking about when we talk about "ordinary everyday life", what it involves, how do we experience it and is it worthy of remembrance, longing or nostalgia?

The second half of Pirjo Korkiakangas' article deals with nostalgia and recollections concerning objects. The author shows how objects carry along with them memories and personal histories and "loading" objects with nostalgia has become now a conscious strategy and common practice on the level of everyday life. The object becomes the site of recollection, an expression of an

individual or collective past, whereas modes of recollection vary amongst different cultures, communities, groups, families, and age groups.

Estonian ethnologists and folklorists introduced the term 'memory' to analyse the identity processes in the newly independent Republic of Estonia. The aspects of individual and collective experiences, their interpretation and identity establishment have been among the key issues of ethnological memory studies since the end of the 1990s (Vunder, Anepaio, Kõresaar 1998). The research aspect of real-life events based narrative, called *pärimuslik ajalugu* (oral popular history) was simultaneously developed in the folklore studies in Estonia.

The issue concludes with **Tiiu Jaago's** (Tartu) article "Popular History as Interpretation in the View of Oral Popular History Research". Her long-term research topic has been time as a structural part of the narrative and establishment of relationships between the narrative and time. As a folklorist, the author is particularly interested in the dynamics of oral tradition – the balance between stability and change. In her article, she draws two stories of the place into a closer analysis. One of them is a popular settlement history from the Soviet times, the other one is written 10 years after Estonia regained its independence. Comparing the choices made in both stories from the perspective of generations, the author claims that, although in general tonality, the hidden or outspoken denial of the Soviet period is evident in both stories, the emphasis in them differ greatly. Firstly, in the distance of time, the narrative is supplemented by meanwhile experiences and events, as well as from the period of writing it, thus emphasising the political aspects of the story. And secondly, through storytelling one's opinions and texts are schematised, elaborated, in dialogue with different opinions and other texts. In such a way, every generation gives not only an account of events to folklore, but also the story of thought.

Ene Kõresaar (Tartu) proceeds from the subject matter elaborated by the previous writer: the dialogue between time and other attitudes and texts. The author analyses the impact of the

dominant interpretation of history and life of the Stalinist Period in Estonia – a disruption if cultural aspects are considered. Kõresaar claims that concurrently with other narrative periods, the stories have also impact on the public and autobiographical interpretation of these periods. Rupture as a narrative template has a long history in the historiography, culture and literature of a nation, which finds its expression in the multi-level intertextuality of life stories. The “disrupted culture” of the life stories of Estonians, in the first place, involves immeasurable human suffering in Siberia and cultural conflict relating to the Soviet Occupation. ‘The disrupted mirror’ reflects the previous period as an age of national unity and harmony; yet the period of mature socialism following to it is wide open to all kinds of controversial interpretations, from both public and private perspectives.

Interpretations in everyday life

The third part of the issue involves the subject of interpretations and modes of interpretation. Against the background of current ethnological research in Estonia, sometimes we forget that interpretation as an ethnological method and field of research – and a way of being for an individual – has been used in Estonian ethnological research for only a relatively short period of time. We should also recall that Elle Vunder, being the only Professor of Ethnology in Estonia, has valued the interpretation-centred approach in ethnological research (Vunder 1999; 2003b).

The articles of this part of the issue deal with the interpretation as a practice of ‘everyday living’. Professor **Klaus Roth** (Munich) introduces the subject by asking the question: How and which strategies or practices “make” mixed marriages function? In Estonian ethnology, unfortunately, the subject of mixed marriages has not been researched much (probably “thanks” to the ideological load of the subject until recently). Here, Elle Vunder has done pioneer work by studying family relations in the town of Võru –

with two nationality groups in it – within the Finnish-Estonian joint project at the beginning of the 1990s (Grigorjeva & Vunder 1994; Vunder 1994a; 1994b). Klaus Roth, on the other hand, dissects the seemingly trivial matter of food, choice and preparation of food in mixed families. For an individual, family meals help form his/her personality through enculturation and socialisation processes taking place there. Roth outlines that the conditions affecting eating behaviour in mixed families – either towards harmony or else conflict – can be structured through space, social, time and culture dimensions. What are they having for dinner is in most cases also the matter of power, as the rejection of the partner's preferences for food can also indicate the disapproval of his/her country, culture and person itself. Mixed families develop the so-called culinary co-existence practices, as with multi-national countries in religious and ethnic matters – either domination of one cuisine, mixing two cuisines – the so-called hybridisation, or development of some new way of cooking. In a globalising world with more and more cultural contacts, these strategies would become the essential strategies of everyday life.

Klaus Roth, then, analysed how to set and go beyond the limits of eating habits in multicultural families. The words 'limit' and 'area' have the same – in a broad sense conceptual meaning – as in the next article "The Ethnography of Horizontality and Verticality" by Professor **Ilmari Vesterinen** (Helsinki & Jyväskylä). Both of them are issues of profound undercurrents, mental matters, ways of life, the linguistic world, human relationships, behaviour, and intercultural encounters.

Professor Vesterinen examines the life of the inhabitants of Japanese villages based on empirical material through the areas bound by ancestors. The objective is to see where forefathers are encountered and how the horizontal and vertical dimensions appear in Japanese villages through the ancestors.

In ethnology, everyday practices express themselves through cultural patterns and rituals, some of which are of vital importance to people. Professor **Gustav Andersson** (Oslo), in his article "Rituals around Unexpected Death" analyses diverse issues linking

everyday life and key issues. What happens then if death occurs at some earlier phase of life than that more normally expected, and not at a far distant time in people's everyday lives? This will most often be a sudden and unexpected death. How do the deceased person's nearest family, friends and acquaintances manage to cope with this?

This study has concentrated on the ritual actions and patterns that sudden death gives rise to among relatives, friends and acquaintances. These are, of course, deeply tragic situations in which ritual observances may be of vital importance in carrying on with life even when faced with traumatic experience. Ritual actions can aid in lessening the state of shock and in adjusting to the event in connection with the grieving process. This study has stressed episodes from recent years where one can find numerous innovations dealing with the management of sudden grief. Ritual patterns manifest themselves and can be seen as being in obvious contrast to earlier traditions. These have also been taken into account in this study, so that both change and continuity over time can be more clearly observed.

Professor **Pekka Leimu** (Turku) in his article "On the Origin of Turku Species" demonstrates that ethnology can also be a great deal of fun to interpret the evolution of everyday theories. Professor Leimu outlines how intercultural relations are explained by genetic factors, claiming that to be one of the present-day forms of cultural behaviour. Professor Leimu introduces a popular theory (with some ambitions of scientific research) of the influence of Russian soldiers on the deviating blood group of Turku citizens. This idea has been proposed by Eero Mustakallio, Professor of Serology and Bacteriology at Turku University. This theory of the frequency of blood group B in Turku as a consequence of the former Russian garrisons was taught as a fact in the schooling of local tourist guides. This information was published in the newspaper *Turun Sanomat* in July when everybody was on vacation. Therefore, the newspapers just did not have enough material, and so obviously just for this reason the newspaper published this article about a series of lectures delivered long ago.

And this has been the initiation of the story about the connection between the frequency of blood group B in Turku and the Russian garrisons in our tourist industry.

Opening Perspectives

The last part of the issue outlines the historical perspectives of ethnology, involving both past and future aspects. Professor Elle Vunder, representing the historical aspect, in her works on Estonian ethnology has emphasised the nationality-centred approach of Estonian ethnology, and the presence of the wider historical aspect within the context of the history of European ethnology.

Professor **Ülo Valk** (Tartu) in his article “On the Discursive Foundations of Estonian Folkloristics: a Farmer’s Field of Vision” examines the development of Estonian folkloristics in the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century. He claims that, just as in other European countries, the birth of Estonian folkloristics was connected with the permanent changes in rural society and the decline of the traditional world of peasants, which was idealised as the foundation of the emerging nation. It became necessary to collect folklore in order to save it from oblivion and to store it as a resource for the cultural developments in the future. Professor Valk concludes that the farmer’s vision was inevitable in early development of folkloristics in the 19th century and was prescribed by the needs and interests of the agricultural society, oriented towards economic success and growth. Yet the author suggests that his present manifestations should be handled with analytical care and precaution.

In the 1990s, when Estonian ethnology widened its subject areas and strengthened its institutional framework (Vunder 1996b, 1999, 2003b), an argument among the ethnologists in Estonia emerged over the nationality-centred approach and anthropology with more universal goals, the issue that did not receive much

public attention. The ethnology of Estonia has been, in the first place, a comparative discipline, focused on material heritage in earlier times, and later on theoretical and methodological issues. Professor **Bjarne Rogan** (Oslo) in his article claimed the question of comparative material and the need for a common theoretical framework were the two major incentives for international cooperation in European ethnology. Based upon the relationships between *la Commission Internationale des Arts Populaires* (CIAP) and the League of Nations, the author explains that, paradoxically, the national aspects of culture – or the national specificity of the discipline’s object of study – have been both an incentive and a hindrance to international cooperation. Regional or national cultures may be a source of conflict as well as a medium for mutual sympathy.

In the 1990s, the ethnology of Estonia was facing a crisis. Elle Vunder has explained the changes in the ethnology of Estonia in terms of paradigm shift, from a subject-centred approach to a problem and context-centred approach, from single cultural phenomena to culture as a whole, from the outside realm of culture producers towards groups and individuals (i.e. towards experience-centred reality) (Vunder 1999, 2000, 2003b).

Anu Kannike (Tallinn) analyses in her article the phenomenon called the crisis of representation in (Estonian) museology and the ways to overcome these difficulties. The author notes that when speaking about topical issues in contemporary museology, one often uses the expression “a crisis of representation”. The crisis of representation is actually a broader historical phenomenon encompassing all ideas associated with disciplining and consecrating acts. It seems that this crisis has especially afflicted the major ethnological and national history museums that have been part of the “nation-building” process. The values of traditional museums have lost their credibility since all formerly fundamental assumptions on identity, history, nation and place have become suspect. Somewhat later than in anthropology, the understanding emerged in museology that the notions so far constituting the framework of expositions are not objective entities.

Anu Kannike notes that, among other things, a wider geographical perspective has returned and is often used as a contrasting tool to interpret local and national experiences. With this, in a way we get back to the article by Bjarne Rogan claiming that the method of comparison as means of international and supranational cooperation is still of paramount importance, moreover, it is gaining new ground in current ethnological research.

Professor **Marianne Gullestad** (Oslo/Tromsø) in her article “The Scholar as a Public Intellectual. Reflections Based on Anthropological Studies in Norway” writes about the reflections on how the vulnerability expressed in ‘internal’ scholarly discussions about the representation of fieldwork might relate to the interrelations between scholarship and society, and in particular the falling status of scholarship. This paper touches upon several questions connected with the power aspects of the production and use of knowledge. How do we justify intervening in other people’s lives? How do we base our claims to knowledge? Whose problems are examined? Whose interests do we serve? How do we communicate our results to a wider audience etc.? The article concludes that there are some very real dilemmas involved in giving up established sources of power in order to obtain both deeper insights and new forms of legitimate scholarly authority. These dilemmas cannot be solved in the abstract. They can only be solved in *lived and reflexive practice*.

Editors of this collection are grateful to all Elle Vunder’s colleagues whose contributions have provided a book that builds a link between many different ethnological perspectives on culture and everyday life. We are also indebted to our colleagues and friends who assisted the publication of this issue. We would also like to thank the Ministry of Education and Research of Estonia (state program “Estonian Language and National Memory” (the project “Everyday Culture: Aspects of Terminology and Critics of the Sources” and the target financed project “The Discourse of

the Dialogue of Cultures”, TFLKN0531) for their support in the preparation of this volume.

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Part I.
Everyday Life of Traditions

The Renaissance of the Baltic German Estates

Bo Lönnqvist, Jyväskylä

Amidst a blazing war the book *Baroner, bönder och bolsjeviker i Estland* ('Barons, Peasants and Bolsheviks in Estonia') was published in Stockholm and printed in Helsinki in 1943. This is a stirring depiction of the Baltic German nobility's struggle to preserve their 700-year-old culture and their estates during the first period of Estonian independence (1918–1940), i.e. from the agrarian reform in the beginning of the 1920s to the definitive watershed in 1939. The author, major, and farmer Carl Mothander (b. 1886 in Stockholm) married Baroness Benita Wrangel (b. 1878 in Reval) in 1929 at the Tois (Tohisoo) estate near Kohila. The couple were able to run the estate courageously until their flight to Stockholm in the autumn of 1940.

When the author of these lines visited Tallinn (Reval) in May 1998 and stepped into the Cathedral at Toompea, a guide lectured a group of tourists from Sweden. She told us proudly about the families whose coats of arms hung on the walls in rows and mentioned for instance the Wrangel family and all the estates the family owned in Estonia. She also referred to Mothander's book, which was translated into Estonian in the 1990s and is now according to the guide an indispensable source of information about life on the estates.



Figure 1: The Cathedral in Tallinn contains a large amount of the old nobility's funeral coats of arms. Christmas card 2002.

Why this new interest in a lost culture that was previously perceived to be a feudal and oppressive system in Estonia and a hindrance to the development of the country? The extensive agrarian reform in the 1920s meant that large estates were confiscated by the state, split up, and handed over to peasants without property. What is modern Estonia searching for in this period of history? What is especially emphasised and what is left to oblivion? Of the around 1100 manor houses from 1920, only a few remain in more or less good condition.

A vivid account of German cultural life can be glimpsed through the both romanticised and coarse reality that Mothander depicts as he throws light upon the gradual destruction of the large, Estonian farm estates in the 1930s. This was personified by the society that resided in the Toompea area of Reval, and whose survival strategies consisted in staying in truncated urban

apartments as well as trying to maintain overly large manor houses on a few hectares of land, something that became increasingly difficult to manage in the 1930s. Several estates were already expropriated in 1919 and converted into schools, hospitals, and factories. During the Soviet era the buildings deteriorated further and remain today as ruins. This is the case with for instance the von Liphardts' *Ratshof* (Raadi) estate near the city of Tartu and the Girard de Soucanton family's manor houses, Kunda and Jewe (Jõhvi) in Wierland (Virumaa). Another visible ruin is the Stackelberg family's *Mexhof* (Mäo) estate near Paide on the road to Tartu. A previous land reform in 1905 had begun the devastation. The lives of the old estate owner families in the 1920s consisted of a constant battle against poverty as well as an attempt to maintain human dignity. Mothander mentions amongst others Countess Elise Keller (b. von Roenne, 1862–1929), former proprietor of the Könda (Kõnnu) estate, who now lived in one of the oldest buildings in the city, in a single hall that was divided into six rooms with the help of cupboards. With the assistance of two elderly cousins from the von der Pahlen family, she managed to make a living baking gingerbread biscuits and making cigarettes. The gingerbread biscuits for instance did a roaring business as a delicacy at the embassies in Tallinn. Another manor lady was Countess Alexandra Kotzebue Pilar von Pilchau (1849–1943), former proprietor of the Meks (Ravila) and Pallfer (Pallvere) estates, which were expropriated in 1919. She entertained on Thursdays and received guests and even diplomats who discussed topical issues and played bridge. As for the countryside, Mothander writes about the von Meyendorff family at Kumna, who earned their livelihood by running a youth hostel in the summer and selling produce from their large commercial garden, which they stood and peddled themselves at the market in Reval. The interiors of the estate were a mixture of splendour and small wares, the past and the present, as well as a bohemian but cheerful life. The life of the Baltic nobility was perceived as something unavoidably anachronistic in the modern 1920s.

In today's Estonia, however, that which is left of the manor houses and the estates has been granted reparations in the form of the stamp of an aesthetic and cultural milieu. They seem to have become an element in the building of a new national identity. No one speaks hatefully about the Baltic barons anymore as their reputation is far surpassed by the terror of the Bolsheviks. Members of the nobility were also deported to Siberia and many of them lost their lives in camps during their flight to Germany in 1943. Even the management of the kolkhozes started to restore the main buildings in the 1970s and the 1980s and save that which could be saved.

Understandably enough, the scientific interest in the estates has chiefly been carried out by researchers of architecture and art. The art historian Helmi Üprus could be seen as a pioneer who ever since the end of the 1960s has published studies about the architecture of the estates. Inventories had apparently been undertaken considerably earlier.

The art historian Juhan Maiste (b. 1952) is very much of the same school. His book about the estates and manorial culture in Estonia (translated into Finnish in 1995) is an eloquent testimony to the changes in mentality that have occurred. The sweeping descriptions of architectural style, details of interior decoration and everyday life, language and style, conscious ambiguity and nostalgic exclamations all encourage the readers to reflect upon what a cultural form entails and to visit Estonia themselves. The pictures in Maiste's book depict large noble houses with wings decorated with family coats of arms, romantic parks with statues, summerhouses and mortuary chapels as well as farm buildings with big barns, hothouses, mills and workers' dwellings. Art collections and libraries are also mentioned, although nothing remains of them. Maiste has chosen to depict 35 of the over 800 inventoried estates. The selection has mainly been dictated by the chronological survey of styles, from the Middle Ages till the final blossoming of this culture at the turn of the 20th century. Although the political and socio-economic factors behind the establishment

of the estates are not the main focus, Maiste nonetheless creates a background and context here and there from these details.

From a Finnish perspective several of the estates are of interest by way of their cultural ties across the Gulf of Finland to Nyland (Uusimaa) The Padis (Padise) convent and estate in the fourteenth century owned the rights to salmon fishing in the Vanda estuary. The Estonian estates were also known through families that were related to the Finnish nobility and who after the First and Second World Wars were partly based in Finland. This applies to branches of the von Ungern-Sternberg, Hoyningen-Huene, von Buxhoeveden, Stackelberg, von der Pahlen and Rehbinder families. The Stenbock family's estate Kolk (Kolga) which comprised 17 000 hectares of land in 1919 and on which the family lived until 1939 was returned in very rundown condition together with 124,5



Figure 2: The Palms estate was owned by the von der Pahlen family from the end of the seventeenth century until the 1920s. The manor was built in 1697 and assumed its current appearance under the supervision of architect Johann Caspar Mohr in 1782–1785. Photo: Bo Lönnqvist 1988.

hectares of land to one of the Finnish head branches of the family in 1991. The estate was restored and a hotel opened. Another impressive estate in the late baroque style is Reggafer (Rägavere), built in the 1780s by H. H. von Kaulbars, and one of the first estates to be restored in the 1980s. It is still owned privately today.

Kolk is situated within the environs of the Lahemaa national park, east of Tallinn, on the road to Narva. The Saggad (Sagadi) estate, which was owned by the Fock family until 1939, is today a Teaching Center of Forestry and Museums. The centre of the national park consists of the Palms (Palmse) estate, which is the most well-preserved one as it was one of the first estates to be restored. The last owner of the von der Pahlen home sold the estate to the Estonian state in 1922; the inventory was dispersed at auctions, while the family portraits and a number of more valuable objects were brought to Germany. The restoration of Palms estate was carried out between 1976 and 1982, and the estate is now a tourist attraction. The German descendants of the former owners have donated part of the original inventory.



Figure 3: The Saggad Manor House was rebuilt in 1785 and restored in the 1980s with reconstructed interiors. Photo: Bo Lönnqvist 1988.

Maiste does not flinch from describing ravaged houses with wind blowing through them, such as Hördel (Hõreda), an impressive manor house in the style of classical baroque and built by the von Stahl family during 1800–1813. Buildings that have functioned as schools since the 1920s include for instance Grossenhof at Dagö (Hiiu-Suuremõisa, Stenbock-Stackelberg) and the Pirk estate, which was established by the von Uexküll family and restored in the 1980s on the initiative of the kolkhozes. Much of Maiste's book becomes architectural history although it also covers famous families and their contribution to political, economic and cultural life, through names such as Stackelberg, Toll, von Baranov, von Fersen, Rehnbinder, Wrangel, Rosen, and von Ungern-Sternberg. Various features of Swedish and Russian culture are also evident.

In a newer, impressively illustrated, and more scientific work published in 1996, Maiste presents Estonian estate architecture from the Middle Ages to the present day. Here the history of the manors, estate designs, parks and famous architects and artists as well as the shifts in the architectonic style of the buildings are at the centre of attention. Maiste ties the Estonian architecture to trends in Europe. The lost and reconstructed interiors such as the wall paintings and ornaments are also the subject of attention. One of the most impressive Enlightenment era manor houses, i.e. Faehna (Vääna, Stackelberg) is granted its proper chronological context. Maiste's work is also rendered valuable through its presentation of pictorial and documentary material that has lain forgotten in the archives. The colour photos show how the buildings were restored in the 1980s and how the interiors were recreated with the help of historicising furniture. The estate architecture experienced a final blossoming at the end of the seventeenth century through to the start of the First World War with palatial buildings in the style of historicism and art nouveau. The buildings were modelled on antecedents in, for instance, England and Scotland. The over 250 estates preserved under the auspices of the state are according to Maiste mainly of interest due to their architectonic history. In a future scenario, the buildings could serve as a centre for learning and culture, recreation,

economic life and agriculture. This process is already underway. The concise Guide to Manor Houses in Estonia compiled by Alfred Wells was published in 2001. It consists of '6 trips and 69 manor houses'. This is a handbook for those who wish to drive around the Estonian countryside and look at the manor houses. The Pädaste (Peddast) estate on the Muhu (Mohn) island, which previously belonged to the Buxhoeveden family, has been privately owned since 1996. A former farm building in granite now contains a hotel in the 'simple luxury' class. The double rooms have names such as von Rosen, Stackelberg, and Knorring. The most expensive room is the Buxhoeveden (the oldest noble family in Estonia) which is 141 euros per night in the summer. An admittance fee, which goes towards the restoration work on the main building, is collected from those who only wish to walk the grounds.



Figure 4: An example of the not yet restored manor houses is Pädaste. A hotel in 'simple luxury' class was established on the nearby grounds. Photo: Pirjo Korkiakangas 2002.

Another art historian who has described the Estonian manor houses is Ants Hein (b. 1952). His work such as his study of the Palms estate bears a stronger stamp of history, whether it is cultural or personal. The running of the estates as well as the role of the estate owners in Estonian economic life is under scrutiny here. Even the larger estates and their parks, chapels, cemeteries, annex buildings and peasant culture emerge clearly. We get to know about manor life itself through quotes from published memoirs from the beginning of the twentieth century (Anna v. Gruenewaldt) as well as from Carl Mothander's book! In 1917, the von der Pahlen family fled Bolshevik rule to Germany. Hein criticises the radical agrarian reform in 1919 and the complete devastation the Palms estate was subjected to during the 1930s. Hardly any other form of architectonic history sustained as much damage as the manor houses. In this sense, the establishment of the Lahemaa national park in 1971 was a kind of renaissance for the 'local cultural heritage'. The restoration of the Palms estate, which was practically a ruin at the time, was initiated with the help of a group of students. The estate had been used by the confectionery factory Kalev. In this way 'a slice of German Baltic art and cultural history gained a new life,' says Hein.

In 2002, Ants Hein published a volume of pictures comprising old photos of the estates taken during 1860–1939. It is mainly the main buildings at their most pristine that are on display here. The short histories are documents relating proprietary rights, but also tell something about the current use of the buildings. The book was realised with the support of the Cultural Endowment of Estonia and the Estonian Ministry of Culture. Among the initiators was Henning von Wistinghausen, who in 1991 took up the position of Germany's first ambassador in newly independent Estonia. During the 1990s, this man has done more than most to make the Baltic aristocratic culture once again known in Estonia and Europe. By way of his family, he himself has a connection to the Kolk estate and the Stenbock family.

In this way, the culture exiled and preserved mainly in Germany has 'returned' to contemporary Estonia. Thus, the main building of

the Palms estate was presented in conjunction with an exhibition on the von der Pahlen family and its related kin. In addition, the interiors of the house in the beginning of the twentieth century were presented with the use of photographs from the family archives in Germany.

The memoirs about life on the estates published in Germany have attracted increasing attention in tandem with the awakened interest in Estonian manorial culture. Henning von Wistinghausen, who has acted as chair for *Estländische Ritterschaft*, compiled private memories in 1993 for publication in a volume entitled *Zwischen Reval und St.Petersburg, Erinnerungen von Estländern aus Zwei Jahrhunderten*. These personal accounts of the estates, their people, and way of life, housekeeping and economy are, notwithstanding the changes during the twentieth century and the watershed of 1939, indispensable as a source so that the picture of the restored estates does not become just a romantic façade. Another important document regarding lifestyles, family circles, cultural interests, education and European contacts is the *Versunkene Welten* volume written by the renowned authoress Theophile von Bodiscos (1873–1944) and published in 1997 by von Wistinghausen. These are only a few examples.

Two hundred and eighty-two families were listed in the Estonian peerage book in the 1870s. Although the Baltic German population in Estonia never exceeded 10 per cent its influence was a dominant one, not only as estate owners but also within economy, administration, industry and banking. Due to the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact in 1939, around 14,000, i.e. most of the Baltic Germans were relocated to Germany. A few of these evacuees returned during the German occupation of 1941–44, but later had to flee the country once again. There is not much known about the German bourgeoisie in Estonia – i.e., the clergy, merchants, and artisans, some of whom had immigrated in the eighteenth century – although they helped to establish the urban culture of Estonia. However, this culture is not spectacular in the same way that the estates and the manor houses are.

Professor Elle Vunder has through her research projects on the different town districts in Tartu and their social structures and lifestyles, carried out a pioneering work when it comes to the mapping of the urban culture that emerged during the twentieth century. Here lifestyles are at the forefront, such as they developed within the Estonian majority population, albeit with features from an older bourgeois, German culture that socialism was not able to destroy.

There is a difference between the aristocratic culture in its modern Estonian form and the life of the nobility that is preserved in the recollections of the exile Balts. Contemporary Estonia emphasises the collective. Thus, the history of the nobility and the buildings represent a European cultural form that should be preserved. The texts published in Germany, however, represent the individual family memories of something that can never be regained.

Philosophers such as Hans Blumenberg have emphasised the necessary connection between memory and oblivion. Both these elements are part of modernity as humanity has freed itself from a society bound in tradition. Freedom would thus signify a constant alternation between memory and oblivion. Memory has the structure of a dream and moves into the same border zone where nothing is certain.

The Estonian authoress Viivi Luik has characterised the fifty years of Soviet occupation as a shorter period than a minute in the life of a human being. Similarly, Estonia became something of an alien and inexplicable country in Finland and Sweden and became so estranged that it is now perceived to be a newcomer in Europe. She emphasises that Estonia has never belonged to the Russian cultural sphere, but exclusively to the German cultural circle. Now this 'minute' has been erased and no one remembers the period of occupation anymore; that landscape cannot be restored and neither can the landscape before the period of the kolkhozes. It is as if nothing has happened and Estonia is back in the Baltic and Tallinn is once again a Hanseatic town.

One could here add that the Estonian estates exist once again. Estonia can regain a piece of its lost Europe through the restored manor houses, which are visible and permeate the landscape. Memory becomes a fundamental element whence building the bridge between the present and the past, although oblivion is always a driving force.

One of the most important challenges for European ethnology today lies in the documentation, analysis, and interpretation of how memory and oblivion engage in a chess game with each other.

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Schwedische Baudenkmäler und Baupflege. *Einige Beispiele*

Nils-Arvid Bringéus, Lund

Der gesetzliche Schutz

In Schweden wurden 1920 erstmals Schutzinstrumente für staatliche Baudenkmäler eingeführt. Ungefähr zur derselben Zeit erhielten Dänemark und Norwegen Bauschutzgesetze. Private Gebäude konnten in Schweden erst seit 1942 als Baudenkmäler geschützt werden. Die bauschützenden Einsätze konzentrierten sich anfangs auf die großen Monumente. Im Gesetz von Kulturdenkmälern haben wir die Regeln für den Schutz von kulturhistorisch wertvollen Gebäuden festgelegt. Um ein Gebäude zum Baudenkmal zu erklären, wird verlangt, dass es von besonderem kulturhistorischen Wert ist. Den Beschluss eines solchen Schutzes fällt das Landesamt, und es soll angegeben werden, wie man das Gebäude pflegen und unterhalten soll und in welcher Hinsicht man es nicht verändern darf. Der Besitzer bekommt eine Entschädigung vom Staat, wenn die Vorschriften ihm bedeutenden Schaden verursachen, zum Beispiel dadurch, dass er das Gebäude nicht abreißen darf oder wenn es ihm nun schwieriger wird, das Gebäude wie zuvor zu benutzen.

Einen Schutz von Schlössern und Herrenhöfen bot das so genannte Fideikommissgesetz. Es war undemokratisch insofern, als dass ein Erbe den größten Teil des Eigentums übernehmen durfte, wodurch er auch größere Möglichkeiten erhielt, es zu unterhalten, als wenn er es mit seinen Geschwistern in gleichem Maße teilte.

Die Abwicklung geschah ziemlich rasch durch ein Gesetz im Jahr 1964. Aber heute sind viele Schlösser verkauft, weil andere für Touristen geöffnet sind, oder sie sind zu Konferenzstättenlokale umgewandelt.

Durch das Plan- und Bauschutzgesetz (PBL) 1987 und das Kulturschutzgesetz ist die Bedeutung der Planierung der Kommunen für die Bau- und Bebauungspflege größer geworden. Man kann also sagen, dass der Bauschutz in Schweden auf drei unterschiedlichen Niveaus organisiert ist: zentral durch Gesetze und den Reichsantiquar, regional durch die Landesämter, die besondere Landesantiquare angestellt haben, und auf lokaler oder kommunaler Ebene, auf der es besondere Bauämter gibt. Meistens in dicht besiedelten Gegenden, aber auch auf dem Lande hat es eine so genannte Q-Markierung von Gebäuden stattgefunden. Ein großes Q markiert besonders schützenswerte Objekte, ein kleines q markiert in den Detailplänen, dass man Rücksicht auf die Gebäude nehmen soll, verhindert aber nicht deren Abriss. Es ist eine Markierung dafür, dass die Gebäude einen kulturhistorischen Wert haben. Dies offeriert aber keinen eigentlichen Gesetzesschutz. Deshalb wird verlangt, dass ein Gebäude zum Kulturdenkmal erklärt wird. Es erhält ein Schild, um dieses zu zeigen. In Schonen gibt es zum Beispiel etwa 150 geschützte Gebäude, von denen die Schlösser eine große Kategorie bilden, aber auch Windmühlen, Heimatmuseen, Pfarrhäuser oder ganze Gebiete wie Ramlösa-Brunn.

Der Reichsantiquar stellt jedes Jahr viele Millionen Kronen zur Verfügung, die die Landesämter als Beitrag zur Restaurierung von Gebäuden, die Privatpersonen gehören, verausteilen.

In dieser Geldsumme sind auch Mittel für antiquarische Überwachung eingeschlossen. Auch regionale Fonds verteilen Mittel für die Restaurierung von schützenswerten Objekten.

Die Ausbildung im Bau- und Bebauungsschutz findet an der Architekturhochschule in Stockholm statt, in Chalmers in Göteborg, und an den Architektursektionen an der Technischen Hochschule in Lund sowie an der Universität von Göteborg (bebauungsantiquarischer Zweig).

Während sehr langer Zeit hat aber die Architekturausbildung in Schweden eine technische Ausrichtung gehabt, während sie in Dänemark stärker ästhetisch ausgerichtet war. Dies hat zweifellos auch zu Konsequenzen für den Bauschutz führt. Man erkennt leicht, dass die kulturhistorische Baumilieus besonders in den Kleinstädten in Dänemark viel besser als in Schweden bewahrt erhalten sind.

Auf kommunale Anregung hin ist der Baubestand in den Städten und vielen Landeskommunen durch Fotografien und Beschreibung dokumentiert. Das ist der Fall in meiner Heimatkommune, in der das Kulturamt auch Schriften herausgegeben und Anweisungen zu speziell schützenswerten Bauobjekten gegeben hat.

Private Einsatze

Die Strukturumwandlung einer agrarer Agrargesellschaft zu einer Industriegesellschaft und in unseren Tagen zu einer Servicegesellschaft hat aber große Konsequenzen auch für das Bauwesen gehabt. Der Bestand von ganzen Bauernhöfen mit Wohnhäusern, Stadeln und Scheunen u.s.w. ist stark vermindert. Auch Wohnhäuser älteren Typs wie Pfarrhäuser, sind heutzutage im allgemeinen zu groß und zu teuer für die Pfarrer. Deshalb werden viele Pfarrhäuser verkauft.

Gewisse Gebiete verlieren, andere gewinnen an Attraktivität. Zu den letzteren gehört die Bebauung an den Küsten zum Beispiel in alten Fischerdörfern: oft werden so hohen Preisen bezahlt, dass die Erben die Häuser nicht behalten können, sondern verkaufen müssen. Manche solcher Ortschaften befinden sich in der Nähe von dicht besiedelten Ortschaften und können von Berufspendlern das ganze Jahr bewohnt werden. Die meisten können aber nur als Freizeitshäuser genutzt werden. Dies bedeutet, dass die Gebäude höchstens nur an wichtigen Feiertagen und in den Ferien genutzt werden. So erhält man eine doppelte Bevölkerung: die ständig dort Wohnenden und die Sommergäste. Die letzteren haben ein großes

Interesse an ihren Häusern. Dank der neuen Besitzer können die Häuser weiterleben, werden aber oft überrestauriert. Im südlichen Schweden werden Häuser immer häufiger von Dänen und Deutschen gekauft, die natürlich nicht mit den schwedischen Bautraditionen bekannt sind. Auch wenn man besondere Bedingungen an ausländische Käufer stellt, vergrößert sich die Liberalisierung. In Gebieten deren Bevölkerung abnimmt, sind die neuen Einwohner besonders willkommen.

Der Bau und Umbau sind in dicht bevölkerten Ortschaften den Bauämtern unterstellt, vielleicht aber noch stärker den Konjunkturen und Baumoden. Rein historisch können wir feststellen, dass gute Konjunktoren beispielsweise in den 1850er und 1870er Jahren eine starke Verbürgerlichung der Bauernhäuser auf dem Lande mit sich brachten. Während des 20. Jahrhunderts brachten speziell die fünfziger Jahre eine Abrisswut sowohl in größeren Städten wie auch in dicht bevölkerten Ortschaften mit sich. Es war die Zeit der großen Millionenprojekte. In den Grosstädten sind diese Projekte heutzutage soziale Problemgebiete geworden. Während einer guten konjunkturellen Situation entstehen Probleme. Hoffentlich hat man aber doch etwas von den früheren Abrissepochen gelernt.

Ideelle Einsatze

Für den wichtigsten Einsatze, was die Bewahrung von älteren profanen Gebäuden betrifft, zeichnet der ideelle Heimatschutz verantwortlich. Schon Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts wurden so genannte Altertumsvereine in verschiedenen Teilen des Landes eingerichtet, die in unterschiedlichen Weisen Denkmäler materieller als auch geistlicher Art zu bewahren versuchten. In Växjö wurde 1885 das erste kulturhistorische Museum unseres Landes eröffnet. Doch erst durch Artur Hazelius' Museen in Stockholm verstand man in stärkerem Ausmaß die Bedeutung der Bewahrung volkstümlicher Gebäude. Der Begriff Skansen, der eigentlich eine militärische Verteidigungsanlage bezeichnet, wurde sogar zum *terminus techni-*

cus für Freilichtmuseen in verschiedenen Teilen der Welt. Skansen wurde ein Vorbild, und Skansen wurde wie ein Schweden in Miniatur ausgeformt mit Gebäuden aus verschiedenen Teilen des Landes, von Lappland im Norden bis Schonen im Süden.

Quantitativ aber sollten die lokalen Heimatvereine größere Bedeutung für die Bewahrung der Baudenkmäler etwa seit den 1920er Jahren an bekommen. In den dicht besiedelten Wohngebieten wurden so genannte Heimatmuseen errichtet, und diese bestanden gewöhnlich aus einigen repräsentativen Gebäuden der lokalen Umgebung. Vor der Zeit der Automobile war es wichtig, dass sie zentral, am liebsten auch idyllisch belegen waren, gern an einen Waldhügel oder an einem See. Die meisten Gebäude wurden also an Freilichtmuseen übergeben. Die Prinzipien, welche Gebäude man auswählte, wechselten. Es konnten die ältesten, die größten oder die schönsten sein. Nicht selten gab es einen Wettbewerb zwischen den Gemeinden, was zu einem "Bewegungskarussell" führte. In meiner eigenen Heimatgemeinde erhielt man ein prächtiges Gebäude aus einem anderen Bezirk, dagegen holten einige andere Heimatvereine Gebäude von unserer Gemeinde. Die ökonomischen Möglichkeiten waren normalerweise gering. Selten hatte man Geld genug, einen ganzen Hof abzutransportieren, sondern man musste sich mit dem Wohnhaus begnügen. Nach dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs, als sich die Verhältnisse stabilisierten, wurden die Schweden mobiler. Die Zahl der Autos stieg an. Die Gebundenheit an einen zentral gelegenen Heimatpark – so wurden sie oft genannt – war nicht mehr so groß. Damit eröffneten sich auch Möglichkeiten, kulturhistorisch interessante Stätten und Gegenden *in situ* zu retten.

Als junger Student kam ich mit dem Fahrrad in ein kleines Dorf, mit dem Namen Ingeborrarp. Ich wollte Folklore sammeln und traf einen älteren Pächter auf seinem Hof. Er war damit beschäftigt die Scheune zu Kaffeeholz zu zersägen, und man hatte ihm den Vorschlag gemacht, auf einen moderneren Hof in der Nachbarschaft zu ziehen. Gemäß eines früheren Gesetzes war der Pächter und nicht der Grundbesitzer verpflichtet, die Gebäude zu unterhalten.



Foto 1: Der Ingeborrarphof. Von links Wohnhaus, Stadel, Scheune.
Foto: Sven Hjalmarson.

Auch wenn die Pachten von Vater zu Sohn vererbt werden konnten, war niemand daran interessiert, allzu große finanzielle Mittel in die Häuser anderer zu investieren. Die Pfarrer und ihre Sterbhäuser konnten kompensiert werden für so genannten Überbau – das heißt Gebäude, die nicht gesetzmäßig erforderlich waren –, die Bauern aber nicht. Der Ingeborrarphof war deshalb nur zum Teil unterhalten und es entstand ein sehr altertümlicher Eindruck. Die verschiedenen Häuser repräsentierten hier unterschiedliche Techniken: Stockwerk, Ständerbohlenbau, Fachwerk und Steingebäude, alle von unterschiedlichen Alters. Das Wohnhaus war das älteste, in Stockwerk-Technik ausgeführt. Zwar war es am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts modernisiert worden, indem ein inneres Dach eingelegt worden war, wodurch das Dachfenster keine Funktion erhielt, und deshalb sägte man Fenster in die

Wände. In der ursprünglichen Stube war eine Innenwand ausgeführt, so dass eine besondere Küche abgesondert war. Das Haus spiegelte aber im Prinzip das Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts wider, obwohl es teilweise hundert Jahre älter war. Der Punkt war jedoch, dass es wie die übrigen Häuser an seinem ursprünglichen Platz lag.

Unser Heimatverein konnte das Bauhaus pachten, weil die Stadel immer noch benutzt waren. Es war ein lebendiges Museum. Später durften wir den ganzen Hof pachten so wie die naheliegende im Hügel eingegrabene Stube. Es dauerte viele Jahrzehnte, die Häuser durch eine vorsichtige Restaurierung in guten Stande zu setzen. Wir hatten Möglichkeiten, Interieure vom Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts wieder einzurichten. Wir wählten diese Modelle, hätten vielleicht aber heute lieber den Hof so gezeigt, wie es war, als die letzten Hausbewohner wegzogen. Bei einem Generationenswechsel wurden viele Höfe verkauft. Ich hatte damals die Vision, nicht nur den Ingeborrarpshof, sondern auch noch zwei weitere Höfe zu retten. Die Kommune kaufte den Ingeborrarpshof, der Heimatverein einen naheliegenden Hof und ich selbst einen dritten, den ich mit Pietät restaurierte.

Die Kommune überließ später den Ingeborrarpshof dem Heimatverein, aber schon früher hatten wir alle offenen Felder ringsumher gepachtet, da diese mit Nadelholz bepflanzt werden sollten. Dann verpachteten wir diese Felder an Bauern in der Nachbarschaft. Wir hatten im Prinzip ein neues Museumskonzept gefunden. Wir hatten ältere Gebäude an ihrem ursprünglichen Platz und in ihrem ursprünglichen Milieu bewahrt. Einen wichtigen Bestandteil des ganzen Milieus bildeten die Steinzäune, zum größten Teil Resultat von den Kultivierungsbemühungen des 19. Jahrhunderts. Draußen auf den Feldern lagen immer noch Kultivierungsreste, die ältesten aus prähistorischer Zeit.

Die alten Gebäude in Ingeborrarp gewannen die Herzen der Menschen. Es gelang uns, einen jährlichen kommunalen Unterstützung zu erhalten, um sie in Stand zu halten. Mehrere Einkünfte erhielten wir zum Beispiel auch durch Bücherpublikationen und Mitgliederbeiträge. Doch hatten wir immer noch ein Problem. Die ursprüngliche, im Jahre 1945 umgesiedelte Heimatstube lag mehr

als zehn Kilometer entfernt und verfiel. Sie befand sich sehr idyllisch an einem Eichenhügel, doch kam niemand aus einem anderen Anlass dahin als zum Walpurgisfeuer. Die lokale Bevölkerung hatte während 50 Jahren die Stube geliebt und wollte sie nicht abgeben. Aber in einer Kommune von etwa 10.000 Einwohner war die Existenz zweier Heimatpark absurd. Die Majorität mit mir beschloss endlich, die Stube nach Ingeborrarp zu bringen, wo sie einen natürlichen Platz bekommen konnte und ein zeitgemäßes Bindeglied zwischen dem ältesten und dem jüngsten Hof repräsentierte. Aber Erfahrungen haben uns gelehrt, dass ein Gebäude benutzt werden muss. Menschen müssen in ihm sein können, ohne zu frieren, am besten das ganze Jahr. Wir verlegten eine moderne Isolierung unter den Boden und zwischen den Wänden. Wir hatten eine benutzbare Stube sowohl für den Heimatverein als museales Interieur, als auch für unseren Wirt bei größeren Bestellungen. Zur Erinnerung dokumentierten wir sowohl den Abriss als auch den Aufbau mit Videokamera. Alle waren zufrieden, doch hatten wir im Grunde unsern puristisches Prinzip, nur bodenständige Gebäude am ursprünglichen Ort zu bewahren, aufgegeben. Heimatschutz ist auch die Kunst des Möglichen. Elektrisches Licht, vorsichtig gelegt, und eine moderne Toilette, so platziert, dass man sie kaum sieht, gehörte auch zu den Kompromissen. Doch glaube ich, so ein derartiger Kompromiss ist natürlich. Häuser müssen nicht nur Kulisse sein, sie müssen benutzt werden, entweder für rekonstruierte Interieure oder Ausstellungen, aber auch für gesellschaftliche Zusammenkünfte.

In der Schmiede schmiedet der Schmied, wenn die Schulkinder zu Besuch kommen, in der Webstube webt die Weberin und am Bach wird Garn gefärbt. Und noch wichtiger: Auf den alten Feldern tummeln sich Pferde, Kühe, Schafe, Schweine, Hühner, Kaninchen und andere Haustiere älterer Abstammung. An einem Herbsttag helfen wir einander, in alter Weise zu mähen, und an einem Erntetag nehmen wir an der Flachsernte und am Dreschen teil. Zu dem Freilichtmuseum, wie wir es jetzt nennen, kommen verschiedene Kategorien von Menschen, am meisten ältere, aber dank der Tiere



Foto 2: Ein Köttnerhaus am Freilichtmuseum Ingeborrarp. Foto: Sven Hjalmarson.

auch Familien mit Kindern, und nicht zuletzt Leute, die altertümliches Essen haben wollen. Manche möchten auch die Kräuter im Kräutergarten sehen oder einer botanischen Exkursion unter Leitung eines Fachmannes folgen.

Natürlich gibt es Probleme, und der Enthusiasmus der Mitglieder geht oft zu weit. Man schmückt und dekoriert genau wie vor der eigenen Villa und denkt nicht daran, dass man dadurch eine neue Zeit einführt. Doch ist es schwierig, "Museumspolizei" zu sein. Man muss es mit vorsichtiger Information versuchen. Diese Information verbreiten wir vor allem in Schriften, bisher 37 Bänden in der Hauptserie und fünf in einer Kleinschriftenreihe, aber auch durch unsere Homepage im Internet.

Alte Häuser müssen nicht nur restauriert, sondern auch unterhalten werden. Schweden ist ja ein Holzhausland, und die meisten bewahrten Häuser auf dem Lande sind aus Holz, manchmal vielleicht auch mit Dächern aus Torf. Wir haben kalte Winter, aber auch ein feuchtes, windiges Klima, das die Gebäude, auch die kulturhistorisch wertvollen, schwer beschädigt. Nachdem die Häuser etwa drei Generationen oder länger gestanden haben, kommt man manchmal zu dem Punkt, an dem man einen radikalen Eingriff vornehmen muss. Man kann nicht mehr flicken. Man muss umbauen, aber wie?

Im Kulturhistorischen Museum in Lund hat man versucht, eine Renovierung mit der Ausbildung von Handwerkern in einer sogenannten Bauhütte zu kombinieren. Man macht vom Grunde alles hier, benutzt das Beil statt der Säge, Holznägel anstelle von Eisennägeln usw. Man hat immer versucht, moderne Technik zu benutzen, es ist billiger, und geht schneller. Später bemerkt man jedoch die Fehler. Das Ideal ist, die Renovierung in einer Ausbildung einfügen zu können. In einer Universitätsstadt wie Lund ist dies zum Teil möglich. Es gibt einen bestimmten Enthusiasmus besonders unter jungen Architekten, mehr von den alten Techniken zu lernen, um eine vertiefte Materialkenntnis und eine verbesserte Einsicht in die Handwerkstechnik zu bekommen. Aber auf dem Lande liegt oft die Kompetenz bei der älteren Generation. Es ist wichtig sie zu bewahren.

Wissenschaftliche Dokumentierung

Alle ältere Gebäude können natürlich nicht bewahrt werden und um ältere Häuser erforschen zu können, muss man sie durch Zeichnungen, Fotografien, Beschreibungen und heutzutage auch durch Videoaufzeichnungen dokumentieren.

Am Volkskundearchiv in Lund gibt es nicht nur Manuskript- und Bildarchive, sondern auch ein Bauernhofarchiv. Es ist topographisch geordnet nach Landschaft, Kommune und Gemeinde. In

diesem Archiv sind seit den 1920er Jahren Bauernhöfe systematisch dokumentiert. Dieses wird von Amanuensen am Archiv, aber auch von Studenten geleistet. Während meiner eigenen Professorenzeit führten wir besondere Feldforschungsübungen mit Aufmessungsübungen für die Studenten durch. Dadurch wurde auch dem Archiv neues Material zugeführt. Das Material wurde für Aufsätze und einzelne Dissertationen benutzt. Während des dritten Semesters konnten die Studenten Literaturpena mit Ausrichtung auf die Baukultur wählen. Unsere großen Ethnologen wie Åke Campbell und vor allem Sigurd Erixon haben ja mächtige Werke über volkstümliche Bauformen publiziert. Ich selbst habe über die Schonen'schen Dachfensterstube geschrieben, basierend sowohl auf Aufmessungen als auch archivalischem Material. Einer von meiner Schülern disputierte über Pfarrhäuser in Schonen, eine andere Schülerin über südostschonische Bauernhöfe, und auch Aufsätze wurden zum Beispiel über Köttnerhäuser geschrieben.

Das war aber damals. Die Anthropologisierung der schwedischen Volkskunde hat es mit sich gebracht, dass sowohl Lehrer als auch Studenten das Interesse für die volkstümliche Baukultur verloren haben. Gewissermaßen war es vielleicht eine Reaktion gegen eine allzu mechanische Dokumentation von Häuserfassaden, die gemeinsam mit verschiedenen Kommunen erfolgte. Der neue Begriff war Kontext. Man wollte nicht Gebäude, sondern das Wohnen studieren, und vor allem in Stockholm erschien eine Reihe von Dissertationen zum Wohnen. Es war jedoch ein modernes Wohnen, das man durch Observation und Interviews studierte.

Wie ging es dann mit dem Interesse für die alte Bauweise weiter?

Gewissermaßen zog es von den Universitäten in die Heimatvereine. Man sammelte sich in seiner eigenen Heimat, zum Beispiel, um Köttnerhäuser zu dokumentieren und alte Siedlungen zu kartieren. Dieses Interesse war oftmals mit der Ahnenforschung, die eine schwedische Volksbewegung geworden war, verknüpft.

Das Studium der Bauweise konnte auch indirekt über anderes Quellenmaterial geschehen. Ich selbst habe mit einem Fotografen zusammen eine Dokumentierung so genannter Hofporträts durch-

geführt. Diese Porträts wurden um die Jahrhundertwende 1900 von umherwandernden Malern ausgeführt, die für einige Kronen und freies Wohnen den Hof abmalten. In einem Buch haben wir eine intensive Untersuchung in unserer Heimatkommune durchgeführt und publizieren etwa 130 solche Hofporträts in Farbe.



Foto 3: Beispiel eines Hofporträts 1910 von Arvid Lindoff gemalt. Dorf Sonnarp, Örkelljunga. Foto: Sven Hjalmarsson.

Aber die Maler vergaßen die Leute, die nur im Wege standen, wenn sie malten. Deshalb galt es, die Häuser aufs Neue zu bevölkern. Dies habe ich durch Archivforschung und Interviews getan, so dass man erfährt, wer in den Häusern wohnten, wie die Familien zusammengesetzt waren, welche Tiere es gab usw. Eine solche Untersuchung formt sich deshalb zu einem Spiegel der lokalen Bauweise und des Volkslebens um die vorhergehende Jahrhundertwende aus. Dies ist eine Möglichkeit, weit vor der Zeit der Farbenfotografie und Videokameras, eine Gegend zu dokumentieren – in Farbe.

Wegen ihre Kunstlosigkeit verachtete man oft diese einfachen Gemälden. Erst heutzutage fängt man an, deren Wert für die Familie, aber vielleicht auch für die ganze Region zu verstehen. Die Hofporträts können sogar als Anleitung bei der Restaurierung von alten Höfen dienen. Aber das Wichtigste ist, Bücher von dieser Art können auch dabei helfen, das Interesse an der älteren Baukultur zu steigern. Die Gebäude wurden von Leuten aus der eigenen Gegend ausgeführt, ohne Zeichnungen, aber nach lokaler Tradition. Insgesamt zeigen die Hofporträts die lokale Bauweise sowie die Unterschiede. Selbstverständlich müssen auch solche Quellen wie alle anderen kritisch verwendet werden. Die Hofmaler verschlimmerten selten die Wirklichkeit. Wenn eine geplante Veranda noch nicht ausgeführt war, konnte sie der Maler trotzdem hinzufügen. Die schwedische Flagge wehte kaum an so vielen Fahnenmasten in der Wirklichkeit wie auf den Hofporträts. Es macht sie nicht weniger wertvoll für die, die an den Gedanken und Idealen der Menschen ebenso interessiert sind wie an der Wirklichkeit an sich.

Guild Tradition in Hungary – Old Journeymen's Routes in the 18th–19th Centuries

Attila Paládi-Kovács, Budapest

The beginnings of the guild system and journeying

The earliest guilds in the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary were formed in the 13th century by the butchers of Buda and Esztergom. The oldest known guild charter is that of the furriers of Kassa (now Košice, Slovakia) who received the charter from the town council in 1307 (Léderer 1928; Domonkos 1991: 31). By the 14th century, there were numerous crafts' centres and trades in the royal towns and episcopal sees, and even in the Saxon and Hungarian towns of the eastern province, Transylvania. Like the guilds in Western Europe, the guilds in Hungary were organisations for the protection of the interests of master tradesmen in a particular craft, modelled on the religious confraternities.

By the 15th century, the guild charters and rules required that young artisans should undertake journeys. In 1429, the linen weavers in Kassa forbade the departure of their young men before the big feasts (Christmas, Easter, Whitsun), fearing that it would prevent them from meeting their orders on time. Journeying must have been an old custom by then. The requirement of journeying was also set by the tailors of Pozsony (1411), the German shoemakers (1447) and the German tailors (1477) of Sopron. In 1502, the tailors' guild of Kolozsvár (now Cluj, Romania) adopted rules for itinerant journeymen. These covered all aspects of journeying:

the accommodation of the arriving itinerant journeyman (*Herbrik, Herberg*), the drinking customary as greeting, the fee to be paid into the journeyman's chest, the duty of the senior journeyman (Hung. *dékán*) in seeking work for the young journeyman, the rights of the master (German: *Herbergs-Vater*) (Szádeczky 1913: II. 28; Domonkos 2002: 50–52). The number of guilds, in the territory of historical Hungary in the period from the 14th to 19th centuries in 212 trades, is estimated to have been around 5000 (Éri – Nagy – Nagybákay 1975–1976: I; Domonkos 1991: 30), reflecting the significance of this institution in the country's social and economic history.

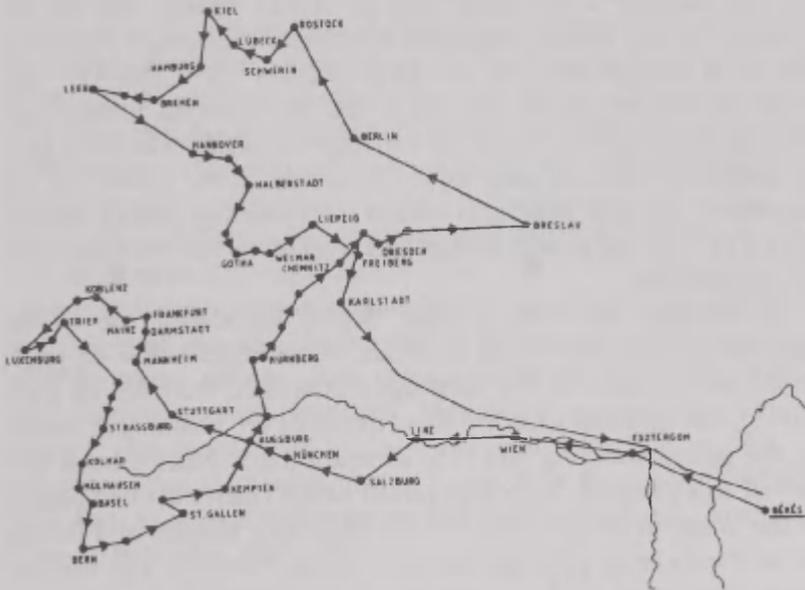
The purpose and duration of journeying

The development of guilds in the late Middle Ages made it very difficult to win the title of master. Throughout Europe from the 15th century, a 'masterpiece' (Hung. *remeklés*) had to be produced, while in the German-speaking territories the young artisans had to journey before they could produce their 'masterpiece'. This custom was not known either in France or England (Weber 1979: 125).

In Hungary from the 15th century, after one or two years, the young man had to leave the town where he had spent the years of his apprenticeship and begin journeying. In the course of his long journey, he had to visit towns in search of work, so that he could learn his trade as fully as possible. Royal decrees issued in 1761 and 1766 stipulated 3 years of journeying for young artisans in Hungary. According to a decree issued in 1813, the young artisan had to journey for three years 'with no possibility of exemption or interruption', It was usual in the 18th and 19th centuries that the young guild artisan journeyed for 5–6 years, or even longer (Eperjessy 1967: 99; Bálint 1977: 329).

Journeying abroad was not compulsory in the middle of the 19th century, but many young men were attracted by the possibility of work and the desire for adventure. In 1843, Samu Benczúr, a

young textile dyer was very strongly attracted to travel abroad by the custom of drinking coffee (see Map 1). There were always 4–5 foreign apprentices in the workshop where he had spent his apprenticeship and they praised the customs of their own countries. They recounted, that in the German towns, the young artisan did not receive wine for breakfast, as was the custom in Hungary, but coffee (Domonkos 2002: 27). The apprentice listened eagerly to their stories and when he had finished his training he wanted to get to know the foreign customs for himself. Besides being a way of learning the tricks of the trade and innovations, journeying also provided the opportunity to see the world and become acquainted with foreign customs.



Map 1: Wanderings made by Sámuel Benczúr, young blue dyer, from Békés (Hungary) in 1843–1846. (Based on Domonkos 2002: 66.)

According to Central European custom, if an itinerant journeyman did not find work in a town he could not stay there for longer than three days. He had to move on and try his luck elsewhere. Poor unemployed young men were given assistance from the journeymen's chest in the form of money for travel expenses and food (Richter 1930: 42).

The itinerant journeymen's documents

The journeyman took at least two documents on his journey: his certificate of baptism and the document certifying that he had completed his apprenticeship (German *Lehrbrief*). If someone had already worked as a young artisan before setting out on his journey, he also took a certificate (German *Kundschaft*) certifying that he had experience in the trade (Richter 1930: 40–41). The royal decrees on guilds stipulated that the itinerant journeyman seeking work had to present his certificate and this was to be kept in the guild chest as long as he remained in the town. On his departure, the host guild also issued a *Kundschaft* setting out the period of time the young artisan had worked in the town and how he had behaved.

In Hungary in 1816, a royal decree introduced use of the itinerant journeyman's book (German *Wanderbuch*). The 48-page, hard-cover booklet, in two languages, contained the rules on journeying, the personal data and description of the holder and entries by the guilds receiving him. The itinerant journeyman's book also served as a passport. Since Hungarian journeymen travelled mainly to the West, in the provinces of the Habsburg Empire and further on to the German principalities and towns, German was the language they used in their contacts (Eperjessy 1967: 98; Kecskés 1978: 35–39; Paládi-Kovács 2000: 346). Even the itinerant journeyman's book was not sufficient for more distant travel; a visa had to be obtained to cross the Rhine, to enter France, Belgium or Holland and even for Switzerland.

To be received, the itinerant journeyman had to present his documents in order. When he left he received a certificate, as well as an entry in the journeyman's book, confirmed with a wax seal. When he returned to Hungary, the journeyman's book and its entries confirmed that he had met the conditions for his years of journeying, the journey he had made and the places where he had stopped.

The itinerant journeyman's equipment and tools

The journeyman set out with a haversack, a bag made of calfskin and worn, slung across the shoulder. He kept his personal belongings, clothing and tools in the 'calfskin'. He also had a bag carried on a strap across the shoulder, containing the indispensable documents, the itinerant journeyman's book and also a prayerbook. From the 16th century onwards, the majority of itinerant journeymen were literate. It is instructive that in the 1850s, the *felejnzi* (or travelling bag (German *felleisen*)) usually also contained the most important tools of his trade. The joiner carried a plane and set square, the saddler an awl, leather pinchers and a leatherwork tool, and the cooper a wooden mallet (Nagy 1985: 371–379). In 1848, one of the main demands of the revolt, organised by young artisans in Buda-Pest, was that in the future the master craftsmen would provide young artisans with tools in order to lighten the burden they carried on their journeys. The guilds rejected this demand because the tools were often costly and served as a form of guarantee. Young artisans, unable to pay their debts, often had both their documents and tools confiscated and in some cases, even their clothes (Eperjessy 1967: 101).

The itinerant journeyman's accommodation, company

Young artisans in the guilds had separate societies (German *Bruderschaft*), and once a year they elected a 'father master' (German *Herbergs Vater*) from among the master craftsmen. The *Herbergs Vater* kept the chest of the young artisans' society and the valuables preserved in it (the society's rules and other documents, its books, cash, etc.) in his own home for safekeeping, and it was here that the young guild members held their gatherings. Larger guilds maintained a separate place of accommodation (German *Herberg*) for itinerant journeymen. The trade societies, which replaced the guilds after 1872, jointly maintained accommodation for travellers seeking work (Richter 1930: 38; Balogh 1973: 183). These places of accommodation still operated in the first half of the 20th century in many towns (e.g. Debrecen, Szekszárd, Szeged).

The *Herberg*-s of itinerant journeymen in Hungary appear more frequently in the records from the 18th century, even though only 17 accommodation books (*Herbergsbüchern*) have survived in the collections of museums and archives in the present territory of Hungary. These books also give some idea of travels into Hungary by itinerant journeymen in the 18th and 19th centuries. However, the institution of accommodation for itinerant journeymen arose in the late Middle Ages. In Tulln (Austria) for example, the book of the young artisans' society, within the shoemakers' guild, contains 1300 entries from the late 15th and early 16th centuries, and the names of 1000 localities can be identified with certainty. These indicate that half of the itinerant journeymen arrived in the town from Lower Austria, 11% from Silesia, 12% from Bavaria, and 8% from the Czech lands. Several dozen journeymen from towns of Western Hungary also sought work in Tulln (Jaritz 1979: 52–59; Domonkos 2002: 75). The pattern found in Austria, Silesia and elsewhere, no doubt also helped to spread the institution of accommodation for itinerant journeymen in Hungary.

Hungarian itinerant journeymen abroad

In the 16th and 17th centuries, young artisans from the guilds continued to journey westward from towns in Hungary and Transylvania. Goldsmiths, silversmiths and bookbinders from Transylvania and even from the towns of the Hungarian Great Plain, then under Turkish domination, made their way to Germany. Tailors and cabinetmakers went mainly to Austria and Bavaria, while weavers and locksmiths preferred Saxony and the Czech lands (Balogh 1973: 89; Kovách – Binder 1981: 20). Of the 387 itinerant journeymen who stopped in Linz between 1608–1700, 20 were from Hungary. In the same city, 3700 soap-makers sought work between 1829–1846. Out of this total, 71 declared themselves Hungarian and 15 said that they came from Transylvania.

A number of data have survived on journeying in the 18th–19th centuries from the itinerant journeymen's accommodation of the bookbinders' guild in Frankfurt am Main. Between 1712–1810, 17 young artisans from Hungary lived there. Although this represents only a very small fraction of the total (5894 persons), it must be evaluated in the light of the fact that the Hungarians came from well beyond the usual 500 km area, travelling 1000–1500 km to reach Frankfurt (Lerner 1979: 31–42).

An analysis of journeymen's books, preserved in Chemnitz (Saxony), shows that between 1836–1861 a total of 2181 young artisans from guilds and workers arrived in the town, of these 186 were itinerant journeymen from Hungary. They represented around 30 trades: the tailors (18 persons), cloth dyers (16 persons), brush-makers and coppersmiths (15–15 each), weavers (14 persons), and locksmiths (13 persons) were the most numerous (Bräuer 1982: 60–99; Bräuer 1983: 273–282; Domonkos 2002: 5). These itinerant journeymen came from all regions of the Kingdom of Hungary, with the exception of the Hungarian Great Plain.

The itinerant journeymen's books, travel diaries and life histories that have survived in Hungary are also very valuable sources on the history of itinerant journeymen. Sámuel Benczúr, who journeyed in 1843–46 (see Map 1), reached as far as Belgium, but

did not find work there. Because he did not have a visa either, the local cloth dyers beat him up and sent him back to the border. It should be noted that the Hungarian royal decree on guilds also banned artisans from leaving the territory of the Holy Roman Empire (Kecskés 1978: 38; Domonkos 2002: 27).

Even after the guild system was terminated in Hungary (1872), it remained the custom for assistants to journey. In the early 20th century, András Török, a young locksmith, journeyed for nine years around the half of Europe but it was mainly in the German towns that he found work; he did not obtain work in Paris or London. His wrought-iron work of artistic value (e.g. decorative gates, window grilles) can still be seen on mansions and public buildings in Komárom and the region. His example is not unique, many Hungarian tradesmen also journeyed in the Western countries in the first half of the 20th century.

Foreign itinerant journeymen in Hungary

Foreign journeymen appeared mainly in the towns of Western and Northern Hungary in the 15th century. In the 16th–17th centuries too, they came to the towns of what was known as royal Hungary and the Principality of Transylvania, avoiding the region of the Hungarian Great Plain, which was under Turkish rule. Accommodation books, (*Herbergsbüchern*) surviving from the 17th–18th centuries, record a mass migration from abroad in some trades. Accommodation books in Sopron show that there were many foreign young artisans in the town in the 17th century, as coopers, tailors and bookbinders, while in the 18th century, they came in greater numbers as soapmakers, bakers and hatmakers. The accommodation book of the joiners' guild in Győr records 438 names between 1674–1699 (an annual average of 17 persons). The majority came from the territory of Bavaria and Austria and their places of origin are found most densely there on the map (see Map 2). In this period, young artisans came to Győr in search of work from a total of 230 localities (Batári 1967).



Map 2: Places of origin of itinerant journeymen in the accommodation for joiners. Győr (Hungary) 1674–1699 (Based on Batári 1967: 114.)

In the places of accommodation in Sopron in the 17th–18th centuries, 80% of the artisans were foreigners, while in the 19th century, this proportion was 40% (Domonkos 1987: 69, 72; Domonkos 2002: 75). In the same town, in the century between 1780 and 1890, the foreign hatmakers came from the entire German-speaking territory including its eastern fringes, from the Rhine to the Baltic, and up to the eastern border of historical Hungary.

Some new industries, such as textile dyeing (dyeing blue with indigo) in the early 19th century, brought the settlement in Hungary

of German, Austrian and Czech master craftsmen, who welcomed foreign journeymen in the towns of the Great Plain, such as Szeged and Baja (Bálint 1977: 375). It is a mistake to claim that German-speaking journeymen ventured no further than Pozsony (now Bratislava) (Otruba 1979: 43–49). Many examples show that foreign journeymen reached the Hungarian Great Plain and even Transylvania. According to the accommodation book of the soapmakers' guild in Szeged, in the period from 1830–1860, 65% of the young artisans were foreign, coming mainly from towns in Austria, Bavaria, Saxony and the Czech lands. In Esztergom, 835 journeymen used the accommodation of the weavers' guild between 1756–1873 and 50% of them came from abroad (Domonkos 1987: 78, 84). Naturally, there are also cases where the great majority of the itinerant journeymen were from inside the country. One example is the guild of blacksmiths and cartwrights in Miskolc where only one foreign journeyman worked in the 1830s; he came from Cracow (Poland).

* * *

From the Late Middle Ages to the late 19th to early 20th century, the guild system and guild customs linked Hungary to European industrial society. The compulsory journeying by young artisans transformed this link into direct human contact and technical skills applied in practice. Journeying can be compared in significance to the peregrination of students from one foreign university or college to another. It enabled the countries of Eastern Central Europe to keep pace, to adopt new technical knowledge and innovations and to follow currents of European civilisation.

The database on places of accommodation in Hungary, containing thousands of items, reveals the same picture as that formed from Austrian and German sources: the travels of itinerant journeymen criss-crossed the whole of Central Europe, from the Rhine to the Eastern Carpathians, Galicia and the Baltic, the region of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, and as far as the Russian districts of Saint Petersburg. This vast network linked craftsmen of towns in

Switzerland in the South and a few Danish and Norwegian towns in the North (Domonkos 2002: 75).

Journeying contributed to the spread of technical innovations. What is known as the bird pattern was introduced into the weaving industry, in Kassa (now Kosice) in the 15th century, by itinerant journeymen from the West. In the 17th century, itinerant joiners from Bavaria and Austria brought the Southern German furniture style to Hungary. In the early 19th century, large numbers of Hungarian journeymen joiners flocked to Vienna to learn the secrets of the Classicist furniture style (Wenzel 1871; Batári 1967; Szabolcsi 1979: II. 47–62; Domonkos 2002: 61, 76).

Besides specialised knowledge of their trade, the itinerant journeymen spread the traditions of guilds and industrial society, as well as old and new customs, forms of behaviour and fashions of the urban middle class. This involved not only furniture styles and clothing fashions but also the teachings of Protestantism, the ideals and organisational forms of anti-capitalist movements and even the middle-class taste for coffee and tea.

Language skills generally meant learning German. In the eastern part of Central Europe, including Hungary, many craftsmen were already German speakers in the Middle Ages. Itinerant journeymen, coming from the provinces of Austria, Bavaria and Saxony, contributed to replenishing this German-speaking stratum of craftsmen. Young artisans speaking Hungarian, Slovak, Croatian and other languages set out with a slight disadvantage, making the life of an itinerant journeyman even more difficult for them than it was for their fellows who spoke German (Elkar 1984). It is interesting to note that in Hungary, up to the mid-19th century, guildmasters were also familiar with Latin, greeting in Latin, English and French travellers to their towns, many of these generally did not speak German. (The reason for this curious fact was that Latin was the official language of public administration used by the chancellery in Hungary up to 1844.)

The 'institution' of journeying also contributed to easing certain social tensions in Central Europe. It was used as a form of aid for unemployed young artisans and, in present-day terms, it helped to

even out differences in the national and even the continental 'labour market'. Diaries, letters and recollections, written in later life, bear witness to the difficulties of life as an itinerant journeyman. Journeying was a big challenge in the life of all young artisans, but that aspect of the story requires another approach and another paper.

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Invasion of Materialism into the Soviet North: Sedentarisation, Development of Professional Medicine and Hygiene in the 1920–40s

Art Leete

Sedentarisation, introducing professional medical care and “civilised” hygiene were materialistic projects of the Soviet authorities that, to a large extent, aimed at changing the worldview and identity of indigenous peoples of the North. The idea is in accordance with the materialistic view of the effects of basic material factors of culture on its mental, spiritual aspects.

In fact, all changes in economic organisation, education and administration were targeted by Soviet ideologists, politicians and administrators to change fundamentally the way of life and worldview of indigenous peoples (Kaliss 1999: 491). For this paper, I have chosen only a small part of this huge project as a topic of my analysis. Obviously, the economic reform (collectivisation), establishing boarding schools and changing the local self-administrative system were more profound efforts of Soviet reforms and directly affected the daily life of northern natives. Yet these “little projects” of sedentarisation, medical care and hygiene had their own characteristic role in transforming northern peoples’ communities from relatively traditional (“primitive”) stage into modern, Soviet ones. And the fact is that these peripheral reforms have got much less attention in analyses of culture change in the

Soviet North compared to collectivisation, schooling and other large-scale reforms.

The aim of this paper is to give an overview of the descriptions of northern peoples' medicine, hygiene and houses of the Soviet authors in the 1920–40s, and also to describe their ideas concerning the reforms necessary to change the situation in these fields. I try to demonstrate the impact of these “little reform projects” on northern peoples' lives and worldview and also discuss their role in provoking resistance among northern indigenous groups.

Changing living conditions and sedentarisation

Changing living conditions of the northern peoples was a process that, despite it is clearly materialistic explanations (providing more civilised houses and working conditions for the natives) was in its essence directed also towards affecting profoundly their worldview and identity. I will bring a number of examples of northern peoples living conditions and reforms that were meant to change their “savage home environments” in the 1920–40s. The corresponding attitudes of the Soviet authors in the 1920s and 1930s differ remarkably and since that period it has remained quite the same for next 50 years. My aim is to analyse the official image of the Soviet sedentarisation project carried out among northern indigenous communities. I also demonstrate briefly the possibility to find ideological and practical parallels to the Soviet reforms in the North in Evangelical mission and in colonialism in general.

Samokhin complained that, although the weather conditions in the area inhabited by the Tungus people are severe and people's primary concern is building warm houses, the indigenous people, “in opposition to a survival instinct”, did not do that. Samokhin indicated that the Tungus did not use Russian-style wooden huts but lived in conical tents (Samokhin 1929: 15–17).

Lobachev had quite the same feelings towards the Vakh River Khanties' "primitive" living conditions:

"Until nowadays, a primitive peoples' ground-built hut with no walls neither floor, can be found in some areas around the Vakh River. Embryos of the houses, *shalashes*, are also widely used as living spaces. Several parts of the *yurtas* – windows, doors, floor, fireplace, smoke-hole – all are extremely primitive. A piece of ice in the window-opening is not replaced by glass neither even by animal bladder" (Lobachev 1934: 101).

Afterwards, linking the living conditions and health care issues of northern peoples, Lobachev noted:

"It is obvious that these houses have disastrous impact on their health. [---] Among the first towards improving the everyday environment of the Vakh Khanties, their houses should be made healthier and inhabitants relocated to standard houses with enough light" (Lobachev 1934: 102).

Orlova wrote about the Asian Eskimos that sleeping in the *polog* on reindeer skins that were put on earth was a common habit among them in the beginning of the 1940s, because the Eskimos thought that separation from the earth was a sin. But in the village of Ugrel'yk, there was a young educated Eskimo man named Tagrak, who cut a hole into the wall of his *polog* and put there a glass. Tagrak brought a table, bookshelf, tabouret, and, the main thing, a bed into his *polog*. Tagrak's example also brought about the discussion of comfort among other Eskimos. Orlova considered *polog* an anti-hygienic building. Since the end of the 1930s, *Glavsevmorput* started to build Russian peasant style five-wall huts for the Eskimos and Orlova estimates that these were perfect buildings for the North. (Orlova 1941: 212–214)

A couple of years after the *mandalada*, the major uprising of the Yamal Nenets against the Soviets, Brodnev described the local Nenets as actively and voluntarily searching for opportunities to settle around the culture base in southern region of the Yamal Peninsula:

"The houses of Yakov Serasho and Maxim Sukharinov are clean, warm and comfortable.

Yakov has two tables – a toilet table and dining table. Curtains in front of the windows. The bed is made up. Photographs on the walls. Housewife, Shura Serasho, is satisfied with everything. She complains only about the floor: “It’s not painted, so it’s hard to clean.” We agreed, that in spring we should paint it, for sure.

Maxim Sukharinov does not use a bed that was given to him by the culture base. He did not give up the habit of sleeping on the floor in the conical tent but brought this habit into the house. On this topic I had the following conversation with Maxim:

“Why don’t you sleep in a bed?”

“I can’t, I’d fall down, perhaps.”

“We didn’t know that. We shouldn’t give you that bed. Now it’s useless.”

“Why useless? I can try later, may be we can sleep on it.”

“Why not try – in the bed it’s warmer and more comfortable.”

Maxim did not find any counter-arguments. He just shut up. A habit that has oppressed him during centuries is still present. But he will give it up soon” (Brodnev 1936: 105; 1937b: 96).

Yakov Serasho is, according to Brodnev, extremely enthusiastic during his speech after the demonstration dedicated to the anniversary of the October Revolution:

“Because of excitement and joy, he speaks at first in Nenets, afterwards in Russian and finally in the Khanty language:

“I used to be poor. Now I am not poor. I am a kolkhoz worker. How can I be poor if I built a house for myself. Soviet power helped me. Lenin ordered to do so that there would be no poor people. That’s right. Stalin ensures that there will be no poor people, everybody is well off. Everybody must live decently. You see, I start living culturally, too. Thanks to culture base for help. But they did not help without nothing. Stalin gave them the order. Lenin gave them the order. Soviet power is good!” (Brodnev 1936: 105).

We can bring another sample text concerning Dzhugdyrsk Evenkis. In 1941, the building of new individual dwelling houses according to the typical Soviet plan started. As it was described, the Evenkis became extremely excited about such new houses:

“Houses became settled immediately. Within the houses, younger generations tried to arrange everything “exactly as the Russians do”. Living rooms and kitchens were separated. Furniture was obtained, and some were able to get even embroidered curtains, portières, and small carpets on the wall above the bed. In many houses, there are shelves with books and, of course, framed photographs and portraits of the [Soviet] chiefs on the wall” (Vasilyevich 1950: 171).

The Aleuts were among of the most Sovietised ethnic group in the Soviet Arctic during the early Soviet period. As early as in the 1930s, they had at least 9 *stakhanovets* among them, a number of members of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League. It was especially stressed that *stakhanovets* lived in apartments with multiple rooms, they had portable gramophones, and “during holidays they had something to wear” (Antipov 1937). Perhaps, the last part of this statement means that they had “Russian” clothes.

In early Soviet ethnographical sources, there was a certain attitude towards the living conditions of northern peoples – traditional houses were considered unhealthy and anti-hygienic and moving to “civilised”, “cultural” buildings was seen as a positive step. Of course, the enthusiasm of indigenous peoples towards resettlement and sedentarisation was described just according to Soviet ideological schemes. And so it continued, in fact, from the 1930s through the 1980s.

There are plenty of similar idyllic descriptions of extremely accelerated cultural progress of northern peoples under the Soviet regime. It is not clear if these records contain any truth at all, but these texts function quite well as rhetoric manifestations. In this text by Brodnev, there are the main features of the icon of Soviet development of formerly “retarded” people – they are modelled as making quickly a giant leap from absolutely cultureless situation to socialism. They started “living culturally” – largely thanks to the Russians. This ideological schematics does not correspond to the attitudes and opinions among native communities. But it tells us something about the rhetorical aspects of the modernisation project of the Soviets.

Evangelical missionaries who acted in Southern Africa had quite similar attitude towards the reforms of living conditions of natives. And they saw the housing reform as part of Christianisation process. There is some evidence that missionaries set up even a kind of a slogan about this, e.g:

“If their homes can be revolutionized in a generation, so can their hearts” (Chirgwin 1932: 28, cit. Comaroff & Comaroff 1997: 274).

This slogan is so perfectly universal that every Soviet ideologist could as well apply it to the northern peoples without changing a single word in it.

Home had a central position in the Christianisation attempts of the European missionaries in Southern Africa. And this attitude was expressed in socio-economic, psychological, and also in architectural reforms. Changing the home environment was believed to correlate with changes in peoples' consciousness. (Comaroff & Comaroff 1997: 274–278)

Again, the attitude of Soviet workers towards Siberian natives was quite the same. The fact is that resettlement of northern natives to centralised villages and into hygienic” and “cultural” houses was carried out mainly since the beginning of the 1960s. But the process was started in the 1930s and, as we can see, discussions about these problems were firmly present in writings of Soviet authors. I gave only few examples, but these are quite typical to the early Soviet epoch.

There are other explanations for the sedentarisation project of the Soviets. Debra Lee Schindler analyses the logic behind the Soviet resettlement concept as an attempt to obtain more control over the life of indigenous peoples. It was also easier to involve them in collective work, to supply them, and to make them communicate with other ethnic groups (Schindler 1990: 107–108). The question about the more effective control over the northern peoples' communities is related to the general claim of colonial powers to break tribal sovereignty of indigenous groups who initially preferred to consider loyalty to their clan or local

community more important than the feeling of subordination to colonial regime (comp. Frazier 1968; Bodley 1982).

Also, we should not forget about the early Soviet ideological discourse over the gender roles among reindeer nomads. According to this point of view, reindeer herders must be sedentarised, because women did not have any particular role in tundra. They were considered just hanging around there. And modern settlements could provide them different kind of jobs, particularly, several "cultural" posts (nurses at hospital, officials at local Soviets, teachers at schools etc.).

But in this paper I want to emphasize the general issues of comparative ideology. Perhaps it was essential for Soviet ideologists that indigenous peoples who wandered around the forests and tundra did not give up their worldview so easily and it was much more hopeful to "revolutionise their hearts" while they were forced to live in big settlements "just like Russians".

Medical care and hygiene issues

Introducing medical service and habits of hygiene among the northern peoples is also connected with the sedentarisation and resettlement projects. One of the main arguments against traditional buildings of indigenous people was that these houses were anti-hygienic. At the same time, existence of modern medicine was considered to be the indicator of "cultureness" and, when put in a wider perspective, also of certain world-view and identity. As to medicine, Soviet ideologists even did not hide one of the most important reasons for developing it – this was a measure, directed against the influence of shamans among native communities.

Ilya Gurvich (1987: 21, 27) describes the organisation of medical care to the northern peoples as a process that had enormous impact on the life and consciousness of native peoples. Since 1924, nomadising Red Cross medical groups have acted in the North. Members of these groups healed people and examined

medical-hygienic conditions of indigenous groups. After a few years, the Soviets established medicine bases in the North that were later transformed into permanent hospitals and medical assistants' offices. At the beginning, the Soviets experienced some misunderstanding on the part of indigenous communities towards their healthcare actions. Doctors were considered to be "Russian shamans". Elderly people and women avoided medical care or taking medicines and following doctors' prescriptions, examinations and a whole treatment. At the same time, natives were impressed by skills of medical doctors in fighting epidemic diseases. However, the propaganda of visiting saunas and washing clothes remained ineffective especially among elderly people.

Vdovin complained that during the 1920s, it was impossible to explain to the Chukchees the importance of hygiene, because they did not see any necessity for that. "Changing the sanitarian-hygienic living conditions of the Chukchees became possible only after removing them from *yarangas* to houses" (Vdovin 1965: 327).

Samokhin observed a number of anti-sanitarian living conditions around the Tungus of the Bodaibinskij *rayon*. He noticed, that conical tents were never ventilated or washed (or were washed rarely), underwear was washed rarely, their bodies were almost never washed (at the same time faces were washed every day, sometimes even with a soap). Inside conical tents there were lots of parasites and the Tungus fought against them only by catching them simply from clothes and hair. Soot, lack of free space and dirt were the usual stuff in conical tents (Samokhin 1929: 16, 18, 66).

Samokhin wrote also that the Tungus practically never saw doctors. But, suprisingly, among the Tungus the epidemic diseases were quite rare, only in 1925 there were smallpox in one village. Samokhin also complained that there were only a few shamans who dealt with healing and sometimes people must ride 50 or 100 kilometres to reach them. (Samokhin 1929: 18-19)

Lipskaya-Valrond wrote in the mid-1920s that washing of clothes is a relatively new activity among the Nanays, because during earlier times all clothing was made from fish and animal skins and was never washed. Because of certain conservativeness

the Nanays started only recently to wash their clothes made from textile (Lipskaya-Valrond 1925: 158).

Sosunov, Novitski, Lappo, Aizin and other authors of the 1920s stressed the necessity of organising medical services for the northern peoples, practically nonexistent in the mid-1920s. Sosunov argued that because of several epidemic diseases (mainly typhus and smallpox), the northern peoples “were dying out rapidly before our eyes”. Providing medical aid was a key for preventing northern peoples from dying out. (Sosunov 1925: 82–83; Ostrovskikh 1925: 134; Soveshchaniye 1925: 88, 90; Rasshirenniy 1927: 81–82; Novitski 1928b: 71–72, 76)

In the 1930s, it was stressed that the Chukchee women started to visit a hospital of culture base for delivering babies and to follow the rules of hygiene (use soap¹ and toothbrushes, wear European-style clothes and underwear) (Margolin 1937: 71–72).

As Orlova argues, Asian Eskimos started washing themselves in the second half of the 1930s. Orlova was not satisfied with the clothing of Eskimos. The most anti-hygienic parts of it were, according to Orlova, small panties of women, because these were never taken off, even in a hot *polog*. At the same time Orlova gave credits to the Eskimos for taking over (although slowly) Russian clothes and underwear. (Orlova 1941: 213–218)

Khazanovich described in detail how she introduced cutting and washing hair among Nganasans. At first the Nganasans were afraid that haircut makes people blind. Khazanovich also taught the Nganasans how to wash clothes, hands and dishes. All the time she must give a personal example and look after the following of these rules of hygiene. If she delivered to the Nganasan women colored textile shreds for dishwashing, at first they used those for

¹ This statement is definitely incorrect. Anna Kerttula (2000: 24–25) writes that Siberian Yup'ik and Chukchee word for soap is *so-op*. This fact indicates that the Yup'ik and Chukchees knew the item even before the Soviet period and that they traded soap from American merchants as early as during Czarist times. For elderly generation of the Chukchees, the Russian term for soap – мыло – was unknown at the end of the 1980s.

ornamentation of their winter clothes. (Khazanovich 1939: 69–72, 74, 77–78)

Similarly, a sanitary situation of the Vakh River Khanties was considered bad by Lobachev (1934: 99). He described his impressions quite vividly:

“Houses do not satisfy even the most elementary sanitary rules. Inside *yurtas* there can be found moisture, little light and air. A wind is continually blowing under the walls and roof and through the walls. Despite that, the atmosphere of winter *yurta* is unbearable due to dirt and sweat of people who are not familiar with sauna, smell of dogs, wet dresses, footwear, stockings, rags for the foot etc. In the holes of rough earthfloor dirt has become stiff and rots, leftover food, children’s excrements, lungs’ spittle and a nose-snot of the inhabitants of a *yurta*. [---] Enormous amount of fleas and lice are inhabiting *yurtas*” (Lobachev 1934: 102).

But Lobachev had not finished with his description of a kind of “end of the world” situation. He had several additional complaints about the hygiene of the Khanties:

“Among the Khanties, a resting place is available for common use. Everybody who goes inside a *yurta* is allowed to lay down on any resting place without asking a permission. This supports spreading of trachoma. Of course, they do not change their pillowcases and the original color of pillowcase has disappeared under a thick layer of dirt and sweat. Things are also bad with bedclothes. [---] Despite that there is enough water available, people have a number of extremely anti-sanitarian skills and customs: a) the Khanties wash themselves rarely, b) kids under one year of age are not washed at all, c) usually they do not wash dishes, they only wipe these with “*chivykh*”², d) as a rule, they do not wash their clothes, e) water is rarely used for washing face and

² *Chivykh* – thin bast-like strips (shreds) of a birch or willow, the term is used among the Vakh and Vasyugan River Khanties (Tereshkin 1981: 42).

hands, and even if this happens, they pour some water on hands from their mouth, e) they do not have saunas.

Extermination of dirt is primitive on the Vakh River. Human excrements are left in the forest or bushes around a yurt during summertime, and, because of cold, right next to a yurt wall during wintertime. Garbage is usually thrown directly into a river and this pollutes water” (Lobachev 1934: 102–103).

Krongauz described how the Nenets children learned in the Yamal culture base boarding school to trust doctors and to follow hygiene. 12-year-old Vasya Tadibe taught his family to wash their face and hands daily, wear underwear and wash it, and also to clean a conical tent. The whole family must listen to him in the issues of hygiene. Inhabitants of the neighbourhood conical tents also ”pick up some culture from the conical tent of Vasya Tadibe” (Krongauz 1937: 124).

In the 1930s, the authors consider the medical reform and following the western-style hygiene as developments that saved the northern peoples from dying out (Lobachev 1934: 97–98; Pastukhov 1937: 49–50; Brodnev 1937b: 95). The same attitude can also be found in the works of later authors (Vdovin 1965: 326; Ilyakhov 1998: 90). The idea about saving northern peoples existence by developing medical care, then, was basically the same throughout the 20th century.

When, again, comparing the ideologies of African Evangelic missionaries and the Soviet ideologists and ethnographers, it appears that there are certain similarities concerning medicine and hygiene. Also, here the missionaries connected the material issues of an indigenous culture to its mental essence and derived from this the necessity for changing material aspects of native life as a primary task:

“For them, disorder, dirt, and pollution all spelled depravity, a sinful lack of self-containment and spirituality” (Comaroff & Comaroff 1997: 336).

Again, the necessity to provide medical service by missionaries to the Africans was expressed similarly by the Soviet authors when talking about the situation among the northern peoples:

“The provision of medical care was clearly consistent both with a rhetoric of salvation and with the stress on hygiene in European conceptions of socio-moral order” (Comaroff & Comaroff 1997: 340). Comaroffs also mention that missionaries, as doctors, were most understandable for indigenous peoples (Comaroff & Comaroff 1997: 341).

Discussion

One of the distinctive characteristics of state-sponsored invasion of materialistic elements into the life of northern peoples in the 1920–40s was the analytical parallel with efforts of Evangelical missionaries, as illustrated several times in this paper. For making also one general statement about this, I will give an additional quote from the Comaroffs:

“The widespread indifference that met their theological disquisitions only strengthened the resolve of the colonial evangelists, persuading them that the revitalization of the African soul required a “revolution in habits.” As with the bourgeois revolution of which the mission itself was a part, this one began at home. The unrestrained, unclothed heathen body was, to European Protestant sensibilities, no fit abode for a vigilant Christian conscience; neither was the heathen hut a place to nurture industry in the divine cause. Moral degeneracy had to be reversed by material self-improvement” (Comaroff & Comaroff 1997: 8; see also 1991: 199, 230, 313–314; 1997: 118–120).

Forsyth (1989: 80) reveals that the “socialist missionaries” of the Soviets worked quite in the same way as Christian missionaries. We can, then, see that all described Soviet reforms in the North had parallels in the tactics of Evangelical missions. And, indeed, as we can see from the analyses of the Comaroffs, the ideologies of Evangelical missionaries and Soviet ideologists concerning “revolution of habits” of native peoples are totally identical in the structure.

At the same time, there are important differences in the attitudes of the Soviet authors in the 1920s and 1930s. Early Soviet ethnographers could tolerate to a certain extent the unsanitariness of natives (as they seemed to have immunity towards it), shamans (who could heal people, and medical doctors were not available anyway), and traditional settlements and houses (what is the difference, in which conditions natives live if they are happy with it?). But at beginning of the 1930s, the Soviet authors and practitioners started to express much more strict opinions and actions on these issues.

Although that in the 1920s, Soviet officials who were to deal with the ideological and practical incorporation of northern peoples into the Soviet life, were even called "socialist missionaries", "workers-missionaries", or "missionaries of a new culture and Soviet statehood" (Bogoraz-Tan 1925a: 48–50; Etnograficheskiye 1926: 97; Gurvich 1987: 21; Slezkine 1994: 148–170; Grant 1995: 162–163), their activities did not have essential influence on northern peoples' communities. "Socialist missionaries" were young, unexperienced, idealistic people, who did not have functioning administrative or political structures behind them in the areas they were working on. Their attempts to introduce "new life" among northern peoples failed also in the areas of medical aid, personal and house hygiene.

In the 1930s, these attempts became much more serious. According to the plans of the Committee of the North, culture bases were established among northern peoples to ensure a more effective application of Soviet reforms. General aims and functions of culture bases are described as similar to the Christian mission stations by the American researcher Bloch:

"As a key element in the Soviet project's massive effort to incorporate and assimilate indigenous peoples, the culture base was in many ways similar to the missions established throughout Siberia by the Russian Orthodox Church. As with the missions, culture bases offered indigenous Siberians temporary food and shelter, some medical assistance, and access to trading partners. However, unlike the missions, culture bases also actively sought to

“enlighten” and ultimately assimilate indigenous Siberians” (Bloch 1996: 89).

The efforts to introduce professional medical services, European-style habits of hygiene and houses were mostly made by personnel of these culture bases that in 1935, after closing down the Committee of the North, were given over to *Glavsevmorput* (GUSMP). GUSMP inherited from the Committee of the North a number of ethnographers and culture bases but with a more utilitarian attitude towards northern peoples:

“Regarding the Siberians, Glavsevmorput concentrated on two priorities: eradicating anything about the native way of life that could be seen as threatening to its authority and harnessing the productive capacity of small peoples” (McCannon 1998: 52).

Introducing medical services, hygiene and new houses were not the main areas of Soviet reforms among the northern peoples. But these attempts demonstrate that indigenous groups were forced to change their habits at all levels of culture, in almost every detail. Of course, Siberian natives felt tremendous pressure not only on these pragmatic aspects of their lives but through these developments also on their worldview and identity. These reforms (and among others, medicine, hygiene and sedentarisation projects) provoked large-scale resistance among northern peoples communities throughout Siberia, mostly passive, but in some areas even in the form of uprisings. At first these reform were quite neutrally modernistic (as Soviet authorities and ideologists tried to explain) yet, in fact, with these developments, indigenous groups were pushed into an awfully depressive feeling of confusion and hopelessness.

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Vom "traditionellen Handwerk" zum "Traditionsprodukt" Überlegungen zu Begriffen der Handwerkskunst

Outi Tuomi-Nikula, Pori

Ein Projekt zur Wiederbelebung des traditionellen Handwerks

Gegen Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts hat die Anzahl der gewerbetreibenden Handwerker in Finnland, die traditionelle Handwerksprodukte fertigen, drastisch abgenommen. (Tuomi-Nikula 2003) Dies war Anlass für den Start eines dreijährigen Forschungsprojekts mit dem Titel "Traditionelles Handwerk in Satakunta – Dokumentation, Wiederbelebung und Marketing" am Institut für Kulturelle Produktion und Landschaftsforschung der Universität Turku/ Zweigstelle Pori.

Als erstes Ziel des Projekts galt es, Personen zu finden, die noch Handwerks- bzw. Handarbeitsprodukte sowohl mit ursprünglichen Materialien als auch nach traditionellen Techniken herstellen, und deren Arbeitsprozesse zu dokumentieren. Ein weiteres Ziel war es, traditionelle Handwerksprodukte und die zu ihrer Fertigung verwendeten, altbewährten Techniken sowohl durch ein spezielles Fachkursangebot an Bildungseinrichtungen für Erwachsene als auch durch museale Ausstellungstätigkeit bekannt zu machen.

Da die Vermarktung von traditionell gefertigten Handwerks – und Handarbeitsprodukten ein großes Problem darstellt, kristallisierte sich als drittes Projektziel die Aufgabe heraus, Mittel und Wege zu finden, wie sich Produktvermarktung und Tourismus miteinander verbinden lassen, um somit vor allem den Gewerbetreibenden ein gesichertes Einkommen zu garantieren.

Das dem skizzierten Forschungsprojekt zugrunde liegende Untersuchungsgebiet umfasst die Region Satakunta an der Südwestküste Finnlands (siehe Karte). Als eines der ältesten landwirtschaftlichen Gebiete Finnlands ist Satakunta bereits seit vorchristlicher Zeit besiedelt. Der fruchtbare Lehmboden ermöglichte es den Bauern schon früh einen relativ hohen Lebensstandard zu erreichen, während die ältesten Städte der Region, Ulvila, Rauma und Pori, zu den wichtigsten Industriezentren Finnlands zählten.

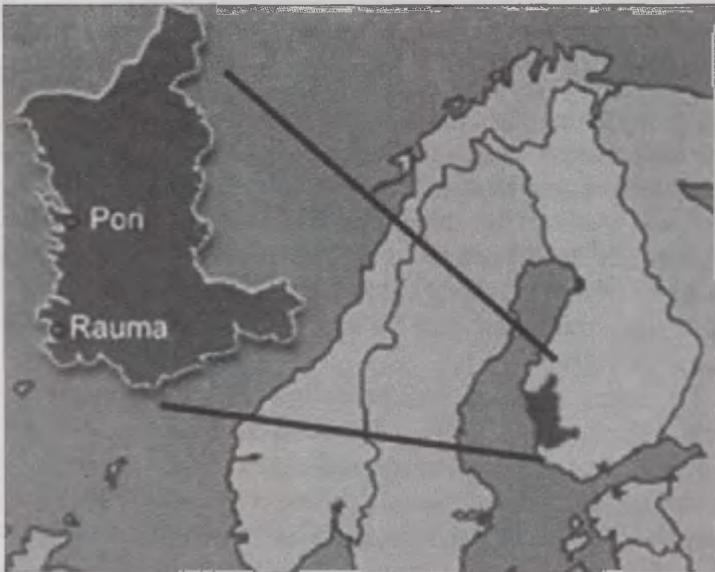


Abb. 1: Satakunta mit den Städten Pori und Rauma

Der das Forschungsprojekt kennzeichnende Begriff "traditionelles Handwerk" ist keineswegs eindeutig, da ihm eine Vielzahl anderer Begriffe nahe stehen, die im weiteren Verlauf noch näher erläutert werden. Eine der Hauptintentionen dieses Artikels ist es denn auch, den Begriff "traditionelles Handwerk" inhaltlich kritisch zu betrachten und zugleich in Frage zu stellen: Was wird heutzutage unter dem Begriff "traditionelles Handwerk" verstanden und wie ist er inhaltlich zu fassen? Lassen sich überhaupt noch Handwerker sowie deren Produkte dieser Kategorie zuordnen? Weiterhin wird nachgefragt, wie das traditionelle Handwerk in Satakunta "als Zeichen der Zeit" zu bewerten ist, um dann abschließend den Versuch zu machen, das aktuelle Handwerk von heute neu zu definieren.

Handwerk ist immer Handarbeit

Die Begriffe "Handarbeit" und "Handwerk" sind inhaltlich nah miteinander verwandt. Beide gehören Tätigkeiten des handwerklichen Könnens an mit dem Unterschied, dass das Handwerk meist beruflich als Haupt- oder Nebenerwerbstätigkeit ausgeübt wird, wohingegen Handarbeit auch ohne berufliche Ambitionen, zum Beispiel als Hobby und Freizeitbeschäftigung, ausgeübt werden kann. Dementsprechend bezeichnet das Wort "Handarbeit" ein breites Spektrum von Tätigkeiten, die vom Sockenstricken und Weben von Flickenteppichen bis hin zum Bauen einer Rauchsauna, Verlegen von Pflastersteinen im eigenen Garten oder Brotbacken reichen können. Als Kriterium gilt das "Selbermachen", das heißt etwas mit den eigenen Händen herstellen.

Das Handwerk dagegen kann als gewerbsmäßig betriebene Handarbeit angesehen werden. Die Anfänge des organisierten Handwerks in Europa sind im städtischen Zunftwesen zu suchen. Da es in Finnland im Mittelalter und der Frühen Neuzeit erst wenige Städte gab, wurden Handwerksrechte nicht allein Stadtbürgern verliehen, sondern auch dörflichen Handwerkern, wie

zum Beispiel Schneidern, Schreinern, Schmieden, Webern oder Gerbern, die eine feste Sozial- und Berufsgruppe auf dem Lande bildeten.¹

Auch wenn die Begriffe "Handwerk" und "Handarbeit" noch relativ leicht zu definieren sind, beginnen die Schwierigkeiten mit dem Ausdruck "traditionelles Handwerk". Eine eindeutige und allgemein anerkannte Definition des Begriffs steht derzeit noch aus. In Finnland wird er vor allem mit Agrargesellschaften der vorindustrialisierten Zeit in Verbindung gebracht. Begriffe, die ihm inhaltlich nahe stehen, finden sich in der volkskundlichen Literatur wie zum Beispiel "volkstümliche und regionale Handwerkstradition" oder auch "Handarbeitstradition". Geht man wiederum von dem Wort "Tradition" aus, bezeichnet Handwerk, bzw. Handarbeit ein "handgemachtes" Produkt, das in ungebrochener Kontinuität von mindestens drei aufeinanderfolgenden Generationen hergestellt worden ist (Uusitalo 1999: 446).

Eine detailliertere Definition bietet Vossen (2003) an, der sich vor allem auf marokkanische und spanische Töpferei spezialisiert hat (siehe Vossen 1972, 1987; Vossen, Ebert 1986). Laut Vossen sind Produkte des traditionellen Handwerks vor allem Gebrauchsgegenstände, bei denen die Funktion eines Gegenstandes im Vordergrund steht und das "Hand-Werk", das Handgemachte (nach lat. *manus*: Hand und *factura*: das Machen) dominiert. Maschinenarbeit darf nur sparsam eingesetzt werden, wonach jedes Produkt ein Unikat bleibt, dessen kleine Fehler und Unregelmäßigkeiten als unverwechselbare "Handschrift" des Handwerkers gelten.

Da die Handwerksprodukte jedoch in der Regel in Serie für die jahreszeitlich variierenden Bedürfnisse und den lokalen Markt produziert werden, tritt die Persönlichkeit des Handwerkers häufig hinter den Erzeugnissen zurück.

Die handwerkliche Traditionskette wiederum, das heißt die Übertragung der handwerklichen Fähigkeiten innerhalb des Famili-

¹ Zur historischen Entwicklung des Handwerks in Finnland siehe Heino 1984.

enverbandes, zum Beispiel vom Vater auf den Sohn und von der Mutter auf die Tochter, ist in der heutigen Zeit keine Selbstverständlichkeit mehr. Dementsprechend pessimistisch bewertet Vossen die heutige Situation und auch die Zukunft des traditionellen Handwerks in Europa. Traditionell gefertigte Produkte der Handwerkskunst scheinen sich im Zeitalter der Europäischen Union zu einem europäischen Kulturerbe zu entwickeln, das nur noch in einigen wenigen Gebieten Europas anzutreffen und auch dort vom Niedergang bedroht ist. Nur noch in einigen der neuen Mitgliedsstaaten der Europäischen Union, wie in Polen, Ungarn und auch in den baltischen Ländern sind Handwerksprodukte in ihrer traditionellen Form noch relativ häufig zu finden, in hochindustrialisierten Ländern Mitteleuropas fehlen sie fast gänzlich. In Deutschland beispielsweise gehören das zünftige traditionelle Handwerk der Städte und das bäuerliche Handwerk mit seinen sozialen Bezügen zur Dorfgemeinschaft schon lange der Vergangenheit an. Lediglich in einigen Städten und Dörfern der ehemaligen Deutschen Demokratischen Republik gibt es noch einige traditionell arbeitende Handwerker, wie beispielsweise Töpfer, Holzschnitzer, Weber und Klöpferinnen.

Zum Forschungsstand in Finnland

Handwerk, bzw. Handarbeit als Teil des finnischen Kulturerbes hat bislang relativ wenig Interesse unter Fachvertretern der finnischen Volkskunde und der Europäischen Ethnologie hervorgerufen. Es fehlt zum Beispiel eine ganz Finnland umfassende Publikation zum traditionellen Handwerk bzw. zur traditionellen Handarbeit, die auch die Situation im ausgehenden 20. Jahrhundert berücksichtigen würde. Historische Darstellungen von Handwerksberufen in vorindustrialisierter Zeit finden sich bei Ulla Heino (1984), die die Handwerksberufe in Satakunta im 17. Jahrhundert untersucht hat, Raimo Ranta (1978), dessen Ziel es war, das Handwerk in Ostbottnien in den Jahren 1721–1809 zu erforschen, und Kirsi

Vainio-Korhonen (1998), die sich für das zünftige Handwerk der Stadt Turku während des 18. Jahrhunderts interessierte. Einen weiteren Aspekt bietet Pentti Virrankoski (1963, 1994) an, der sich mit der ländlichen Heimindustrie in den Jahren 1809–1944 beschäftigt hat. Unter Heimindustrie versteht er die Herstellung von Handwerksprodukten als Haupt- oder Nebenerwerb der ärmeren ländlichen Bevölkerungsschichten.

Finnische Volkskundler haben Handwerks, bzw. Handarbeit meist unter dem Aspekt der "Volkskunst" betrachtet, wobei der ästhetische Wert eines Gebrauchsgegenstandes im Vordergrund steht. Den Anfang machte U.T. Sirelius in den 20er Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts mit der Herausgabe seines Werkes über finnische Wandteppiche, über die Ryen (Sirelius 1924). Das Werk war zu seiner Zeit ein wichtiges Zeugnis der Kreativität der einfachen Landbevölkerung Finnlands und wurde eng mit den Idealen der nationalromantischen Bewegung verknüpft. Zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts wurde die kreative Tätigkeit der bäuerlichen Bevölkerung, die "Volkskunst", noch streng vom Kunstschaffen der sozial höher stehenden Bevölkerungsschichten unterschieden. Demnach waren sie Produkte der Volkskunst, vor allem ortsüblich dekorierte Gebrauchsgegenstände, die für soziale und gesellschaftliche Zwecke, zum Beispiel als Braut- und Bräutigamsgeschenke, von Personen der bäuerlichen Bevölkerung hergestellt wurden, die keine Kunstausbildung genossen hatten und anonym blieben. Die bäuerlichen Gebrauchsgegenstände des Alltags, wie beispielsweise Wiegen, Schränke und Bauernmöbel aller Art sowie bäuerlicher Hausrat, also Wandteppiche, Haushaltstextilien, Birkenrindengefäße, Klöppel und Schmiedearbeiten wurden meist unter diesem Aspekt betrachtet. (Anttila 1977; Sammallahti 1982)



Abb. 2: Birkenrindearbeiten gehören zu den ältesten traditionellen Handwerksprodukten Finnlands, die nur noch selten zu finden sind. Die Wiederbelebung und das Marketing haben sich als äußerst schwierig erwiesen, da nur noch wenige die Kunst des Flechtens beherrschen, es Probleme mit der Materialbeschaffung gibt und die Produkte schlecht den Bedürfnissen der heutigen Verbraucher entsprechen.

Ganz anders wurden die Produkte von ausgebildeten Künstlern, die "eigentliche Kunst", definiert: Bei ihnen stand vor allem die rein ästhetische Funktion als Kunstgegenstand im Vordergrund sowie die Wertschätzung durch Kunstexperten, die das Kunstobjekt sowohl unter dem Aspekt der Künstlerpersönlichkeiten, die die Kunstakademien besucht hatten, als auch der Einordnung in international geprägten Kunstrichtungen beurteilten.

In den letzten Jahren sind in Finnland neue wissenschaftliche Ansätze für die Beurteilung des handwerklichen Könnens herausgearbeitet. Im methodischen Mittelpunkt steht nunmehr die hermeneutische worden Betrachtungsweise der Handarbeits- und Handwerksprodukte, die mit Hilfe persönlicher Tiefeninterviews untersucht wird. Bei dieser Betrachtungsweise wird das Produkt nicht mehr von rein funktionalen Aspekten her analysiert – bislang standen lediglich Form, Funktion, Herstellungstechnik und Herkunft im Vordergrund – sondern es gilt nun das subjektive Verhältnis des Handarbeiters oder der Handarbeiterin zum eigenen "Hand-Werk" darzulegen und kontextbezogen zu interpretieren. Das besondere Interesse gilt der Bedeutung, die der Handwerker oder die Handwerkerin dem handgefertigten Produkt zuschreiben, das heißt warum und für wen das Produkt hergestellt und inwieweit die Handarbeit bzw. das Handwerk als Identifikationsfaktor oder auch als Kommunikationsmittel verstanden wurde. (Kojonkoski-Rännäli 1988)

Zur Situation des traditionellen Handwerks in Satakunta des 19. Jahrhunderts

Traditionelles Handwerk war ein fester Bestandteil des Alltagslebens der finnischen Bevölkerung des vorindustrialisierten Zeitalters, also der Zeit vor den 1870er Jahren. Auch in Satakunta wurden Handwerksprodukte sowohl für den Verkauf als auch für den eigenen Bedarf hergestellt. Bis zur Einführung der Gewerbefreiheit des Jahres 1879 durften Handwerksberufe nur von

städtischen Handwerkern, die auch über Stadtbürgerrechten verfügten sowie von Dorfhandwerkern, wie beispielsweise Schmiede oder Schneider, in ländlichen Gebieten ausgeübt werden. Hinzu kamen die hofeigenen Handwerker der privilegierten adligen Bevölkerungsschicht.

Dieses Bild zeigt jedoch nur den offiziellen Teil der Realität, wie sie mit Hilfe schriftlicher Quellen zu belegen ist (Heino 1984: 20ff). Daneben wurden Handwerksprodukte beinahe auf jedem Hof in Satakunta für den eigenen Bedarf hergestellt. Das ist unter anderem damit zu begründen, dass die Handfertigkeit einer jungen unverheirateten Frau oder eines zukünftigen Bräutigams eine Selbstverständlichkeit für die damalige Bauerngesellschaft darstellte, die aus der Not erwachen war: Viele Textilien und andere Gebrauchsgegenstände für den eigenen Haushalt wurden selbst hergestellt. Nur ein Teil der alltäglichen Gebrauchsgegenstände wurden käuflich erworben, wie beispielsweise Leinenstoffe, Spinnräder, Pferdekarren usw. Sie wurden meist als Nebenerwerbstätigkeit von Häuslern, Kättern, Heuerlingen und sonstigen weniger begüterten Kleinbauern gefertigt, die somit ihr Einkommen aufverbessern konnten und als ländliche Handwerker oder Heimarbeiter bezeichnet wurden.

Bezüglich der Konzentration und Verbreitung von ländlichen, an Bauernhöfen angeschlossenen Handwerksbetrieben gab es in Satakunta jedoch regionale Unterschiede. Nach Virrankoski (1963) wurde gewerblich betriebene bäuerliche Heimarbeit vor allem im nördlichen Teil der Region ausgeübt. In diesem Gebiet, das im Norden an die Provinz Süd-Ostbottnien angrenzt, waren die naturökologischen Bedingungen für einen ertragreichen Ackerbau ungünstiger als in den südlichen Teilen und den Küstenregionen von Satakunta, welche zudem auch von einem milderen Klima profitierten.

Die wohlhabenden Bauern der südlicher gelegenen Gemeinden wiederum hatten es nicht nötig, alles selbst herzustellen und sie dienten somit als Abnehmer der Handwerksprodukte, die in Heimarbeit in den nördlicher gelegenen Höfen produziert wurden. Es war auch üblich, dass sich mehrere Handwerker, die unter-

schiedliche Produkte herstellten, an bestimmten Orten niederließen. Virrankoski verzeichnet in Satakunta drei "Ballungsgebiete" von Handwerksbetrieben um das Jahr 1870: Kankaanpää und Umgebung, Rauma und Umgebung sowie der Großraum um die Gemeinden Tyrvää und Huittinen.

Von diesen Ballungsgebieten stellte das nördliche Kankaanpää mit Umgebung eine führende Rolle dar, nicht zuletzt, weil Kankaanpää zu dieser Zeit als wichtigster Handwerksort Finnlands galt. Die Region war bekannt für handgewebte Leinenstoffe und farbenfrohe, kunstvoll gewebte Decken aus Wolle, die sogenannten "Raanu". Die Textilherstellung wurde vorrangig von den Frauen betrieben, Männer dagegen waren für das Flechten von Spankörben, für die Herstellung von Holzkübeln und – fässern sowie sonstigen in Daubentechnik hergestellten Behältern verantwortlich. Hinzu kamen Holzräder für Pferdekarren, die in großen Mengen gebaut wurden. Auch für handgefertigte Lederschuhe war Kankaanpää in ganz Finnland bekannt. (Virrankoski 2003) Lediglich die handwerklich begonnene Schuhproduktion ging dann später in eine industriell geführte Schuhindustrie über, was als ein Beispiel für die kontinuierliche Entwicklung eines Produktes vom Handwerk zur Industrie angesehen werden kann. (Nevanpää 1981) Alle anderen Handwerksbranchen in Kankaanpää dahingegen verloren dagegen an Bedeutung.

Die Küstenstadt Rauma wiederum bildete seit dem 17. Jahrhundert das Zentrum für Klöppelarbeiten in Finnland. Obwohl Rauma auch für die Produktion von Holzbottichen bekannt war, wird die Stadt nach wie vor mit der handgefertigten Spitzenproduktion in Verbindung gebracht. Nach Linnove wurde die Kunst des Spitzenklöppelns von den westlich gelegenen Nachbarländern Finnlands, vor allem von Schweden, übernommen. Zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts stellte das Spitzenklöppeln in Rauma noch eine wichtige Verdienstmöglichkeit für Frauen dar, so dass allein im Jahr 1832 etwa 400 Klöpplerinnen in der Stadt registriert wurden. Im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts nahm ihre Anzahl jedoch ab, da zum einen die regionale Tracht mit dazugehörigen Spitzen aus der Mode kam, und zum anderen weil die industriell gefertigte,

billige Spitzen das Angebot bestimmten. Handgefertigte Klöppelarbeiten konnten nicht konkurrenzfähig bleiben. (Linnove 1947) Die Produktion schrumpfte auf ein Minimum zusammen und die wenigen noch aktiven Klöpplerinnen fanden keine Nachfolgerinnen mehr. Diese Situation änderte sich erst in den letzten Jahrzehnten des 20. Jahrhunderts als die Tradition des Spitzenklöppelns wiedererlebt wurde (Virrankoski 2003). Ein Zeichen dafür sind die alljährlich im Juli stattfindenden "Spitzenwochen" in Rauma, ein kulturelles und touristisches Stadtereignis, das sich großer Beliebtheit erfreut.

Im dritten Ballungszentrum des traditionellen Handwerks, dem Gebiet um Tyrvää und Huittinen, hatten sich die Gewerbetreibenden vielseitig auf seltene Handwerksprodukte spezialisiert: Dort wurden verschiedenartige kunstvoll gewebte Textilien und Teppiche, genähte Stoffknöpfe, verschiedene Bänder sowie auch Pfeifen, Span- und Stroh Hüte, Einlegesohlen für Schuhe aus Stroh und "Sommerteppiche" aus Bärenmoos hergestellt. Im Großraum um Tyrvää und Huittinen zeichnete sich eine ähnliche Entwicklung wie in Rauma ab: Zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts war das traditionelle Handwerk bereits im Verschwinden begriffen, doch während in Rauma die gesamte Spitzenproduktion wieder auflebte, kamen gegen Ende des Jahrhunderts in Tyrvää und Huittinen lediglich einige Produkte, wie die Bärenmoos-Teppiche wieder auf.

Den unterschiedlichen Entwicklungen des traditionellen Handwerks in den drei Ballungsgebieten war lediglich ein kurzzeitiges Aufblühen zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts gemeinsam, bedingt durch die zunehmende Kaufkraft der Landbevölkerung, verbesserte Verkehrsbindungen und eine gute Marktsituation. Doch an der Schwelle zum Zweiten Weltkrieg verschlechterte sich die Lage wieder erheblich als immer häufiger neue Materialien und industriell hergestellte Fertigprodukte zum Kauf angeboten wurden. (Virrankoski 2003) Handgefertigte Produkte kamen aus der Mode und galten als unzeitgemäß und auch bei Geschenken war es wichtig, dass "*das Gekaufte in Geld zu messen war*". Den absoluten Tiefpunkt fand diese Entwicklung in den 1960er und

1970er Jahren als selbstgemachte und traditionelle Produkte verpöht waren und verachtet wurden. Zum Zeitgeist dieser Jahrzehnte gehörte das Zerstören der alten finnischen Holzbaukunst, die Vernichtung von Bauernmöbeln und eine in vielen Bereichen der Gesellschaft latent vorhandene Traditionsfeindlichkeit. Plastik, Nylon und industriell hergestellte Gebrauchsgegenstände "von der Stange" waren Zeichen der modernen, innovativen Zeit. Holz, Baumwolle und Wolle dahingegen galten als Materialien, die einer angeblich rückständigen, altmodischen und armen Agrargesellschaft angehörten.

Zum neuen Identitätswegweiser in Finnland wurde das moderne finnische Design. Seit den 1960er Jahren sorgen Firmennamen und das damit verbundene Produktdesign, wie beispielsweise Marimekko-Stoffe, Iittala-Glas, die Alvar Aalto-Vase oder modernes Steingut und Porzellan der Firma Arabia, sowohl im Inland als auch außerhalb Finnlands Landesgrenzen für hohe Verkaufszahlen und internationale Anerkennung. Anhand dieser Produkte war und ist finnisches Produktdesign im Ausland leicht zu identifizieren, da sich die entsprechenden Firmen Schlagworte wie Modernität und Innovativität auf ihre Fahnen geschrieben hatten. (Vgl. Tuomi-Nigula 1989: 104–105) Durch diese Entwicklung wurde die über Jahrhunderte bestehende Traditionskette des finnischen traditionellen Handwerks für mehrere Generationen unterbrochen.

Traditionelles Handwerk in Satakunta – gibt das noch?

Vor diesem historischen Hintergrund interessiert uns nun die Frage, ob es in Satakunta heute noch Personen gibt, die traditionelle Handwerksprodukte herstellen. Mit Hilfe einer Fragebogenaktion per Post und Internet, die jedes Dorf in Satakunta erreichte, wurden nach Personen mit handwerklichen Fertigkeiten gesucht. Im Fragebogen wurde der Begriff "traditionelles Handwerk" zwar erwähnt, aber absichtlich nicht definiert. Das Ziel der Fragebogenaktion war es, möglichst viele Einwohner der Region zu

erreichen, die Handarbeiten fertigen oder gewerbsmäßig Handwerksprodukte herstellen.

Bislang sind Informationen über 399 Männern und Frauen angekommer, die Handarbeits- oder Handwerksprodukte fertigen. Von ihnen gaben 204 Personen an, Produkte lediglich für den eigenen Bedarf zu weben, töpfern, häkeln, klöppeln, stricken, schnitzen und zu schmieden. Die übrigen 191 Personen sind Privatunternehmer mit einem eigenen Geschäft, die ihre Produkte als Neben- oder Haupterwerb herstellen und zum Verkauf anbieten.

Die Informanten wurden in vier Gruppen eingeteilt. Als Ausgangspunkt zur Bildung der Gruppen diente die Definition des "traditionellen Handwerks" laut Vossen und als weitere Indikatoren galten das Selbstbild des Handwerkers oder Handarbeiters sowie die Wertschätzung der eigenen Produkte. Ausgehend von Personen, deren handwerkliches Schaffen am wenigsten den Kriterien des traditionellen Handwerks entsprach, sah die Liste wie folgt aus:

1. Personen, die erwerbsmäßig Objekte des *Kunsthandwerks* herstellen;
2. Personen, die als Freizeitbeschäftigung unterschiedliche *Handarbeiten* machen;
3. Personen, die Produkte herstellen, die zwar Traditionalität betonen, jedoch nicht dem traditionellen Handwerk zuzuordnen sind. Oft wurden die Objekte von den Handwerkern selbst als *Traditionsprodukte* bezeichnet.
4. Personen, die *traditionelles Handwerk* herstellen.

Unter den Informanten, die gewerbsmäßig Handwerksprodukte herstellen, waren zahlreiche Personen, deren Produkte den Kategorien Kunsthandwerk oder auch Design¹ zuzuordnen sind.

¹ Design unterscheidet sich hier vom Kunsthandwerk unter anderem dadurch, dass es maschinell in größeren Serien hergestellt wird und dass sich an der Produktion mehrere Personen beteiligen. Vor allem die maschinell ausgeführten Arbeitsschritte widersprechen dem Charakteristikum des Kunsthandwerks.

Typische Produkte des Kunsthandwerks sind zum Beispiel Töpfer- und Textilarbeiten, die in erster Linie nicht als Gebrauchsgegenstände, sondern zur Dekoration gedacht sind und deren Beziehung zum traditionellen Handwerk in Finnland nur schwer nachzuweisen ist. Sie sind regional nicht einzuordnen und ihr Markenzeichen ist der "Name des Handwerkers oder der Handwerkerin", der oder die sich gerne auch als "Künstler/Künstlerin" bezeichnet. Diese Personen haben ausnahmslos ihr handwerkliches Können durch Ausbildung entweder in einer anerkannten Kunst- oder Handwerksschule oder einer anderen berufsbildenden Ausbildungsstätte erworben. Sie fertigen Gegenstände an, die zwar dem Handwerk zuzuordnen, aber nicht als traditionelles Handwerk zu bezeichnen sind.

Die größte Gruppe der Fragebogeninformanten gab an Handarbeiten zu machen, da das "Selbermachen" eine wichtige Freizeitbeschäftigung für diese Personen darstellte. Die subjektive Bedeutung des "Hand-Werks" und des "Selbstgemachten" hatte für diese Gruppe einen besonderen Wert: *"Es ist einfach nur schön Handarbeiten zu machen und zu sehen, was man kann"*. Das handwerkliche Können dieser Personen wurde häufig als Familientradition weitergeführt, das heißt, dass die entsprechenden handarbeitlichen Fähigkeiten schon im Kindesalter erlernt worden waren. Die hergestellten Produkte entsprachen den persönlichen Interessen. Auch Ideen aus Handarbeitsfachzeitschriften dienten als Anregungen, die gerne nachgeahmt wurden. Nur wenige dieser Produkte weisen eindeutige regionale Züge auf.

Die dritte, relativ große Gruppe der Fragebogeninformanten fertigte erwerbsmäßig Produkte an, die zwar zweifellos dem Handwerk zuzuordnen sind, aber – nach der Definition von Vossen – nur bedingt als traditionelles Handwerk angesehen werden können. Die Gegenstände zeigen selten regionale, in diesem Fall Züge der Region Satakunta auf, sondern sie sind eher als allgemein "finnisch" einzuordnen. Dennoch zeichnen sie sich oft durch hochwertiges handwerkliches Können aus, vor allem in Beziehung auf Arbeitstechnik und Materialauswahl, wie beispielsweise das kunstvoll gefertigte "Finnenmesser". Die ursprüngliche Funktion

der Gegenstände ist häufig stark der heutigen Zeit angepasst worden. So sind die meisten dieser Produkte Gebrauchsgegenstände, die im Alltagsgebrauch eingesetzt werden können. Beispiele dafür sind Taschen für Mobiltelefone aus Filz, Serviettenringe aus Birkenrinde, ein Tablett in Spanschachteltechnik oder fantasievolle Filzhüte, denen der alte finnische Winterstiefel aus Filz Pate gestanden hat.

Auch wenn nur wenige der Handwerker die Tradition ihrer Produkte kennen, bezeichnen sie sich selbst als Personen, die traditionelle Handwerksprodukte, nämlich "Traditionsprodukte" herstellen. Ihr handwerkliches Können haben diese Handwerker durch eine Ausbildung erworben.

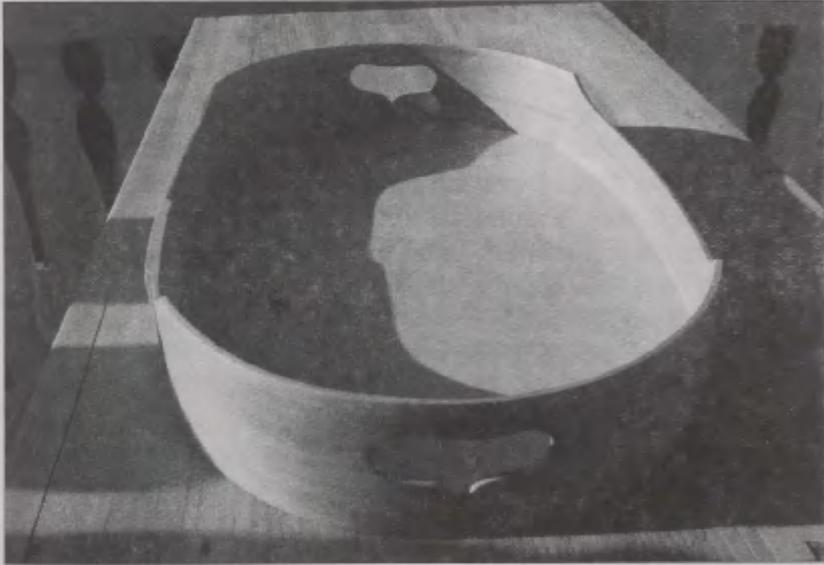


Abb. 3: Vom traditionellen Handwerk zum Traditionsprodukt: Eine Brautschachtel aus dem 19. Jahrhundert hat Pâte dem modernen Tablett mit Herzfiguren gestanden.

Personen, die "traditionelles Handwerk" im engsten Sinn der Definition produzieren, waren durch die Fragebogenaktion kaum mehr aufzufinden. Lediglich zwei Personen arbeiten noch in Kankaanpää, dem einstigen Zentrum des traditionellen Handwerks in Finnland, als Spankorbflechter und Holzfassbauer. Beide führten ihr Handwerk bereits in der vierten Generation fort.²¹ Des weiteren ergab die Befragung, dass drei Bootsbauer an der Küste von Satakunta volkstümliche Holzboote auf Bestellung herstellen, ein Neunaugenräusenflechter am Ufer des Kokemäki -Flusses lebt, zwei Spitzenklöpplerinnen in Rauma sowie ein Schmied in Kullaa und ein Glockengießer in Luvia arbeiten, wobei die Vorfahren des Letztgenannten nachweislich die Glocken der Domkirche von Turku angefertigt haben. Auch ein Schaukelstuhlbauer aus Nakkila, dessen handwerkliche Familientradition sich bis ins 19. Jahrhundert zurückverfolgen lässt, hat die Untersuchung zutage gefördert.

Allen diesen Personen ist gemein, dass sich ihre handwerkliche Traditionskette über mindestens drei Generationen hinweg zurückverfolgen lässt. Demnach fertigen sie Gegenstände an, die eine lange regionale Kontinuität aufweisen. Alle Personen hatten die entsprechende Handwerkskunst entweder von Familienmitgliedern oder von Nachbarn gelernt, was auf eine traditionelle Überlieferungsweise hindeutet – eine Tatsache, der sich die Betroffenen sehr wohl bewusst waren.

Auch die von diesen Personen hergestellten Handwerksprodukte hatten – trotz ihrer Unterschiedlichkeit – etwas gemeinsam: Alle Gegenstände sind heute noch im Alltag zu gebrauchen. So werden Schmiedearbeiten, Spankörbe und Holzgefäße für die unterschiedlichsten Zwecke im Alltag und vor allem in der finnischen Saunakultur benutzt, Holzboote sind geschätzte Objekte unter Ferienhausbesitzern und Neunaugen werden auch heute noch im Kokemäki- Fluss mit Hilfe einer Räusenfangtechnik gefangen,

² Die Handwerkstradition in Kankaanpää wird durch eine staatliche Fachhochschule für Kunsthandwerk weitergeführt.

die über Jahrhunderte unverändert erhalten geblieben ist. Der gemütliche Schaukelstuhl wiederum gehört zu jeder bäuerlichen Stube und die mit Namen und Jahreszahlen versehenen eisernen Glocken aus Luvia werden als wertvolle Geschenke für besondere Anlässe bestellt und sogar bis nach Übersee verschickt.

Traditionelles Handwerk – ein Produkt als Zeichen der Zeit

Wie bisher dargelegt wurde, weichen die Handarbeits- und Handwerksprodukte der Untersuchung vor allem in drei Punkten von der Definition des "traditionellen Handwerks" nach Vossen ab.

Der erste Punkt betrifft die handwerklichen Überlieferung. So ist das handwerkliche Können nur noch in seltenen Fällen als Familientradition zu bezeichnen, also dass die Handwerkskunst von der Mutter auf die Tochter oder vom Vater auf den Sohn weitergegeben wird.

Statt der Familientradition werden handwerkliche Fähigkeiten heutzutage in Kunstschulen, in berufsausbildenden Lehrstätten und in Handwerkskursen der Volkshochschulen erworben. Hinzu kommt eine Vielzahl von unterschiedlichen Kursen, die auf Initiativen von Heimatvereinen, Landfrauenvereinigungen und Privatleuten zurückgehen. War das Interesse an Handarbeitskursen an den Volkshochschulen in Satakunta in den 1960er und 1970er Jahren noch relativ gering, stieg die Anzahl der Kurse bereits in den 1980er Jahren sprunghaft an.

An dieser positiven Entwicklung hat sich auch bis heute noch nichts geändert, wie aus der folgenden Tabelle zu entnehmen ist:



Quelle: Santikko 2004: 10.

Der zweite Aspekt, der als Abweichung von Vossens Definition, zu betrachten ist, betrifft das Fehlen der regional geprägten, äußeren Erkennungsmerkmale der Gegenstände. Noch zu Zeiten der finnischen Agrargesellschaft konnten beispielsweise Wandteppiche, Kleidungsstücke oder Bauernstühle nach Herstellungsart und Dekor regional zugeordnet werden. Der Schaukelstuhl aus Nakkila oder die Spitzen aus Rauma galten als Markenzeichen der gesamten Region. In bezug auf die finnischen Volkstrachten ließen sich der Heimatort, der Familienstand und auch die handwerkliche Geschicklichkeit des Trachtenträgers oder der Trachtenträgerin ablesen.

Heutzutage sind die regionalen Besonderheiten eines Handwerksprodukts jedoch immer seltener erkennbar. Die rapiden Strukturveränderungen der finnischen Gesellschaft der Nachkriegszeit, die durch die Binnen- und Auswanderung, Industrialisierung, Urbanisierung und Modernisierung gekennzeichnet sind, haben

dazu geführt, dass die regionalen Merkmale einzelner Produkte ihre ursprüngliche Funktion als Identifikationsfaktor für die Bewohner der entsprechenden Region verloren haben. Statt Regionalität entstand nunmehr eine Art “gesamtfinnische Kultur”, die von Internationalisierung, bzw. Amerikanisierung gekennzeichnet war.

Erst die Mitgliedschaft in der Europäischen Union seit dem Jahr 1995 veränderte die Situation. Als neuer Bestandteil einer “großen europäischen Familie” wuchs die allgemeine Sorge um die Verwischung der eigenen kulturellen Besonderheiten. Den Finnen war es deshalb wichtig, eine eigene nationale – nicht jedoch regionale – Identität zum Ausdruck zu bringen und die kulturelle Einheit des “typisch Finnischen” zu betonen. In Finnland kann dies als neues Traditionsbewusstsein innerhalb der Bevölkerung gewertet werden. Zeichen dafür sind die Wiederbelebung alter Traditionen durch folkloristische Veranstaltungen sowie das zunehmende Interesse an der eigenen Geschichte. Auch das allgemeine Interesse dem Handwerk gegenüber, also an Gegenständen, die für traditionell und für “typisch finnisch” gehalten werden, hat zugenommen.³



Abb. 4: Ein handgeschmiedetes Messer ist eines der Identifikationssymbole der finnischen Kultur

³ Das zunehmende Interesse an handwerklichen Dingen wurde häufig von Interviewpartnern des Projektes erwähnt. Viele sahen einen deutlichen Unterschied zwischen der Zeit vor und nach dem EU-Beitritt.

Ebenso hat sich die ursprüngliche Funktion der traditionell hergestellten Handwerksprodukte im Laufe der Zeit verändert. Als alltägliche Gebrauchsgegenstände haben sie sich den Bedürfnissen ihrer Benutzer angepasst, auch wenn die zur Herstellung verwendeten traditionellen Materialien erhalten geblieben sind.

Dennoch findet sich für viele der Gebrauchsgegenstände vergangener Zeiten im heutigen Alltagsleben keine Nutzung mehr. Niemand trägt mehr mehr Schuhe oder einen Rucksack aus Birkenrinde, schrubbt Wäsche auf dem Waschbrett oder spinnst Wolle auf dem Spinnrad. Diese Gegenstände dienen heute nur noch als dekorative Einrichtungsgegenstände im modernen Haushalt sowie als Erinnerung an vergangene Tage.

Aus diesem Grund ist es notwendig alte Handwerksprodukte weiterzuentwickeln. Zu allen Zeiten gab es innovative Handwerker, die mit einem neuen Muster oder Material die Tradition beeinflusst und weiterentwickelt haben. Auch das Handwerk in Satakunta ist das Produkt einer langen Kulturentwicklung, das, um überleben zu können, sich dem Zeitgeist anpassen und zugleich weiterentwickeln muss.

Eine andere Frage besteht es denn auch darin, inwieweit dieser Anpassungsprozess zu akzeptieren ist? Welche Merkmale eines Handwerksproduktes sollten unbedingt beibehalten werden, um die Traditionalität zu wahren? Sind beispielsweise bunte Körbe aus breiten Plastikstreifen auf dem Markt der Stadt Pori noch Handwerk, auch wenn die Arbeitstechnik des Spankorbflechtens erhalten geblieben ist?

"Traditionsprodukt" statt traditionelles Handwerk

Wie die bisherigen Ergebnisse der Untersuchung zeigen, wird es in Zukunft kaum noch traditionelles Handwerk in seiner ursprünglichen Bedeutung geben. Seine Charakteristika wie die Überlieferung im Familienverband und die Regionalität gehören bereits

der Vergangenheit an und auch der Begriff "traditionelles Handwerk" scheint veraltet zu sein. Deshalb ist es notwendig neue, zeitgemäße Bezeichnungen einzuführen und bekannt zu machen. Anstelle "traditionellen Handwerks" könnte "Traditionsprodukt" ein brauchbarer Terminus für Gegenstände sein, die sich deutlich vom Kunsthandwerk und Design unterscheiden. Für das "Traditionsprodukt" könnten folgende Kriterien ausschlaggebend sein:

1. Gebrauchsgegenstand;
2. Herstellungsprozess in Handarbeit vom Anfang bis zum Ende von einer Person durchgeführt;
3. Benutzung traditioneller Arbeitstechniken und traditioneller Naturmaterialien;
4. Als Freizeitbeschäftigung oder für den Verkauf hergestellt;
5. Funktion eines Gegenstandes entspricht den Bedürfnissen der Zeit;
6. anstelle einer Familientradition wird die Handwerkskunst durch Ausbildung erworben.

Definiert man die traditionelle Handwerkskunst auf diese Weise, entspricht sie eher den Erwartungen und Bedürfnissen der finnischen Gesellschaft von heute. Ein "finnisches Traditionprodukt" könnte denn auch für den finnischen Tourismus als Markenzeichen dienen und somit den nicht mehr zeitgeistgerechten Begriff "traditionelles Handwerk" ersetzen.

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Part II.

Culture and Memory Patterns

Everyday Life, Objects, and Nostalgia

Pirjo Korkiakangas, Jyväskylä

Almost any event or thing in the past can be rendered nostalgic later, if it in some way can be seen in a positive light. This idea originates from Fred Davis (1979: viii). He excludes both historical and individual events that are especially tragic and traumatic from this sphere of recollection, however (cf. Peltonen 1996; Anker-smith 1999). The events in these types of recollections are usually recalled in the mind as they were experienced, making a nostalgic remembrance of them impossible. On the other hand, things or experiences that are recalled with nostalgia perhaps were not even particularly noteworthy at the time that they happened. Nostalgic feelings may be awakened for instance when remembering a very ordinary, mundane, routine everyday life that might even be experienced as repellent. The force and most important quality that distinguishes nostalgic recollection from other ways of 'looking' at the past is its ability to transform the everyday into something significant and the unpleasant into something pleasant. The mere recollection of the past is not enough to render memories nostalgic as only positive and pleasant feelings are explicitly emphasised in nostalgic recollection. On the other hand, nostalgia can also involve melancholy or a kind of wistfulness due to the pain from the loss or disappearance of something significant (Davis 1979: 13–14).

Why then is past, which after all cannot be revisited, made to seem better than the present and why do everyday things that have already been turned into 'history' awaken feelings akin to yearning when recollected? Nowadays, it is hard to avoid nostalgia in

general, as we come across it in all kinds of contexts and meanings. It is a characteristic of the present to imbue consciously almost everything with an aura of nostalgia. In advertising, for instance, positive mental images and meanings are produced with the help of nostalgia and then directed to meet the demands and cravings of consumers (Ross 1991: 183; Wolf-Knuts 1995; Korkiakangas 2000). Similarly, many phenomena in the fashion world are wreathed in nostalgia. In accordance with the trends of fashion, our attention is turned towards past decades so that we view them with a sense of nostalgia, which in turn affects our views on the fashions of our own time. Usually these types of nostalgic feelings serve commercial interests and are also partly involved in the nostalgic 'construction of reality'. However, despite its different aims or purposes, nostalgia cannot be seen absolutely as a distorted feeling (Ross 1991: 183).

Ethnology – the study of everyday life

In ethnology, the everyday life of people has been a central research subject, as well as implicitly the context in which research is in one way or another carried out. The starting point is the human, his or her everyday life, its cultural expression and the documentation, analysis, and interpretation thereof. The general approach has been to examine the everyday life of humans through various unities, i.e. by studying forms of housing, livelihood, food management, annual festivities, communal life etc. The everyday is thus conceived as the ordinary culture of the so-called ordinary man. Earlier on, the emphasis was placed on an examination of the rural human.

In this article, I will approach the everyday and its nostalgic remodelling from two different perspectives; firstly, by examining the matter more generally with the help of Finnish ethnological research and a few examples; secondly, I will draw attention to everyday nostalgic phenomena that are more individual and all pervasive in terms of their societal impact.

The ethnologist Toivo Vuorela, who carried out his life work in the service of the Finnish Literature Society, wrote the following in the preface of the work *Suomalainen kansankulttuuri* (1975: 4–5):

“Culture is an endless and unpredictable chain of events. This day will be consigned to history tomorrow and nowadays more things happen in a decade than did previously in a century. The cultural researcher must therefore be constantly vigilant. The transition to an industrialised society is such a decisive terminal point in the thousand year long work, societal organisation, and general growth of the Finnish peasant’s life that interest for the age that preceded it will increase the further away in space and time we observe it from. Contrary to superficial beliefs and even conscious ambition, no nation can escape its past. A person in the throes of amnesia flails around in a state of helplessness. The nation must therefore remember the prolonged development that formed the foundation for the functions in modern society.”

Vuorela’s work has subsequently been characterised as merely agrarian and in that sense already at the time of its publication a description of a bygone Finnish way of life and culture. The quotation is nonetheless a telling summary of how the role of ethnological research was seen in Finland a few decades ago – the excerpt in actual fact includes much which stills seems to hold good. The ethnologist is expected to keep abreast of the times and any attendant changes, but simultaneously probe into the past. The basis for the present is always found in the past and should never be forgotten.

According to Vuorela, the strengthening of cultural identity is the starting point for ethnologists as preservers, recorders, and researchers, based as it on the past and a respect for historical actors. A human or nation without a knowledge of its past also has no conception of itself. The ethnological object of study was defined as the past or as that which was soon becoming the past, i.e. the description of a vanishing culture. This in a sense retrospective feature naturally affords research a nuance of its own. A culture that was endangered and in retreat, as a newer and more ‘modern’ way of life became common, gained a kind of glamorous

tinge from these studies. The bygone course of life – as it was often described in the past – is outlined in these studies as virtually the only correct way of life, and sometimes even to the point of idealising it. The recording of the past as artefacts in museums, file data in archives, and descriptions in the pages of studies was seen as important in order for future generations to remain conscious of their past.

I do not mean by the former that it should not be like this or should not have been like this. Neither do I mean that the current generation of researchers should at all costs avoid seeking support for their thoughts from the past. One of the special traits of ethnological research is still the historical point of view, i.e. the examination of things from a historical perspective. In this way, it is possible to recognise cultural changes and their causes. Vuorela's *Suomalainen kansankulttuuri* published in 1975 and Ilmar Talve's *Suomen kansankulttuuri* published in 1979 were the first comprehensive presentations of the everyday life that was 'seen as ordinary by ordinary Finns.' The dates of publication of these works join seamlessly with the preceding text from Vuorela: the old folk culture and way of life was disappearing, and had largely already disappeared – it was time to 'salvage the past.' On the other hand, one can already see the transition from an agrarian Finland to an industrial society and a more pronounced interest in the study of urban culture.

Everyday life as it was presumed to have been lived and therefore naturally known to have been lived is shown at its most explicit in *Isien työ. Veden ja maan viljaa. Arkityön kaunetta* (1953; the first more concise edition of the work was published in 1943 as *Isien työ I Veden ja maan vilja*), which was written by Kustaa Viikuna and illustrated by Eino Mäkinen. The very title of the work indicates the feel of that which can be sensed in its pages. The book is – despite its idealising and popularising tone of description – a fine presentation of the work and activities of the Finnish peasant community, with the added relish of the nostalgia provoked by the 'beauty of everyday work.'

The nostalgic tone of the work is heightened by the many descriptions of labour tasks, in which the Finnish rural person, and especially the male, is portrayed as a jack of all trades, practical with his hands, and able to adapt himself to nature, but also an everyday hero who is capable of taming the wilds. Some of the descriptions even attain the level of immediate thriller narratives, such as the picture caption depicting men fishing and shooting the rapids: "Shooting the dashing rapids. The steersman ties the big oar to the rear bulwark on the right, while the others row with all their strength; the fiercer the rapids, the fiercer one must row. The surge seems just about to flood over the gunwale into the boat, but always the boat seems to slide out of harm's way as the stones flicker past and the banks of the river recede" (Vilkuna 1953: 23). The extreme experiences that modern man pursues in his leisure time were gained through everyday life and work. The description of essential tasks associated with the peasant way of life and their realisation contain – in the light of modernity – the ingredients needed to foster nostalgia: the everyday was manageable and everyday living was simple and rarely questioned. The roles of women, men, and children in the realisation of the beauty of everyday work are also clearly on display.

In a way, the author of the book's texts, Kustaa Vilkuna does urge the reader to revel in nostalgia and a nostalgic journey to a bygone era. In the beginning of the first edition of the work there is a text dated Kalevala day.¹ 1943, in which the content of the work

¹ The celebration of Kalevala day has its origins in the circle of Helsinki University during the latter half of the 19th century. The day is celebrated on February 28 and its development into a national holiday is tied to Elias Lönnrot's (1802–1884) life's work. He signed the preface of the first edition of the Old Kalevala on February 28, 1835. Kalevala day has been an unofficial flag-raising day in the Finnish almanac since 1950, and became an official flag-raising day in 1978. Although it was initially associated with the Finnish national epic, the Kalevala, the day has been commemorated as a general celebration of Finnish culture ever since the 1970s. (Karjalainen, Korhonen & Lehtonen 1989, 70–77).

is characterised as follows: "As the sole purpose of this work is not the presentation of ethnological studies, interesting pictures associated with the text have been abandoned and replaced with photographically beautiful images that are more representative of our old folk culture. Through our work we have wished to save the beauty of Finnish peasant culture for posterity and teach the populace to see its latent values [---]" (Vilkuna 1943: 7). One could pick out countless examples from the work, of how texts and pictures inevitably awaken nostalgic images of a bygone era and life. The nostalgic tone is only strengthened in subsequent editions, the most recent of which is the edition from 1977 that was updated and reshaped in accordance with the requirements of the times. The text quoted above begins as follows: "The cultural image of the countryside has changed rapidly during the past two or three decades. A survey covering past generations and the sphere of work is therefore of increasing interest, and in a sense bittersweet, but at the same time also confidence building" (Vilkuna 1977: 6). Similarly, the changes brought on by an increasingly modern way of life can be discerned as subtle hints in the picture captions. Seen from the perspective of contemporary culture, the archaic pictures with their slightly romantic captions guide the reader on a mental journey to the past, where life ran its own course and along familiar tracks.

From the everyday to an object of yearning

Many elderly people seem to remember the hard graft and toil of manual labour, and especially that of their childhood and youth, in nostalgic terms. The exhausting labour, which at the time might even have felt repugnant, appears in retrospect as a value in itself; the very act of recollection gives pleasure. But is it then the case that manual labour is appreciated for the very fact that it can be linked with nostalgic feelings towards a past and a way of life that was seen as a safe, simple, and an intelligibly organised world?

Nostalgia is associated with the loss of a cultural simplicity and continuity perceived as safe and familiar, which in turn is seen as the consequence of an ever increasing industrialisation, technologisation, and urbanisation of our way of life. In a sense, this is also about alienation or a kind of ontological nostalgia, in which cultural and societal development is seen as distancing and alienating man from an original humanity that is presupposed to be authentic (Turner 1987: 152–153). In this context, nostalgia serves as a kind of therapy and as a strategy for the manipulation of the past (Knuuttila 1994: 11), in which “nostalgia filters the disagreeable aspects of the past and creates the best opportunity for relating what we used to be like and what kind of places we lived in”.

Ulrika Wolf-Knuts (1955: 210) has characterised the nostalgia of memories associated with particularly harsh living conditions (e.g. hard work, poverty and constant deprivation) as negative nostalgia. However, according to her there is also a positive aspect to this conception of nostalgia. Things could hardly be any other way, as one of the preconditions for nostalgia is the positive shading of a memory, regardless of how it was originally experienced. It is not so much a question of negative nostalgia, but rather a nostalgic rendering of negative life experiences or things that are seen as troublesome and unpleasant. Either a conscious or an unconscious loss of memory can dilute the unpleasant features of experiences that are partly obscured by reminiscences imbued with nostalgia.

What are we then talking about when we talk about ‘ordinary everyday life’, what do we include in it, how do we experience it and is it at all worthy of remembrance, longing or nostalgia? According to the French philosopher Henri Lefebvre (1971), the idea of the everyday was born with industrial society and the subsequent migration of people to urban factory work. Thought of in this way, the conceptualisation of the everyday is a modern product of industrial western society. According to Lefebvre, the everyday seems to have dictated time, although it did not follow the same rhythm in all the lives of the members of industrial society. The everyday life and rhythm of the factory worker was

dictated by the factory whistle, which announced the end of the working day, although one could assume that everyday life itself dominated the workers' lives within the walls of the factory and outside the sphere of factory work. The conceptualisation of everyday life as 'everyday life' emphasises the modern need to differentiate and temporally divide people's lives (Jokinen 2003: 5). Everyday life was also 'everyday life' in the lives of peasants from 'bygone days.' Time was measured and divided differently than in factory work, however. In folk chronology, "the burning of four kindling chips counted as the measure of an hour during evening chores" (Vuorela 1975: 717). Everyday life also contained its own nuances, such as refreshing breaks during haymaking that have been rendered nostalgic by modernity:

"The folk at day rest. The men sleep without a care, the women have the children to take care of and also the food to collect and the dishes to wash, while the men nod off immediately after their last bite. The old summer ways included a very early rising and a meal four or five times a day as well as a two-hour midday rest in the middle of the day. From a health point of view, this kind of division of the day has been beneficial. After eating and resting a new bout of work is started with renewed vigour" (Vilkuna 1943: picture caption 134).

The description of an unhurried working day that is temporally dictated by a person's own physical needs is perceived as proof of a way of life that is seen as simple, safe, and authentic. Nostalgia reflects the hectic pace of modern life and the constant lack of time, which in comparison with the difference of the human management of everyday life in the past is seen as an 'otherness' that can be sought but never attained. The nostalgic feeling is simple and unquestioned. The same description could – especially when emphasising the modern requirements of gender equality – also produce a reflexive nostalgia, in which the sentimentalization of a past way of life and everyday life does not work anymore.

Instead, this would raise questions as to whether it is necessary to yearn for the past and its cultural everyday phenomena, and whether it is worth yearning after at all. On the other hand, through nostalgia for the past one can also find reasons to be content in everyday modern life. (Korkiakangas 1999: 171–173; Korkiakangas 2001: 79).

The German philosopher of history Norbert Elias (1978) has based his conception of everyday life on the dichotomy between everyday life and non-everyday life, i.e. by conceptualising the everyday through its opposite. Elias's ideas about everyday life have formed the basis for many of the latter problematisations of everyday life. His juxtapositions have been criticised and can be criticised. It has been maintained, for instance, that both ordinary and unusual events belong to the sphere of everyday life. Everyday life and the festive are not opposites, as festivities do not break up everyday life, but rather form a part of it. Festivals are also tied to a temporally divided timeframe and repeated at regular intervals and are thus predictable. In this sense, they are a kind of routine. One of the definitions of everyday life is its routine nature, which seems to be difficult to shake off. Everyday life has also been characterised as a monotonous greyness, in which there is a 'terror regime' of routines. The expression is from the sociologist J. P. Roos, and refers to the fact that there is never enough time in everyday life to do what want wishes to do, as the options in everyday life are only ostensible alternatives. (Roos 1983; Salmi 1998: 24–26).

Most of the scholars that have conceptualised and defined everyday life have indeed seen everyday life as a kind of necessity, which has to be put up with and accommodated. What if everyday life is observed from a distance in time? Do we recollect our everyday lives in the same way that we experienced and lived them? Is the everyday just a monotonous greyness? We can also ask ourselves is there anything soothing or safe in the 'greyness' of everyday life. Would a festival be 'festive' anymore if it was not broken up by everyday life? In any case, the present is inevitably projected onto a past that is recollecting in another time, in the light of new life experiences and increased knowledge. The most

important thing, however, is that recollection always also contains an element of conscious or unconscious memory loss, which in turn colours and renders nostalgic the experiences of our past and our ideas and mental images about the past in general. This past thus does not have to be self-experienced and lived, as we can so to speak 'delve' into the time before our lives and feel a kind of longing tinged with pleasure for a time and way of life, which we do not even personally know.

Everyday objects as interpreters of nostalgia

It is also possible to approach the nostalgia of everyday life through recollections concerning objects. Objects carry along with them memories and personal histories. Objects, however, are not immortal, as they also have a finite lifespan, which at best continues with the preservation of the object from generation to generation or ends with destruction or loss. Existent as well as lost objects are preserved as souvenirs, i.e. as existing objects or memories. The same rules apply to the recollection of objects as for recollection in general. Modes of recollection vary amongst different cultures, communities, groups, families, and age groups. At the same time, the original use of the object changes: the object becomes the site of recollection, an expression of the past or an individual or collective past.

The everyday objects entwined in autobiographical recollection can even reflect governmental and societal changes. The lack of objects and goods, for instance and on the other hand the strategies developed for obtaining them were associated with the life of Estonians in the Soviet era (Kõresaar 2003: 150–178). The most well known example in recent history of nostalgia caused by governmental and societal changes is the Ostalgia phenomenon that was born (or fostered) through the demise of the German Democratic Republic (e.g. Berdahl 1999; Betts 2000). By Ostalgia is meant a fairly all pervasive nostalgic rendering of East German

culture and society that has to do with not only objects but also to some extent a 'restoration' of a way of life and culture. In these kinds of contexts nostalgia has been interpreted as an expression of the uncertainty of life and a yearning for a past that at the time of living was not wholly appreciated, but in retrospect is felt to have provided safety and stability in life. Indeed, it is typical that nostalgia awakens in situations where expectations and hopes have not been met. At the time of Estonian independence in 1991 and the subsequent compilation of memoir materials, the rural childhood of the 1940s appeared to manifest itself nostalgically as a kind of 'paradise lost'. Although it included both the loss of national independence for Estonia and the tragic events of the Second World War, the rural childhood in the village communities is nonetheless recollected as being safe and harmonic. The years of deportation in Siberia experienced by some of the memoirists only reinforced the happiness of the idyllic childhood (Mulla 2003: 92–123). The Soviet era has also acquired a nostalgic status in various contexts, and even on a banal level (Vunder 2001: 145–146).

Nostalgia can through objects be directed towards on the one hand very individual sensations and memories, and on the other the emphasis can also be weighted towards the utility and practicality of objects that were formerly perceived to be clumsy and old-fashioned (Betts 2000). In this way, nostalgia associated with objects describes atmosphere, lifestyle and the spirit of the times or connects with the practicality of objects and in this sense a particular necessity that has been replaced with completely new goods and customs. Objects that have been withdrawn from use can be remembered as having fulfilled their purpose well, and are sometimes perceived more fondly than the newer substitute utility articles. Recollections of this nature easily start to reflect the time of recollection and its colourful goods and abundance of objects. At the same time, the contemporary is evaluated against the past way of life, which becomes nostalgically tinged and perceived as more correct and authentic.

Individual objects and goods that are rendered nostalgic through longing have been part of a communal life and experiential world.

In the act of recollection, these mental images develop into signs or symbols of a kind of communal identity such as that of the rural idyll for instance. Time and development, however, seem to have superseded goods and objects that were formerly perceived to be serviceable. Everyday utility articles have become outdated and in some way even amusing due to mass production and industrial development. Especially the development after the Second World War has seemingly accelerated the process of ageing for objects. The same objects, however, can experience a kind of modernisation through nostalgia, thus the non-modern becomes desirable and modern when transferred into a new cultural context (Löfgren 1990: 197–198). This kind of development is partly associated with commercial interests and fashion trends, and partly that which is seen as flea market style, old-fashioned, ready to be discarded or abandoned as unnecessary. In Finland, for instance, in the wake of the country cottage nostalgia that emerged as the ideology of interior decoration in the 1950s, peasant culture began to be favoured. There was a wish to combine the old and new and a perception that the interior design of old rural cottages was suitably well judged and straightforward. Peasant culture was to be combined with a context that was seen as urban, however, and was carefully adapted to that which was seen as modern and contemporary (Kuusamo 1992: 168–169).

One of the important elements in vivid memories especially previously has been that they are strongly associated with feelings, i.e. that they are emotionally charged. Regardless of whether vivid memories are perceived as emotional, it is apparent that they are tied to strong sensations, visual images, and the recollection of both tastes and smells. Although elements based on sensation are an important part in these memories, fragrances and smells do not seem to appear as often in autobiographic memoirs as is sometimes assumed (Ross 1991: 32). Many fragrances and even more commonly smells are perceived or have been perceived to be so ordinary and vulgar that they are not worthy of recollection. On the other hand, it is also thought to be indiscrete to mention smells in conjunction with specific people (Löfström 2000: 243–246). It also

seems to be the case that that the rural idyll is fragrant as opposed to smelly. In the act of recollection, we especially associate mental images of woods, flowers, fresh air, clear water, and maturing corn with that rural idyll. On the other hand, smells that are more disagreeable do not belong to these memories. However, the lively sensations of fragrances, smells, and tastes, when linked to objects, for instance, can activate memories associated with varied atmospheres and feelings, which can even appear as representations of a bygone age or era (Löfgren 1990, 199–201).

Collecting as a possible form of nostalgia

Nostalgia is also often linked to collecting and museum exhibitions, which are seen to create and foster personal and collective nostalgia. The practical aspect in the recollection of everyday objects and goods, however, does not emphatically form a part of the nostalgia felt by the collector; for him or her the more dominant aspect is the assembling of as perfect a collection as possible. The object has thus lost its practical aspect as a source of nostalgia. Objects become, on the other hand, the site of yearning as missing pieces of a collection (Kiuru 1995: 72–73). The collector's personal ties to the objects and the subject of his or her assemblage emerges and develops as the collection grows. The collector, so to speak, builds and creates memories through the objects of his or her assemblage. The objects already have a history and a past, which the collector attaches to his or her own memories. The collector moves on a variety of time levels: the past of the objects, his or her own memories, and the future, as collecting itself is always directed towards the future (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1993: 332). The relationship between the reminiscer and that is remembered, is based on a personal experience, however. When the recollection is directed towards objects not possessed by the reminiscer anymore, he or she moves completely into the world of their memories and constructs this world from a contemporary

vantage point. The individual sites of these memories exist as mental images and atmospheres.

It is but a short step from the collector's assemblages to the collections and exhibitions of the museums, which also contain the object of longing, i.e. the past, a way of life, and a zeitgeist. When a museum exhibition affects its visitor, it awakens nostalgic feelings in the visitor. Through these feelings, the visitor can at least partly feel that he or she has attained the object of his or her nostalgic yearning, i.e. the past and its personal experiences and memories. Both recollections and museum exhibitions attach the past to the present by distancing the object of recollection in time and space. The context in which recollection and nostalgic rendering takes place is completely different from that in which memories and images are rebuilt when viewing a museum exhibition and its exhibits. Memories and atmospheres are both familiar and unfamiliar. The closer the past in question is the more familiar and on the other hand, more alienated the spectator feels. Similar feelings are associated with all forms of nostalgic recollection. The past is rendered nostalgic within the contexts of contemporary familiarity and difference.

Translated by Jason O'Neill

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Popular History as Interpretation in the View of Oral Popular History Research

Tiiu Jaago, Tartu

Background of the issues

Oral history is connected with a part of my research work, in which I study thematic narratives that are based on real-life events. The main issues have been narrating events, one's ancestors and the past in general, as a tradition – what kind of their *own history* a group creates and what kind of regularities can be detected in transferring real life into the narrative. As a folklorist, I am particularly interested in the dynamics of oral tradition – that is, the balance between stability and change.

The term I use in Estonian is *pärimuslik ajalugu* – which is not the exact equivalent of 'oral history' or of 'popular history'. It is the popular treatment of history, being one possible interpretation of history based on popular storytelling techniques.

The narratives that I work on have been collected either as written narratives or oral interviews, and they are stored in four different archives in Tartu. The written narratives have mostly been gathered in collection campaigns organised by researchers.

I have chosen two narratives to analyse in this paper:¹ "The birth and development of the town of Kohtla-Järve", narrative

¹ Paper read at the international conference 'The Role of Oral History in Shaping Cultural and personal Identity' in Riga, May 2003.

written in 1961;² and “I lived in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic”, a narrative written in 2001.³ The main problem is how time is treated in them. Both stories speak of the past and the present of the same area – the industrial area in North-Eastern Estonia. I have dealt with the folklore of this area since 1991, which gives me background knowledge for analysing the two stories.⁴ Both stories are more or less of the same length. The earlier one is on 42 hand-written pages, the other on 19 typewritten pages plus the covering letter. Both stories emphasise the story of the place and the writer’s personal life is of secondary importance. Both stories reflect one of the crucial revolutionary periods in Estonian history – the 1940s–50s. But, the time interval between the two stories is 40 years: 1961 and 2001. Within this period, the political order had changed. Has the fact that the first story was told in the Soviet period and the second after the Soviet period, somehow influenced the evaluation of the beginning of the Soviet period (the 1940s–1950s) in them? The storytellers belong to different generations (the older was born at the beginning of the century, the younger one in 1929). Does the period in question open for the researcher or the reader ‘in the same key’ or do

² ERM, KV 92: 1006-1048.

³ KMEKLA f 350, 1071.

⁴ This area is in the North-Eastern part of Estonia - Kohtla-Järve that became a town in 1946. The smaller historical settlements, villages and Jõhvi, the historical centre of this area, were incorporated in the town. Jõhvi became independent again in 1991. These facts are of great importance for the local inhabitants. Characteristic to this area: 1. ancient settlement and therefore a firm ground for folklore tradition; 2. fast changes in the economic-political situation in the third quarter of the 19th century (opening the rail connection between Tallinn and Sank Petersburg in 1870, development of trade; discovery of oil shale; mining and processing of oil shale since the beginning of the 20th century); 3. industrial development brought along fast urbanisation, which caused a large inflow of labour force from the east in the Soviet period (1940-1991). At the moment, this is a problem area in Estonia due to ethnic and social problems and the slow-down of industrial development.

narrators from different generations perceive and reflect these years in completely divergent ways?

In text analysis, I used the method of dividing the text into the superstructure, macrostructure and microstructure.⁵ This allowed me to observe time as a structural part of the narrative and establish relationships between the narrative and time. The superstructure involves the text type and the broader context of the narrative (what seems to remain around the text, but not outside the text). On this level, I'll discuss three moments: the background of the sources as the textual (archive) context, the studied area as the socio-historical context, and the narrative tradition of the studied area as the folklore context. The macrostructure involves the general structure of the story: the plot, the characters and their roles, the way in which episodes are joined into a whole. On this level, I'll focus on the general structure of the story, the composition, the interrelations between parts of the text, and the time relations in different parts of the text. This structural level is the central one in this paper. The microstructure is the level of details. What kind of wording is used to express an opinion or to describe a character or an event and what kinds of sentences are used to join the single episodes together etc. On this level, I'll mention time expressions in the text, and evaluations as well as phrases and images characteristic of the period. As this structural level is highly language-centred, I'll leave it in the background.

How does the storyteller open up to the reader and what kind of framework does the archive build upon the narrative? The first story is stored in the Estonian National Museum and it was sent there in response to an appeal for collecting popular settlement histories and place legends. It is noteworthy that the title of this

⁵ This method I have employed mostly in runosong research, relying on the works of Lauri Harvilahti (Harvilahti 1992: 88–90; 2000), and on the other hand, inspired by the works of Yuri Lotman (Lotman: 1990: 8–42, 280–303). The starting point for this method lies in understanding the text, considering the interaction between the parts of the text and the surroundings of the text.

questionnaire (as well as the collection of written narratives) is “On the history of the collective farm area”. The topic is highly Soviet, but the stories themselves are completely traditional. This shows how parallel, simultaneous, and at the same time non-blending were the formal and the informal levels in Soviet society. On the other hand, it refers to the continuity of folk culture research in Estonian society.

This narrative differs from others (in total there are 29 narratives from the years 1955–1961), because firstly, it does not deal with a rural area, but an environment undergoing urbanisation and secondly, the time limit of the narrated history is unusually closed – 1916. The author does not reveal anything personal about herself, except the fact that she came to Kohtla-Järve in 1928, which is when her own observations start. These observations are the main source for her story.

The second story was a contribution to the collecting contest of Estonian Life Histories Association in 2000–2001 under the title “The Life of Myself and My Family in the Estonian SSR and the Republic of Estonia”. This story is unique among others that were sent to the contest, because the author concentrates on the story of the place (Jõhvi) and his job (he worked on the railway), and not his personal life. The author introduces himself as follows. He was born in 1929 in North-Eastern Estonia – in Jõhvi. This is also where his parents came from. He worked on the railway from 1948 to 1995. In the 1980s, he became involved in local studies.

Structure of the stories – the first story, from the year 1961

A page-long introduction speaks, based on historical literature, that oil-shale mines were founded in the area in 1916. It is worthy of note that the source is a book published in 1936. In the Soviet period, books published before the Soviet rule (1940) were practically prohibited. Such publications were in special sections in

libraries (and you had to have a special permit to read them). But people could also have these books at home, such as in this case.⁶

The narrator's own story spreads over three decades – from 1928 to 1961. The 30s and the 50s are covered on 18–19 pages each, leaving 5 pages for the revolutionary 1940s. It is surprising that the description of stable periods is significantly longer than the one reflecting revolutionary events. This is due to the main framework of the narrative.

In the first part, she describes the everyday routine (the workers' living conditions, clothing, food, a general view of the town). On the basis of such an everyday life description, she discloses the value judgements of the time (public life in the town, high living standards, positive relationships between people and the responsibility and diligence of public figures. On the negative side, the squandering lifestyle and tastelessness of workers' wives is shown as attempts for signs of outward prestige).

The views of a working woman of that time were confined to a very narrow space. Money was the only thing that joined [i.e. the working women with the bourgeois] and exalted the soul, it was the basis for everything nice and beautiful.

This example also shows the difference in the time of narrating and the time of action for the narrator – a working woman *of that time...*

The first part of the story becomes meaningful through the third part (the 1950s). In the comparative description of everyday life, the following become intertwined: a difference between the generally positive 1930s and the negative, but still hopeful 1950s). The contradiction of words and actions in the 1950s (*we read in the newspapers that... but in reality it is...*) being the Soviet-period idiom, which is strange for both the narrator and the reader and

⁶ Cf. censorship and its masters in the Estonian SSR: Veskimägi 1996: 41–48.



Figure 1: Kohtla miners 1937.

Photo: Johannes Triefeldt. Rakvere. Estonian National Museum

which she removes. For example, the different use of the word 'culture' in the Soviet-minded Russian language and the Estonian language – the expressions *to live culturally*, *to work in a cultured way* sound Russian – she translates these into Estonian. This wrong-sounding word allows the author to paraphrase: *but in the town we can see a different kind of 'culture'*, which, in this case, denotes something she does not consider culture – i.e. lack of culture. She does not use the word 'culture' in the descriptions of the 1930s, although she writes several paragraphs on this subject.

The weakening of value systems in the 1950s, as compared to the 1930s, is revealed, both in the domestic sphere (people had to give up earlier table manners because of the deficit of household goods in the Soviet period), and in the public sphere in the denial of phenomena that were regarded sacred. The two conflicts here are the language (the foreigners do not speak a word of Estonian and an Estonian, who does not speak Russian, needs to hire an interpreter to run some errands to, in or from a public office); and the ethics of behaviour (she associates the problems of the 50s with the historic cemetery of Jõhvi, where flowers were stolen from the graves and the graves were trampled on in the 50s, where drunkards and thieves spent time in the shabby chapel there).

The middle part of the story deals with the forties. This part mentions the comings and goings of both the Russian troops (power) as well as the German troops (power); both repression and evacuation; the destruction of a monument connected with Estonian history, its restoration and another destruction. No evaluations, let alone political evaluations, are given to elaborate the facts.

I have noticed a similar tendency in other stories by narrators born at the beginning of the century. They do not deal with the

1940s from the ideological or political point of view.⁷ Furthermore, it seems to me that people with an opposite view of the world tolerated each other quite well. In this area, for example, the stories of communist Alfred Stamm and inhabitants of Järve village; during the war the local people communicated both with German officers who boarded with local families, and Russian prisoners of war working as farm hands). This period was full of forced choices and everyday details for people. What mattered then were not always primarily the political views, but personal qualities.

From this period, the author of this narrative outlines the topic of food deficit. But differently from the narrators of the following generation, she talks about it on the basis of her own immediate starvation experience and relationships between people (later narratives mostly describe experiences that the author has seen or heard of).

The splitting into periods of the observed time enables the narrator to compare different sections of it. Otherwise, it would be just a sketch. But now the second part of the story, especially its end, gives the reader a clue for understanding the whole story as the evaluation system of the narrator or society.

The overgrowth of the village society by industry, at the beginning of the 20th century, is not described as a conflict. In this narrative, as well as in others from the same area, the establishment

⁷ A man born in Pärnu County in 1900, opens up the history of his generation in opposition to three, not two, periods: the Czarist period, the period of the Republic of Estonia and the Soviet period. Because of that, there is not only one period of shock. In his opinion, instability and the time of fast changes is characteristic to his generation: *Life has made an enormous progress during the period to which my lifetime belongs. If you compare this with the lives of previous generations, you could say that earlier sons used to continue the same way their fathers did. Still the same way, life went on as if like along a well-trodden path, with few changes. If father had driven a wooden wagon, now you had an iron wagon already [---]* (Silluste 2003 Appendix: 1).

of industry and relationships, between people in this environment, are described as pleasant.

The narrator does not point directly and clearly to the problem of the 'non citizens' in the 1950s, but the problem does exist. To this day, problems with language and the public weal are referred to as conflict issues, but now it is done with an emphasis, in connection with the Soviet migration policy.

Structure of the stories – the second story, from the year 2001

This story consists of two parts that deal with the Soviet period and a third, half-page long part – “at the threshold of Estonia’s regained independence”. The latter is not discussed in this paper. What is interesting is that he describes one period twice in the same story: differently from the previously discussed narrator, he has not built up his story on periodisation or the opposition between time sections. In the first part, (called “I lived in the Soviet Socialist Republic” – 8 pages), he observes the Soviet period from the aspect of his profession (he works on the railway). In the second part, (called “Life in Soviet Estonia chronologically” – 10 pages), he gives a more general description of this period. Here the reader can find lots of urban folklore, popular political anecdotes etc. The general timing of the story follows the chronological principle, however, in each part a different scheme is used.

In the first part, the narrator keeps to the time the events occurred, referring to years as landmarks (*towards the end of March 1950 I was ordered to go...; on the evening of 26th December 1960, when I came to the night shift...*). This suggests that the narrative is based both on memory and some source texts (diaries of that time, newspapers etc.). He does not use comparisons or explanations (for example: *at that time it was...but now it is*). He departs from the time of the events when he talks about the history of the railway in 1870–1996 (but he presents this topic in a

chronological order) and when he talks about some experiences from the year 1944 (on the war front) and 1949 or 1950 (the singing of nightingales in Sinimäed). These experiences actualise later in the narrator's life, he mentions them in his story and they cause interruptions in the sequence of real-life events.

In the second part, he not only concentrates on facts but also on emotions, the media and evaluation. This, however, makes the time of narrating more significant and causes repeated interruption in the natural flow of events – that is, in the linear time axis. He describes each topic as a layer of events. For example, the deportation in March 1949, which was preceded by preparations, and followed by the protest of the 'forest brothers', the local partisans. Next, he mentions a novel published in 1966, in which this concealed subject was first disclosed. Then, he returns to the beginning of the 1950s and describes the hopeful moods of that time (the sentence that marks the transition to this topic is *a drowning man will clutch at a straw*). People listened to foreign radio stations, searching for good omens in the messages. *But unfortunately there was no turn for the better...* he states. Then, he recalls the first broadcast of 'The Voice of America' in 1951 and immediately mentions the 1980s – until that time, it was nearly impossible to listen to this radio station, because – according to the author – *the Russians switched on their powerful radio interference equipment to prevent reception of the station*.

There are more epithets and emphasis, the choice of words refers to an emotional state. Metaphors are more clearly distinguished. For example, the train metaphor – the trains of the repressed that took the deported Estonians to Siberia and the 'sack boy' trains that brought people to Estonia from the east. *I remember, the narrator says, that on summer evenings of 1946 the passenger train from Leningrad was but a moving heap of people*.

The main pattern of this story is chronological, but it observes just one period of time – the Soviet period, although it does so twice.

I have mentioned that, in the first part, the time of the narrative is mostly the time of the events. We could ask whether the 'second

time' (the time of narrating as the present time) is non-existent in this text. Actually it is not so. The narrator chooses from the past only what is forgotten or unknown today – what does not belong to the time of narrating. So, he uses a contextual opposition (comparison), not opposition (comparison) as a structural method within the text itself.

He describes all the decades of the Soviet period, but he does not do it proportionally, the main focus is on the 1940s–1950s. Differently from the story of the first author, these decades have acquired a political flavour.



Figure 2: Opening of Lenin's monument in Jõhvi 30th August 1953.
Photo: homepage of Jõhvi city administration <http://www.johvilv.ee>

Interruptions in the linear time flow are caused by changes in the subject. The more the emotional and/or evaluative level is added, the more time-layers are included in the narrative within the framework of the topic.

Conclusion

I started with a question of the choices that different generations have made and of the influence of the narrating time on place narratives. In general tonality – the hidden or outspoken denial of the Soviet period is evident in both stories.

However, the emphasis is different. The distance in time takes the narrator further away from the events, but the years meanwhile have added experiences – the after-effect of the events. The deepening of the political flavour arises most certainly from the experience of the years between the events and the time of narrating (personal experience of the Russification, political restrictions etc.).

But from the distance also narrated past is added. Through storytelling one's opinions and texts are schematised, elaborated, in dialogue with different opinions and other texts. This way, every generation gives not only an account of events to folklore, but also the story of thought. In the first story, it was expressed in the description of the value system, in the second story, it was expressed in the political views (especially the anecdotes) on the one hand, and in the cheerless fate of *our own nation* on the other hand.

Translated by Ann Kuslap

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Appendix

1. The Topics and Time Schedule of the First Narrative (1961)

1930s	1940s	1950s
18 pages	5 pages	19 pages
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>crisis in housing</i> • <i>building of parks</i> • <i>building of workers' villages</i> • <i>place names</i> • <i>free public sauna and medical care</i> • <i>service</i> • <i>clothing and food – the outward factors of prestige</i> • <i>social and ethnic composition of workers – stress-free environment</i> • <i>the model life-style of public figures</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>change in political power</i> • <i>deportation and evacuation</i> • <i>destruction (1940) of the monument of War of Independence (1918–1919), restoration during the war and destruction after the war</i> • <i>social and ethnic relationships during the war</i> • <i>lack of food</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>living conditions</i> • <i>public service as a matter of honour</i> • <i>striving for education</i> • <i>food matters</i> • <i>backlash in the appearance of the town, relationships between people (strangers), table manners</i> • <i>conflict situation</i> • <i>predomination of Russian language</i> • <i>destruction of the sacred (cemetery)</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • no conflicts between local people • improvement in living standards 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • no evaluation given • everyday details in the foreground 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • description of the conflict caused by migration, but no political reasons given

2.1. The Topics and Time Schedule of the Second Narrative (Part I). 2001

Story is divided into four thematic groups Within each topic the story is chronologically sequenced	Page
<i>1944 – on the war front and end of the war</i>	1
<i>1948</i>	2
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>start of work on the railway</i> • <i>railway history in Estonia 1870–1996</i> • <i>personal data sheet (to control the person's political background) and other typically Soviet phenomena</i> 	3-5
<i>1950–61</i>	3-5
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>work conditions and duties on the railway</i> • <i>in particular: political power and the railway</i> 	5
<i>1960–70</i>	5
<i>railway workers' day – state holidays/ drinking</i>	
<i>1950s</i>	6
<i>technical development of the railway</i>	
<i>1949–50</i>	6-8
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>memory of a 'concert of nightingales' to those perished in the war, who lay in unmarked graves</i> • <i>making fun of 'Russian' (non-Estonian) colleagues and portraits of colleagues-Estonians</i> • <i>anecdotal story of the author himself to describe that time (each activity – in this case, digging a hole with a spade – was politically suspicious at the beginning of the Soviet period)</i> 	

2.2. The Topics and Time Schedule of the Second Narrative (Part II)

1940s–1950s	Page
1949 – <i>administrative reforms</i>	9-15
1944 – <i>re-establishment of Soviet power</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>the topic of the repressed (1949–1966)</i> • <i>the topic of hope (1951–1980s)</i> 	
1947 – <i>the miners' day; end of food coupon system; monetary reform, political anecdote</i>	
1949 – <i>deportation in March</i>	
1950 – <i>Estonian national division in Jõhvi</i>	
1950 – <i>10th Anniversary of Estonian SSR (political anecdotes, urban legends)</i>	
1953 – <i>death of Stalin</i>	
1957 – <i>opening of the Jõhvi–Tallinn airline; hijack of a plane</i>	
1969	
<i>1960s: Jõhvi becomes part of the town of Kohtla-Järve; Brezhnev comes to the power; fires in the mine waste hills</i>	15-16
<i>1970s–1980s: wages; Olympic Games, Russianisation; CPSU chairmen; Tshernobyl</i>	16-19

The Culture of Rupture in the Estonian Narrative Memory of the Stalinist Experience

Ene Kõresaar, Tartu

Introduction

My paper¹ raises a question regarding the dynamic inter-relatedness of individual (private) experiences and memory and public historical representations of the Stalinist period in Estonia.

Methodologically, I apply Peter Alheit's model of 'social memory' (Alheit 1989) regarding written life stories. Alheit's model proceeds from biographical knowledge and connects it with a broader social and cultural context. On one hand, Alheit makes a distinction between an experience-related recollection scheme, the different levels of which are linked to each other by the ability of an individual to link his/her experiences to common ones; and, on the other hand, an event-distant interpretation scheme, which ranges from everyday interpretation practice to education, the juridical system, science and arts. There is tension between a recollection scheme and an interpretation scheme, which is caused by historical and social specifics of biographical experience.

Analytically, I distinguish between different levels at which the categories of public and private operate: first, the temporally specific framework of relationships; secondly, the individual's

¹ This article is based on a paper presented at the European Social Science History Conference 24–27 March in Berlin, Germany. The research for the preparation of this article has been supported by the Estonian Science Foundation Grant 5322.

experience of these relationships and how they change; thirdly, the textual expression of these relationships. By this third dimension, I mean both the way the individual makes thematic the (changing) relationship between public and private, as well as the possible question of why he or she does not do so at any given point. A fourth dimension entails the weight and proportion of public discourses of different eras as they inform the interpretations of private pasts.

The problem of the relationship of public and private is inseparable from the relationship between individual and collective. As an ethnologist, who takes as her point of departure the concepts of experience and memory, I understand the collective to be a cultural form of experience that is both personal and shared. As distinct from social scientists, researchers in cultural studies regard the collective as originating from human understanding. At the very least, the collective exists on the level of feeling, but it is born from a more definitive sense when people experience themselves as belonging to or being part of that collective. I define collectivity here, as belonging to a people or nation, a choice that grows out of the context of life stories and also from the intentions clearly expressed in the life stories under discussion. The collected as the national is expressed on the textual level of life stories in at least two aspects. The first aspect is text-creation, description and interpretation: how the individual thematizes his or her relationship to the collective as well as the collective itself (e.g. through hierarchies, a typology of collectives or the ideal of the 'good' or 'right' collective). Second, the text is an expression of activity that takes place in the collective (meaning here the republic with its newly gained independence). Here, we might ask ourselves how the specific individual representation of the past is connected with collective representations of the past. Many of the representations of the collective or of collectivity are based on media influences, as well as on notions gleaned from conversations among the members of (sub)collectivities.

Analysing stories about the Stalinist experience in these life stories I proceed from following questions: How individual stories

intertwine to 'textual communities'? How popular auto-biographers use 'public memories' (e.g. institutionalised texts, references to commemoration sites etc.) to represent/explore one's own private experiences (i.e. the question of inter-textuality in/of life stories)? How (and which) social myths function in life stories as scripts to support the structure of memory?

I begin with the last question by using focus, on the emergence of 'rupture', as the dominant narrative template in private and public post-soviet memory in Estonia.

Private and public in the (re)emergence of 'rupture' as a narrative template

The life stories written in the 1990s, by older Estonians, are marked by a strong sense of nationalism, close connections with national history, and the consequent use of national and political repertoire when interpreting individual life events. In addition, these events have a testimonial quality. The competitions for the collection of life histories, which by their very existence and rhetoric were a part of the discourse of nationalism of that time, pushed certain experiences into the public sphere which in the Soviet era were only to be located in the latent drawer of private memories. Furthermore, in the collection of life histories, the focus was on the participation of individuals in collective (national) history (cf. Hinrikus 2000: 8).

The urge to remove the covering from the 'blank spots', (another one of the keywords of 1988–1991), of national history by putting on paper and making public one's life story was the main motivation for the 'biographical boom.' The conflict between private and public that was experienced and made conscious is the context for the writing of life histories in the 1990s, and for sending them to museums. The resolution of the conflict is seen to exist in the writing down and preservation of the story, so that history can be handed back to the 'right collective' – Estonian

people. In the public rhetoric of the 1990s, each individual Estonian was treated as a part of the 'national body'. The call to 'give history back to the Estonians' meant simultaneously the rethinking of history with (Estonian) nationality at the centre, that is, writing 'real' history, and the emphasis of the collective experience being reflected. Thus, in the written and orally narrated life stories of Estonians, during the so-called transition era, the relationships between public and private, individual and collectives are problems of key importance, problems which have their own history and, depending on when the life story was written, their own present and future perspectives. The point of departure, for my reading of written life stories of elderly Estonians, is this national-political context in its narrow sense.

A strict distinction between public and private in society was also expressed in the ways history (here specifically Estonian History) was regarded, both officially and on an individual level. With the Soviet occupation (both in 1940–41 and 1944–91) the writing and teaching of history was subordinated to the centralised totalitarian political regime. The official understanding of history took a sharp turn: if in the Estonian Republic the writing of history (and especially its teaching in the schools) was structured according to the principles of nationalism, with the purpose of forming in Estonians a consciousness of national and state citizenship, historical research and the teaching of history now became a part of ideological class struggle, with the paramount aim of developing Soviet patriotism and giving rise ultimately to All-Union nationhood. Estonian history was restructured according to the Marxist idea of the crucial importance of revolutions as the engines of history. What is significant, to the questions I am posing, is that with the new Soviet treatment of history two contradictory interpretations were created of the period that coincides with the childhood of the generation cohort under analysis (the Estonian Republic, 1918–1939–40) and their years of youth in the Stalin-era Estonian SSR.

Dominant in the interpretation of this period, first set forth in Soviet propaganda after 1940, and later solidified through the

methodologies of Estonian historians, was discussion of public history; the other dimension, national historical consciousness, which was based on private experience, whether direct or indirect, was passed on largely through oral transmission.

Omitted from the official version of history in the Estonian SSR were those historical events which most affected the private history of families, the so-called 'other history' – the War of Independence (1918–1920), government leaders of the Estonian Republic (especially President K. Päts), the secret protocol of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact of 1939, the Forest Brethren movement after the Second World War (1944–1951), the mass flight of Estonians to the West to escape the Soviet invasion in 1944, and, most of all the repression and mass deportations. In the official history of the communist regime, these events and persons were suppressed.

In the discourse of the so-called 'new national awakening' in the end of the 1980s, the filling of 'blank spots' was the central position. Previous Soviet treatment of history was opposed by another normative approach to history – the national approach that considered the nation's aspiration to independence as an ultimate engine of history. History became the argument for national independence that filled the role of national consolidation and construction of the significant 'other'. As a counterbalance to the Soviet official approach to the Stalinist period as the 'period of socialist revolution and construction' was set the image of 'national rupture' based on the nationalist approach (Laar, Vahre, Valk 1989).

'Rupture' as a narrative template in the context of the Estonian 'textual community'

What are the events, persons and meanings that make 'rupture'? What is the structure of 'rupture' as the dominant narrative template in the Estonian narrative memory? I will try to answer the question by exemplifying the role of the 'textual community' in the

conceptualisation of 'rupture' in the context of the end of 1980s and beginning of 1990s in Estonia.

The question of 'textual community', to put it otherwise, is the question of how different semiotic means are used to organise memory. I base my analysis on the James Wertsch' idea that the members of a group share a certain representation of the past because they share textual resources. The outcome of their use may be the formation of homogeneous, complementary, or contested memory, but the key to the question of the distribution or transmission of memory is to understand the role of the text (and knowledge of the text) in this process (Wertsch 2002: 25–27). A notion very close to 'knowledge of the text', namely 'textual community', has been applied by Vieda Skultans in her interpretation of Latvian life-stories, especially pertaining to childhood memories (Skultans 1998). The 'textual community' is a micro-society organised out of shared understanding of texts. Through participation in the activities of a textual community, the individual acquires an experience of these textual materials around which a community has organised itself, without necessarily having read them themselves (cf. Wertsch 2002: 27).

'Rupture' as a narrative template has not only emerged with the post-communist turn in Estonia, but is characteristic of the Estonian national historical consciousness in general. Rupture and continuity in the sense of nationalistic determination of independence has two poles, upon which the writing of Estonian national history is founded. Estonian history is period structured according to foreign powers, every non-Estonian interference is interpreted as an offensive alien rule, even during the period when European states as a rule were dynastic instead of national in their form (compare for example the 'ancient struggle for independence', 1208–1227). In 1996, an Estonian writer, Hasso Krüll, wrote:

"Estonian culture is originally built on the motif of rupture. The first positive rupture is Estonians detaching themselves from the Baltic-German cultural community and from the German cultural community in general. The first negative rupture was the historical myth about the loss of ancient national independence. All the

following [ruptures] have been to a lesser or greater extent their variations. [...] In the 1990s, this basic motif has emerged once again. The positive rupture is personified in the regaining of political independence together with breaking off of what has preceded; the negative rupture was falling under the Russian power during WW II. The whole current cultural discourse is based on the emphasising of these two ruptures” (Krull 1996: 7).

The cultural discourse of the so-called New National Awakening at the end of the 1980s turned to the texts created during the previous national awakening in the second half of the 19th century. One of them was *Kalevipoeg* ('Son of Kalev'), compiled by Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald in 1857–1861 that became later the Estonian national epic. Kreutzwald himself designed *Kalevipoeg* as a monument to a dying language. In Estonian historiography, *Kalevipoeg* is regarded as a sign, which consummated the changes that occurred in the consciousness of Estonian peasantry as a result of comprehensive reforms. Consequently, “Estonians started to analyse more their positions and think about the future of their people” (Adamson, Valdmaa 1999: 111).

There are many layers of *Kalevipoeg* in Estonian culture; it has been successfully employed by different systems and ideologies: in the 1930s, *Kalevipoeg* was the symbol of the diligent Estonian, in the 1950s, he was harnessed in front of the socialist construction (Uibo 1986). *Kalevipoeg* is the hero; his (ur)enemy – the Sorcerer – personifies various foreign powers in different periods: in the 1930s, it was the (German) crusader in the ancient war of freedom, during the Soviet regime – Hitler in the Great Patriotic War, and in the post-soviet rhetoric it was Stalin himself. For Estonian nationalism, *Kalevipoeg* embodies a vision of a nation state – “when Kalev comes home” (cf. Petersen 2003).

The following example in the form of a poem uses the plot and poetic form of the epic *Kalevipoeg* to construct the rupture in the history of 20th century Estonia and in the lives of Estonians. The author of this poem is a man, born in 1925, who sent his life story to the Estonian Life Histories Association in 1991, shortly after the re-independence. The poem was included. He wrote in the

accompanying letter that his object is to concentrate on events that mirrored my destiny and the destiny of many other people (Male, 1925, KM EKLA f 350, 274).

<p><i>The strongest son of Kalev's clan</i></p> <p><i>Is standing on a steep shore</i> <i>Thoughts of past times upon his mind</i> <i>Of past times good and bad</i></p>	<p>The present = starting point of reflection and reminiscence Kalev has reached home = regaining of Estonian national independence</p>
<p><i>Remembers crops flourishing in fields</i></p> <p><i>Healthy goose on meadows</i> <i>Stores, which were full of grain</i> <i>Cellars packed with vegetables</i></p>	<p>Dominant image of history about the pre-WW II Estonian Republic Pastoralism as a dominant strategy of construction</p>
<p><i>But then sorcerers together</i></p> <p><i>Made a secret plan</i></p> <p><i>Divided lands and woods</i> <i>And countries, nations, parishes</i></p>	<p>Reference to the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact in 23.08.1939 and its secret protocol about the division of Europe A hot issue for the Estonian public since 1987, a trigger of so-called New/Second National Awakening</p>
<p><i>They rushed all over borders</i></p> <p><i>Robbed what hands could take</i></p> <p><i>Rushed headlong and destroyed</i></p> <p><i>The farm in the western valley</i></p>	<p>Starting the WW II in 1939 Estonia's annexation and occupation by the USSR in 1940 actualization of the theme 'a state as a farm'</p>

<p><i>Children, women, grannies, grandpas And anyone who could be caught</i></p> <p><i>Were thrown into prison</i></p> <p><i>Sent to the Cold Land</i></p> <p><i>Who fell ill and passed away Was left there on the way Was thrown out of the carriage Was thrown on the track</i></p> <p><i>Now on that long track there are hundreds of nameless graves No crosses, no gravestones No names on the mounds.</i></p> <p><i>What a trouble. What can you do, your soul bleeding and mind bitter Can you yet once find your distant relatives</i></p>	<p>The first mass deportations of Estonians on 14.06.1941</p>
<p><i>But then the sorcerers, tails straight, Rammed their horns together Moaned and groaned So measured their strength</i></p> <p><i>Strikes banged aloud Waters and rocks rumbled Cities were full of fire and tar Land and earth were jumbled up</i></p> <p><i>In that enormous fight Both sorcerer and witch took poison The other sorcerer then had a party He was the winner in the west and east</i></p>	<p>The starting of war between Germany and USSR Hostilities on Estonian ground</p> <p>The ending of WW II and death of Hitler</p> <p>The ending of WW II as an actual victory by Stalin, completion of the division of Europe</p>

<p><i>Countries were cut into sheaves with a sickle And beaten together with a hammer Were forced into one Union One state was formed</i></p>	<p>Re-occupation of Estonia and its thematization by means of Soviet state symbols (hammer and sickle)</p>
<p><i>Those who had had more schooling Seen the ancient time Were gathered together And sent into slavery</i></p> <p><i>Again the senders were the same – The followers, workmen of the sorcerer They did not have mercy, nor favour Only derision and tin bullets</i></p>	<p>Starting Stalinist repressions (incl. The second mass deportation in 25.03.1949), their thematization in connection to the older generation's self-identification (= the 'Estonian-time' generation as the main subject of repressions)</p> <p>Thematization of the division of national collectivity</p>
<p><i>Years passed</i></p>	<p>Ignoring the period of 'mature socialism' ...</p>
<p><i>And came the end to the Devil's government and rule He turned to dust like a mortal man Who has stood in others' way for a long time</i></p> <p><i>The ceiling of the hell tore up and cracked The power of sorcerers had come to an end Was torn here and broken there Cracked all over the world</i></p> <p><i>Suddenly the life in camps changed New hope was born for people Long and hard was the way To get home, over land and sea</i></p>	<p>... and identifying it with the Stalinist period in Estonia as rupture (mature socialism as an extension to Stalinism): Warlock = Stalin = Communist powers in Estonia</p> <p>Evaluation of Soviet times in Estonia as being in camps Hope for re-independence equated with 'coming home' (= restoration)</p>

<p><i>So then Kalev, too, came home And looked in front of him He stood on the cliff And thought his troubled thoughts</i></p>	<p>The national hero Kalev has come home = Estonian people have found themselves: the re-independence of the Estonian Republic in 1991</p>
<p><i>The strongest son of Kalev's clan is standing on the edge of cliff. He looks at sea, he looks at land He looks what's become of Estonia.</i></p>	
<p><i>He frowns, his mind is bitter because his farm's been destroyed. He stands, looks, and plans can it be built anew?</i></p>	<p>Evaluation of the consequences of Soviet times in Estonia: interruption and deterioration, destruction of the national way of life (the farm)</p>
<p><i>The strongest son of Kalev's clan throws wandering thoughts out of his head he rolls up his sleeves and starts working.</i></p>	
<p><i>He toils a day and two and home gets more beautiful. He adds more eagerness to work and land becomes like new</i></p>	<p>Restoration of the national home by means of hard work (= Slogans of the New National Awakening in the 1980s and beginning of the 90s – building up the nation state through necessary hardships)</p>
<p><i>If only God gave peacetime, work full of energy Then everything can be put in order fields, woods and governing body.</i></p>	

In this poem, the popular view of 20th century Estonia is represented as it was actualized during the 'New National Awakening' and used in the rhetoric of national re-independence in the early 1990s. The period from 1939 till 1991 could be summarized as 'the Great Rupture' – repression, destruction of way of life, people living in 'camps' physically and mentally. The events of the 1940s emerge particularly as annexations and occupations. The main motifs of the 'rupture' are in sharp contradiction to the previous harmonious national development, its consequent deterioration,

repression and genocide of the Estonian people, expansion of the way of life unacceptable to Estonians. The meaning of rupture (and its length – i.e. whether the time of mature socialism is included in the notion of rupture or not) is derived from the later developments in Estonia, especially from the other, positive rupture in 1991 (the regaining of independence).

This popular poem that was probably written in 1991, in honour of the Estonian Republic created that year, vividly exemplifies the structure of 'rupture' in Estonian narrative memory. To employ the words of the Estonian writer Hasso Krull: "the idea of rupture never consists of its one-time fixation. A rupture always means repetition, it is a string of countless reiterations that creates oscillation" (Krull 1996: 7).

The cultural meaning of 'rupture' in Estonian narrative memory

In what follows, I will analyze how is 'rupture' as a narrative template 'solved' in the life stories of elderly Estonians, pointing out what were its inner dynamics during the 1990s and relations to the public discourse and institutionalized approach to history (such as school text books and popular history books written by professional historians). Though the 'rupture', as narrative template, involves a more complex structure than the Stalinist period(s) in Estonia, I am limiting my present analysis to the latter.

It is important to point out that the repertoire, underlying the thematization of 'rupture', is based on the categories of culture and ethnicity. The central question for autobiographers is about symbols, morality and national integrity. Whereas in the institutionalized 'memory documents' (text books etc.) the political repertoire ('annexation', 'occupation') is used to characterize the changes in the times of 'rupture', the ethnic repertoire (*Russians came*) prevails in the life stories. The latter originates from the tradition of periodizing history according to the foreign rule in the Baltic-

German and Estonian national historiography. The so-called 'last Russian time' (quoted from the title of a popular book written by a professional historian, Vahtre 2002) refers not only to a political period in Estonian history but also to the cultural meaning bestowed to the arrangement of the Soviet time (Russian = Soviet in the sense of bad, absurd, poor, low-grade and irrational) as well as to the ethnic processes (migration).

The 'cultural meaning' of 'rupture' or 'rupture as a narrative template' could be otherwise referred to as myth, because in a sense, it is conceptualized in Oral History (Samuel, Thompson 1990), social anthropology (Lévi-Strauss) and/or semiology (Barthes). In historical memory studies, as well as in European Ethnology, the concepts of 'image of history' (*Geschichtsbild*) (Heins 1993; Fulbrook 1999) and 'collective tradition' (Eriksen 1997) are used as a certain versions of 'myth' (like the concept of 'social script' in psychology) to indicate a complex of explanations and meaning that are contained in the ways of social thoughts (Roberts 2002: 131).

In life stories, we can specify popular mythology and the ways it carries moral values by ranking, naming events and giving them meanings. Selection of types and persons to describe certain periods of life is – like selection of events – partly symbolic in exemplifying the world's cruelty and injustice, or its basic benevolence towards the narrator. "Any autobiographical narrative doubles as a morality: and this can be discerned not only in its shaping, but in the mythical elements which may be juxtaposed with unique personal memory" (Samuel, Thompson 1990: 11). The loom of selection in Estonian narrative memory, on Stalinist experience, is clearly in documenting collective destiny, *in testimonio* that organize around 'rupture' as the narrative template or the dominant script of the understanding of the past in Estonian narrative memory, public as well as private.

Below I will focus on some central cultural themes of 'rupture' using the above-mentioned poem as an example.

*'Rupture' as actualization of the pastoral image
of the pre-war independence*

The reminiscences of elderly Estonians about their childhood are also memories of the period of independence of the nation. The images of history that express a collective understanding of the historical reality and knowledge of shared mutual timing are important factors in the formation of the identity of a generation. Estonians, born in the 1920s, acquired their childhood and youth experience in the environment of national modernization, in the subsequent period of Soviet occupation the memories of this experience crystallized as a patriotic anti-experience opposed to the reality and gave rise to a type of narrative about a 'national' childhood. The (childhood) memories of the previous period of independence were actualized by the nationalist enthusiasm of 'the second awakening' in the early period of regaining independence and by the atmosphere of restitution at the end of the 1980s and early 1990s. Although, during the social-political developments of the 1990s, these memories lost their wider social significance, they continue to be vital carriers of group-specific values on the basis of which a dialogue with the changing society is conducted.

In the life stories, the village of childhood relates to such esteemed social values as solidarity, mutual help, respect and informal equality. In the recollections, the village is construed as an ideal national society where no one person dominates the others or assumes a position of power. Equal members of the society are engaged in co-operation to ensure harmonious operation of the social structure.

Just as the farm is a proper childhood environment in the life stories, the organisation of life and social relationships in the (home) farm represents an ideal order for the autobiographers. The farm is a metaphor for the right/proper nation state focusing on internal purity, economy of (national) resources and self-determination. The method leading to self-determination and ensuring it is honesty and diligence, wise calculation, optimum division

of labour and in advance planning (the so-called peasant wisdom). Such order of things is considered to be the ideal model for the functioning of both the system (state) and private institutions (family) (cf. Kõresaar 2002; 2004b).

*'Rupture' as an encounter of national symbols and
cultural conflict*

Thematization of national symbols and institutions such as colours of the national tricolour, legendary state leaders, national mass organizations, is in the central position in the image of history about the pre-war Estonian Republic. It is characteristic that their thematization occurs when the narrator reaches the point of rupture, for example when the narrator starts to tell about the happenings in 1939 and 1940, he or she returns to the time of the pre-war 'first republic' and starts reminiscing his/her life in connection with national symbols and activities connected to them. Or vice versa – rupture is being thematized in life stories through the fall of national state symbols. The theme of falling symbols occurs in different emotional contexts that have different strategic functions in life stories. First of all, irony and ridicule is used as strategy in order to declare the establishment soviet power in Estonia illegal and illegitimate. This strategy belongs more to the life stories from the first half of the 1990s and is obviously connected to the so-called juridical period (Rahi 1998) in the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s (juridical period – before closer public examination of central historical events of 1939 and 1940 in Estonia, legal professions and historians evaluated them from the point of view of international law).

In the construction of the illegitimacy of the 'rupture' important part is the problematization of national integrity as well as the ideological and ethnical 'other'. The first concerns the proponents of the new systems that are thematized in the life stories as being non-Estonians or lacking the most important features of proper

Estonian-ness as described in the context of 'national childhood' – diligence, love of hard work, masterly behaviour with land and soil and peasant wisdom (as being sceptical towards the communist ideology). The theme of ethnic and cultural conflict appears in the life stories in connection with the topic of invasion of the Soviet troops and first personal encounters with Soviet soldiers. The latter are characterized through the categories of culture and hygiene that continued to be the main categories in the popular discourses about Estonia's past and future during the 1990s as was shown for example in Pille Runnel's research on popular discourses on the issue of Estonia's integration into EU (Runnel 2003). The Soviet soldiers are presented in the life stories as dirty, poorly dressed, lacking in knowledge of the world, ignorant, uncultivated and ideologically brainwashed. This image of culturally unacceptable invasion, in the form of anecdote-like stories about Soviet soldiers encountering a civilized world in Estonia, has been selected also by professional historians for popular history books (for ex. Laar 2000).

Another dominant emotion connected to the 'rupture', as the falling of national symbols, is anxiety and feeling of disability that are expressed in the light of the following repression and continuing Soviet occupation after WW II. In this context, the Soviet Stalinist period in Estonia is demonized in advance as the *empire of all evil*, and the fear of constant secret surveillance and oppression (NKVD as *men in black leather jackets*) and Siberia as great martyrdom are thematized.

Siberia as rupture – rupture as suffering

The symbolic capital and political currency of Siberian survivorship was an important feature in Estonian public discourse in the early 1990s, and the politics of commemoration around Siberia is contestatory (cf. Anepaio 2003). During the Soviet times, there has been more information about the first mass deportation in 1941. There was a well-developed repertoire of commemoration about it

among Estonian diaspora in the West (novels, anniversary commemoration rituals etc.). With the emergence of historical and memory debates, in the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s, the focus, at first, was also on the events of 1939–1941 (which in turn was related to the so-called juridical period).

During the 1990s, different repression experiences melt together to one ‘Narrative of Suffering’. First, different experiences are perceived this way by an audience – as Rutt Hinrikus, the compiler of a Siberian stories collection ‘We Came Back’ in 1999, says in her later analysis about its feedback: “the whole topic of deportation melts together into one great martyrdom, toward which one is expected to show compassion and horror. Despite the fact that the book contained the stories of people deported at many different times: those deported as young people in 1941; two people imprisoned and sent to the camps in 1946; five deported in 1949, the dominant impression for the reader was one theme, one experience. All of these people suffered, regardless of the time, the reasons, or the degree of their suffering” (Hinrikus 2004).

In the narrative of suffering, there is a strong figure of ‘destiny’ (*saatus*) which, as the linguist Leena Huima’s (2002) study of the word *saatus* (destiny) as linguistic stereotype and metaphor in Estonian and Finnish women’s life narratives shows, has strong implications on Estonian historical consciousness as a small nation. A key aspect of the meaning and use of these terms is the degree of agency the writer attributes to him/herself in shaping the course of her life. Tiina Kirss (2004b) has shown in her analysis of the theme of Siberia in Estonian women’s life stories, that “The connotations and tonality of the Estonian word *saatus* closely resemble that of the Latvian *liktenis*, explored by Vieda Skultans with respect to post-Soviet Latvian life histories (Skultans 1998: 48). The term *liktena stasti* — literally translated as tales of destiny—is used interchangeably with life histories of the politically repressed. Although it can be used in everyday speech with a more neutral or attenuated meaning, *saatus* has the valence of ineluctability and inevitability, if not determinism; when fate enters, there remains a limited level of choice; expectations and agency are largely

subverted or short-circuited as the life-course is disrupted. On an emotional level, *saatus* almost invariably signifies darkness, sadness and loss, doom rather than good fortune.' She suggests that 'in light of these signals latent in the word 'destiny' frequently used in the titles of biographies, life stories should be read as attentive to stylistic and structural clues to a meta-narrative of fateful suffering" (Kirss 2004b: 117f).

There is an interesting dynamic observable in the inner structure of the theme 'rupture as suffering'. In the life stories of the first half of the 1990s, the 'rupture' is focused on the events of 1940–41. I assume that this has to do with the so-called juridical period in history and memory debates as well as the available possibilities for practising public commemoration (there was a 50th anniversary of the first mass deportation in 1991 that was preceded by the movement for re-establishing monuments of freedom destroyed by Soviet authorities in 1940 and 1941). In the life stories, collected at the end of the 1990s, the emphasis in the theme of 'rupture' is clearly put on the Soviet re-occupation after WW II. Again, it could be assumed that the date of the second mass deportation in 1949 (the 50th commemoration day in 1999) has a central role in this shifted focus of 'rupture'. Although the wider public has lost interest in the Estonian history of suffering by the second half of the 1990s (cf. Anepaio 2003), it was by no means the end of the autobiographical memory work that started to boom by that time and, in turn, contributed to the formation of the 'Narrative of Suffering' (Hinrikus 2004). There is also a demographic aspect of this shift of 'rupture' in Estonian narrative memory as there are more survivors of the 1949 deportation. Tightly connected to the theme of repression is the topic of forced collectivization referred to as *destruction of farms* (comp. Hinnov 1999) in the life stories. 'Destruction of farms' was a powerful argument in the de-collectivization and privatization process in the 1990s, and that, in turn, served as a trigger for remembering for many people.

Instead of a conclusion: 'rupture' in the dialogue of 'times' in Estonian life stories

Time and its implications in the construction of memory are fundamental in understanding of human activity. A biographical narrative is a complex relation of perceptions of the past and future in the present experience and its changing contexts (Adams 1990). Therefore, meaning bestowed on a certain period of life in life stories can only be fully revealed when compared with other periods.

'Rupture' as the dominant narrative template and image of history for the Stalinist period in Estonia has multiple meanings and functions in the dialogue with other images of history in the life stories of elderly Estonians.

First of all, 'rupture' constitutes the 'glasses' through which the previous period of national independence obtain the meaning of the time of national harmony and prosperity. 'Rupture' in this sense *robs* the people of their (national) *values that could have lasted forever* (woman, b. 1926, KM EKLA f. 350, 24).

Secondly, 'rupture' in Estonian narrative memory becomes a political argument in the public sphere at the end of the 1980s and in the 1990s, as well as in the popular autobiographers' responses to the social processes (e.g. land reform and its compensatory systems) and political debates in Estonia (e.g. accusations of the West for the betrayal of Estonia during and after the WW II; discussions about the forced migration to the USSR and the consequent ethnic problems in Estonia). On the other hand, the present enters into life stories as a motivator and stimulator of certain themes, as I showed with the example of the 'rupture' as a fall of symbols and Siberia.

In the public political discourse, the interpretation of the Stalinist period in Estonian history as a 'rupture' expands to the whole period of communism in Estonia. This was especially dominant in the period of so-called 'New National Awakening' at the end of the 1980s. During the first half of the 1990s, when

history for its own sake lost its importance in the public sphere (cf. Hinrikus, Kõresaar 2004; Anepaio 2003), the expanded notion of 'rupture' was used in the liberal economic and socio-political discourses as an argument of restructuring the labour market. The main focus of the argument was (again) based on the category of culture – it stressed the genuine inability of Soviet-time work experience (and mentality in general) to be adaptable to the needs of the capitalist future in Estonia. This corresponds to the ideology of 'rupture' as destruction of national way of life and invasion of 'alien' norms and habits.

The expansion of the 'rupture' as a narrative template for the whole communist period in Estonia makes the latter a kind of 'time in-between' that separates the times of national independence from each other. For that historical and lived period of time, different value assessments are applied in the public as well as private memory that make the remembering of the later communism highly contestable in the whole Estonian society (Kirss 2004ab; Kõresaar 2001; 2004ab).

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Part III.

Interpretations in Everyday Life

Streit ums Essen? Nährungsverhalten in bikulturellen Ehen und Familien

Klaus Roth, München

Liebe geht durch den Magen
(deutsches Sprichwort)

Ehen zwischen Menschen verschiedener Kultur oder ethnischer Herkunft sind keine Neuerung unserer Zeit der Globalisierung. Handel und Seefahrt ebenso wie Sklaverei, Kriege und die Kolonialisierung, vor allem aber die großen Auswanderungs- und Migrationsbewegungen haben seit Jahrhunderten immer wieder Männer und Frauen aus verschiedenen Ländern und Kulturen dazu veranlasst, freiwillig oder unter Zwang eine Ehe einzugehen und eine Familie zu gründen. Auf die Gesamtbevölkerung gesehen war die Zahl solcher bikulturellen Ehen und Familien allerdings gering. Erst unserer Zeit der weltweiten Kulturkontakte, des massenhaften Tourismus und Auslandsstudiums und der fast grenzenlosen Arbeitsmigration blieb es vorbehalten, die bikulturelle oder binationale Ehe¹ zu einem Massenphänomen zu machen. In den westeuropäischen Industrieländern liegt der Anteil solcher Ehen bereits zwischen 15 und 20%, mit steigender Tendenz.²

¹ In diesem Beitrag verwende ich "bikulturell" und "binational" synonym, da der feine Unterschied zwischen beiden Begriffen für das Thema nicht relevant ist.

² 2001 wurden in Deutschland 389.591 Ehen geschlossen. Von den

Im Mittelpunkt meines Beitrags soll die Frage stehen, wie sich in diesen Ehen und Familien das alltägliche Zusammenleben gestaltet. Angesichts der Tatsache, dass die Bewältigung des Alltags zwischen den Kulturen die binationale Ehe vor spezifische Probleme stellt, gewinnt die Frage nach den Praktiken und Strategien des alltäglichen Umgangs mit kultureller Differenz und damit nach dem „Funktionieren“ bikultureller Ehen und Familien zunehmend an Bedeutung. Es mag sein, dass diese Alltagsprobleme und -praktiken dem Außenstehenden eher trivial erscheinen; von den Betroffenen werden sie aber durchaus als wichtig empfunden, da sie für das Gelingen oder Scheitern einer Ehe entscheidend sein können.

Eines der wichtigen Alltagsprobleme aller Familien, der mono- wie der bikulturellen, ist die Nahrung, erfüllt sie doch ein täglich zu befriedigendes Grundbedürfnis des Menschen und ist zudem in hohem Maße wertbesetzt und habitualisiert. Für das Individuum ist das tägliche Essen in der Familie eine prägende Erfahrung. In der Familie geschieht, wie Dieter Claessens (1979: 130) betont, bereits beim Kleinstkind mit dem Schmecken der Nahrung die kulturelle Formung der Emotionalität. Dieser Prozess wird durch Erlebnisse und Erfahrungen ausgelöst, die mit dem „Abschmecken“ der Umwelt zusammenhängen. „Geschmack haben“ bedeutet, in einer Kultur emotional integriert zu sein (Claessens 1979: 130). Der Geschmack des Essens und auch die bei seiner Zubereitung entstehenden Gerüche bilden tief verankerte Geschmackspräferenzen und Gewohnheiten heraus, wobei dem Gewürzkomplex ganz besondere Bedeutung zukommt. Geschmack und Nahrungs-

Paaren waren deutsch-deutsch 317.496=81,5% (2000: 82,5%) und mit Auslandsberührung 72.095 =18,5% (2000: 17,5%); die Paare setzten sich so zusammen: Frau deutsch/Mann nichtdeutsch 34,9% und Mann deutsch/Frau nichtdeutsch 49,2% (in 15,8% der Fälle waren beide Partner nichtdeutsch). Dabei waren deutsche Männer am häufigsten verheiratet mit Frauen aus Asien (14%), Polen (11%), GUS (9%), während deutsche Frauen am häufigsten verheiratet waren mit Männern aus der Türkei (16%), Italien (12%), USA (7%), Österreich (7%) und Afrika (7%).

gewohnheiten als frühkindliche Formierungen sind damit nicht nur individuelle Phänomene, sondern im kulturellen System verankert, wo sie mit bestimmten Werten beladen sind (Tolksdorf 1976: 2001) und symbolische und identifikatorische Bedeutungen tragen können. Es ist sicher kein Zufall, dass "typische Speisen in den Nationalstereotypen eine große Rolle spielen (s. Roth 2001). Für das Individuum können bestimmte Speisen zudem in hohem Maße emotional positiv oder negativ befrachtet ein, was sich u.a. in oftmals starken Geschmackserinnerungen niederschlägt (Hartmann 1994). In der Kindheit angewöhnte „Lieblingsspeisen“ und „Leibgerichte“ ebenso wie auch „ekelhafte Speisen“ behalten ihre affektive Bedeutung meist ein Leben lang. Dieser Geschmackskonservatismus bzw. „Küchenkonservatismus“ ist von mehreren Forschern festgestellt worden (Tolksdorf 1976: 69), vor allem auch bei Emigranten, die nicht selten über Generationen bei ihrer vertrauten Nahrung bleiben (s. Levenstein 1997; Bönisch-Brednich 2002). „Emigranten und Flüchtlinge haben zu allen Zeiten und an den verschiedensten Orten erfahren,“ bemerkt Pandey (1988: 167), „dass ihnen in der neuen Umgebung vieles nicht „schmeckt“.“ Das Bestreben, die emotionale Integrität über den Geschmack heimatlicher Gerichte zurückzugewinnen, ist bei vielen Migrantengruppen beobachtet worden.

Dem Geschmackskonservatismus steht allerdings auf der anderen Seite die Lust auf Neues, auf Fremdes gegenüber, eine Lust, die sich seit einigen Jahrzehnten besonders in der Beliebtheit ethnischer Restaurants äußert – von der Pizzeria und dem Balkan-Grill über McDonald's bis hin zur Sushi-Bar und dem Thai-Restaurant. Diesen Widerspruch zwischen Konservatismus und Innovationsfreude kann man am besten auflösen mit Hilfe jener fundamentalen Unterscheidung, die Claude Lévi-Strauss (1965) eingeführt hat, die Unterscheidung zwischen *Endoküche* und *Exoküche*: Während die Exoküche der feierlichen Anlässe und der Gastmahle, des öffentlichen Essens und der Restaurants innovativer, flexibler und offener für Fremdes und Exotisches ist, ist die alltägliche häusliche Endoküche weit konservativer und öffnet sich kulinarischen Neuerungen und Fremdeinflüssen nur langsam.

Die große Bedeutung der Nahrung für die alltägliche Lebensführung wird gebündelt und gesteigert in der Familienmahlzeit, deren hoher Stellenwert für das Familienleben sich nicht nur aus ihrer Versorgungsfunktion, sondern auch aus ihren sozialen und kommunikativen Funktionen ergibt: Es ist bei der Familienmahlzeit, wo sich die Familie am deutlichsten als Gruppe konstituiert, wo nicht nur wichtige Gespräche geführt und Informationen ausgetauscht werden, sondern wo auch Tischsitten und Rituale, Werte und Normen vermittelt werden, vor allem an die Kinder (Jeggle 1988). Die Familienmahlzeit ist der wohl wichtigste Ort der Enkulturation und Sozialisation.

In *jeder* jungen Ehe treffen unterschiedliche Geschmäcker und Nahrungsgewohnheiten, Tischsitten und Rituale, Werte und Normen aufeinander, aus denen sich durch gegenseitige Anpassung und Kompromisse erst ein gemeinsamer „Familienstil“ herausbilden muss. Bereits die aus unterschiedlicher sozialer oder regionaler Herkunft der Ehepartner sich ergebenden Differenzen können die Findung dieses „Familienstils“ erschweren. Oft ist es der Ehemann, der von seiner Frau wünscht, dass sie „wie bei Müttern“ kocht; das Sprichwort „Liebe geht durch den Magen“ bringt wohl nicht nur diesen Wunsch nach vertrauter Kost, sondern auch die elementare Bedeutung der kulinarischen Anpassung für das Gelingen der Ehe zum Ausdruck.

Die individuellen, sozialen und regionalen Differenzen scheinen jedoch deswegen leichter überbrückbar zu sein, weil sich beide Partner in der gleichen oder ähnlichen Geschmacks- und Nahrungstradition befinden. Diese Nähe ist wohl auch noch gegeben, wenn beide Partner im gleichen kulinarischen System, etwa der „Balkanküche“ (s. Burkhart 1991), aufgewachsen sind oder aus Nachbarländern kommen. Sie fehlt aber in Ehen, deren Partner in völlig anderen kulinarischen Systemen aufgewachsen sind. In diesen Ehen treffen im Binnenraum der Familie und der „eigenen vier Wände“, im Bereich der unbewussten (und meist auch emotional besetzten) Gewohnheiten und Präferenzen zwei Endoküchen aufeinander, und zwar unmittelbar, alltäglich und dauerhaft. „So stellen die kulturspezifischen Essensgewohnheiten, die

Vorstellungen über die Wohnungseinrichtung oder die Bewältigung der anfallenden Hausarbeiten besondere Anforderungen dar,“ schreibt Claudia Gómez Tutor (1994: 122), und präzisiert, “dass es hinsichtlich des Essens nicht nur bei den ... bevorzugten Gerichten Unterschiede gibt, die auch beeinflusst werden von religiösen Tabus oder Unverträglichkeiten ..., sondern dass auch der Zeitpunkt, der Ort oder die Form, wie Mahlzeiten eingenommen werden, variieren können. Meist muss dabei eine der beteiligten Personen ihren gewohnten Rahmen aufgeben.“ Es sind zahllose kleine tägliche Irritationen im Intimbereich der Familie, die erheblichen Zündstoff anhäufen können. Denn es ist *eine* Sache, von Zeit zu Zeit in ein indisches oder äthiopisches Restaurant zu gehen, und eine völlig andere Sache, mit einem indischen oder äthiopischen Ehepartner das alltägliche Zusammenleben zu gestalten.

Da es sich beim Essen um die Befriedigung eines Grundbedürfnisses handelt, ist es ein Aufeinandertreffen, dem niemand auf Dauer ausweichen kann. Wie in jeder interkulturellen Begegnung verlieren die eigenen unhinterfragten Selbstverständlichkeiten und “Normalitäten” ihre Gültigkeit und es muss ein neuer Modus der Lebensführung ausgehandelt werden. Da aber das tägliche Essen – über die Befriedigung des Hungers hinaus – in hohem Maße mit Wertungen, Emotionen und auch Identitäten besetzt ist, kann es nicht verwundern, daß dieses Aushandeln ein Prozess ist, der kompliziert und zudem meist affektiv besetzt ist. Er kann sich – je nach individuellen und soziokulturellen Faktoren – mal schwieriger, mal leichter gestalten, ist aber stets komplex und für das Gelingen der Ehe entscheidend, denn „Essen und Ernährung sind ... ein zentraler Konfliktbereich“ in allen binationalen Ehen und Familien (Beer 1996: 201; Scheibler 1992: 95).

Unterschiedliche Ansprüche und Erwartungen können sich in allen für die tägliche Nahrung relevanten Bereichen (s. Tolksdorf 1976: 74ff.) zeigen, angefangen bei der Art und Qualität der Nahrungsmittel selbst, wo die Ehepartner differente Auffassungen davon haben können, was genießbar und was tabu ist, was schmeckt und was zusammenpasst, ob frische oder konservierte

Lebensmittel zubereitet werden, wo man einkauft und was eine „richtige“ Mahlzeit ist. Die Frage, ob kaltes „Abendbrot“ oder warmes Abendessen,³ kann für genau so viel Konfliktstoff sorgen wie die Frage nach den Techniken der Zubereitung des Essens. So wird von Filipinas in Deutschland „Fisch ... in heißem Öl zubereitet und hat einen für deutsche Verhältnisse üblen Geruch, der auch bei häufigem Lüften für einige Tage nicht aus der Wohnung zu vertreiben ist. In vielen Ehen wird die Frage, ob, wie und wann Trockenfisch zubereitet werden kann, zu *dem Streitpunkt*“ (Beer 1996: 202). Nicht minderen Konfliktstoff bieten auch die Techniken des Verzehrs und die Tischsitten: Wird bei Tisch mit Messer und Gabel, mit Stäbchen oder mit der Hand gegessen? Welcher Umgang mit Messer und Gabel setzt sich in einer französisch-amerikanischen Familie durch? Werden die Kinder am Familientisch dazu erzogen, die kulturellen Techniken und Verhaltensformen beider Kulturen zu erlernen, oder werden sie nur in eine Kultur sozialisiert? Hier zeigen sich unterschiedliche, meistens aber gemischte Strategien. Während etwa in deutsch-indischen Familien die in Indien traditionelle Trennung der Geschlechter beim Essen aufgegeben ist, ist „das Essen mit der Hand ... zum Teil von den indischen Vätern beibehalten worden und wird gelegentlich von Frau und Kindern nachgeahmt – insgesamt haben jedoch auch in den deutsch-indischen Haushalten Bestecke einen festen Platz“ (Pandey 1988: 166f.).

Kulturell geprägt – und damit different – ist auch der Umgang mit Zeit und Raum des Essens wie auch mit dessen sozialen Dimensionen. Zwar gilt die Küche selbst in den meisten Ländern als „weibliches Territorium“, doch zeigen sich bei den Orten der täglichen Nahrungsaufnahme wie auch der Einladung von Gästen z.T. erhebliche Unterschiede, die es in einer bikulturellen Ehe zu bewältigen gilt. Ist das Essen in der Wohnküche oder im Esszimmer üblich oder geht man häufig auswärts essen? Lädt man Gäste in die eigene Wohnung oder in ein Restaurant ein? Lädt man

³ In einer deutsch-japanischen Ehe z.B. wird das deutsche Abendbrot ... als etwas Mitleiderregendes angesehen (Johanus 1999: 53).

überraschend auftauchende Gäste ein, sich einfach dazusetzen? Berichte von Südosteuropäern geben dem Entsetzen Ausdruck, bei spontanen Besuchen abgewiesen worden zu sein, da die Familie „Gäste hat und die Stühle nicht ausreichen“. Gerade die Frage, wer und wie oft zum Essen eingeladen und was serviert wird, sorgt für häufigen Konfliktstoff in bikulturellen Ehen. Das Gleiche gilt auch die Frage, wann und wie oft gegessen wird. Gibt es morgens ein Frühstück oder nicht? Gibt es feste Essenszeiten, etwa abends „pünktlich um 7 Uhr“ oder „ungefähr zwischen 9 und 10 Uhr“? Auch die Frage, wie viel Zeit für das Essen zur Verfügung steht, kann in sehr unterschiedlicher – und konflikträchtiger – Form beantwortet werden (s. Scheibler 1992: 95).

Ehemänner können das Bestehen ihrer ausländischen Ehefrauen auf den heimatlichen Speisen als ernstes Problem empfinden (Beer 1996: 201) und nicht wenige bikulturelle Ehen scheitern daran, dass der Ehemann die Kost seiner Frau nicht verträgt; Auseinandersetzungen wegen des Essens sorgen für ständige Konflikte und Streit ums Essen ist ein keineswegs seltener Trennungsgrund (Beer 1996: 201; Heine-Wiedenmann u.a. 1992: 132). Die Unverträglichkeit fremder Kost, ja der Ekel vor ihr kann psychosomatische Folgen bis hin zu akuter Krankheit haben.

Derart gravierende und negative Auswirkungen sind freilich nicht die Regel. In der Realität überwiegen mehr oder weniger gelungene Prozesse des Arrangierens und gegenseitigen Aushandelns, die z.T. ein erhebliches Maß an Kreativität und Kompromissbereitschaft auch in zentralen Bereichen offenbaren. Wie diese komplexen Prozesse des Aushandelns eines gemeinsamen Familienstils jeweils im konkreten Fall verlaufen, das hängt, so zeigt die Erfahrung,⁴ von einer ganzen Reihe von – z.T. entgegengesetzt wirkenden – Rahmenbedingungen ab.

⁴ Die folgenden Ausführungen basieren auf der (nicht sehr umfangreichen) bisherigen Forschungsliteratur vor allem im deutschen Sprachraum, auf studentischen Arbeiten am Institut für Volkskunde/Europäische Ethnologie der Universität München sowie auf Jahrzehnten eigener Erfahrung in einer bikulturellen Ehe.

Die Bedingungen, die das tatsächliche Nahrungsverhalten in bikulturellen Ehen und Familien beeinflussen und die auch das Ausmaß an Übereinstimmung oder Konflikt bestimmen, lassen sich den Dimensionen Raum, Gesellschaft, Zeit und Kultur zuordnen.

1. In der **räumlichen Dimension** ist der tatsächliche Wohnort der Ehepartner bzw. der Familie ein wichtiger Faktor. Ist es das Heimatland eines der Partner, so hat dieser zunächst (durch die normativen Kraft des Faktischen) einen "Heimvorteil", der sich etwa in der Verfügbarkeit der Lebensmittel und der Ausstattung des Haushalts, insbesondere der Küche zeigt. Dieser Heimvorteil wird noch verstärkt durch die Kinder (s.u.); andererseits kann er jedoch durch die zunehmende Zahl von ethnischen Lebensmittelgeschäften vor allem in den Städten erheblich reduziert werden. Befindet sich der Wohnort der Familie in einem Drittland, kann sich das Aushandeln der Nahrungsversorgung noch weit komplizierter gestalten, er kann aber auch das Finden eines "dritten Weges" erleichtern und Konflikte reduzieren.

2. Sehr große und vielfache Relevanz hat die **soziale Dimension**. An erster Stelle zu nennen wäre die jeweilige Größe der ethnischen Gruppe des anderskulturellen Ehepartners bzw. die Dichte der Kontakte und die soziale Einbindung in diese Gruppe. Starke Einbindung geht oft einher mit dem Beharren bei der heimischen Kost, während Distanz zu ihr eher die Annäherung an die lokalen Nahrungsgewohnheiten begünstigt. Von noch größerer Bedeutung scheinen aber das *Geschlecht* und die jeweiligen Geschlechterrollen zu sein, wobei vor allem die soziokulturell geprägte Rollenverteilung der Geschlechter im Bereich Küche, Kochen und Nahrungsversorgung wichtig ist; die Beobachtung von Barbara Waldis (1998: 139), "im Maghreb würden Jungen nicht zur Hausarbeit erzogen" und zudem "duldeten die Frauen die Männer nicht in der Küche, weil diese als weibliches Territorium gelte", ist sicher etwas extrem, doch darf angenommen werden, dass in den meisten Ländern die Nahrungsversorgung in den Händen der Frau liegt. Allerdings ist die Unfähigkeit oder der Unwillen der Frau, das Essen nach dem Geschmack des Mannes zu

kochen, für Männer ein wichtiger Grund, kochen zu lernen und sich „ihr Essen selbst zuzubereiten“, wie Heidemarie Pandey (1988: 165) an den in Deutschland lebenden indischen Männern aufzeigt: „Die Männer können oft sehr gut kochen, obwohl dies in Indien nicht zur Rolle des Mannes gehört. Erst im Ausland ergibt sich die Notwendigkeit, kochen zu lernen, wobei man durch Experimentieren versucht, dem gewohnten Geschmack möglichst nahe zu kommen.“ Auch ghanaische Männer kochen in Europa oft ihr gewohntes Essen selbst (Englert 1995: 138), und ein mit einer Polin verheirateter Franzose, der in München lebt, greift oft zum Kochlöffel, um französisch zu kochen.

Von nicht geringer Bedeutung ist zudem das *Prestige* der jeweiligen Kultur oder Küche. Outi Tuomi-Nikula (1996: 226) hat gefunden, dass das Bestehen der Finninnen in Deutschland auf der finnischen Esskultur meist „vom deutschen Ehemann mitgetragen [wird], da „das Finnische“ im Haus von der sozialen Umgebung oft positiv und ... statussteigernd bewertet wird.“ Ähnliches gilt für italienisches (Steiner 1999: 115), japanisches (Johanus 1999: 53f.) oder französisches Essen (s. Scheibler 1992: 96). Ein weiterer Faktor ist die *Sozialschicht*, die jedoch in den Studien zu bikulturellen Ehen nur am Rande erwähnt wird. Auszugehen ist aber im Prinzip davon, dass in höheren Sozialschichten, insbesondere in der urbanen Bildungsschicht, die Bereitschaft, sich kulinarisch auf Fremdes und Neues einzulassen, stärker ausgeprägt ist als in unteren Sozialschichten und im dörflichen Milieu. Barbara Waldis (1998: 200f.) beobachtete in Tunesien, dass jene Schweizerinnen für ihre Männer nur tunesisch kochen, die „auf dem Land oder in einfacheren Stadtquartieren [leben]. Das Marktangebot und die finanziellen Mittel bestimmen den Speisezettel, denn europäische Produkte sind nicht überall erhältlich und zudem teuer.“ Die Frauen der Mittelschicht hingegen wechseln zwischen beiden Küchen. Manche westeuropäischen und nordamerikanischen Intellektuellen schmücken sich nicht nur mit ihrem ausländischen Ehepartner, sondern auch mit ihrem Faible für deren „exotische Küche“.

Der wichtigste Faktor scheint jedoch die Kombination von *Geschlecht* und *Wohnort* zu sein. Eine Frau, die in ihrem Heimatland mit einem ausländischen Ehemann lebt, hat einen doppelten Heimvorteil, während sich eine im Ausland verheiratete Frau zumeist den lokalen Gegebenheiten stärker unterordnen muss. Wichtig ist in diesem Fall der Einfluss der Familie und Verwandtschaft des Mannes wie auch der übrigen sozialen Umgebung, die, wie das Beispiel schweizerischer Frauen in Tunesien zeigt, recht starken Druck ausüben kann. Zwar wird hier „die Esskultur ... stark von den Schweizerinnen mitbestimmt, da sie die Haushaltsführung innehaben,“ doch „eine Auseinandersetzung erfolgt mit der Schwiegermutter über die Küche, und die Schweizerinnen müssen aushandeln, welchen Platz sie der Schwiegermutter in der eigenen Küche zugestehen wollen“ (Waldis 1998: 199f.); die Familie mischt sich z.T. recht deutlich ein und Einschränkungen gibt es auch durch das in Tunesien verfügbare Warenangebot.

Eine nicht zu übersehende Rolle für das familiäre Nahrungsverhalten spielen die *Kinder*. Auf Grund ihrer sozialen Einbindung in Kindergarten, Schule und Freundeskreis und ihres Wunsches, von ihren Gleichaltrigen nicht abzuweichen, wirkt sich ihr Einfluss in der Regel in Richtung Wohnort aus. „Sofern das Ehepaar Kinder hat, bestimmen deren Wünsche, die den Vorlieben deutscher Kinder entsprechen, häufig den Speisezettel,“ stellt Beer (1996: 200) fest; und Pandey (1988: 166) beobachtete bei deutsch-indischen Familien: „Nicht immer teilen die Kinder die Vorliebe der Eltern für indisches Essen. In einem Fall, in dem sie wegen der Berufstätigkeit beider Eltern tagsüber von der deutschen Großmutter versorgt werden, bevorzugen sie europäisches Essen.“ In manchen Familien fanden die Kinder erst später Geschmack am indischen Essen. In deutsch-japanischen Familien hingegen wurden „alle Kinder ... schon in ihrer frühen Entwicklungsphase mit dem japanischen Essen vertraut gemacht. Zu den Lieblingsspeisen der befragten Kinder gehören *Sushi* (roher Fisch auf Reis), *Udon* (Nudelsuppe), *Ramen* (Nudeln) und Curry-Reis“ (Johanus 1999: 53). In jedem Fall ist für bikulturelle Familien generell

festzuhalten, dass die Kinder mit spezifischen Geschmacks- und Geruchserlebnissen aufwachsen.

3. Ebenfalls sehr große Bedeutung kommt der **kulturellen Dimension** des Essens zu, hat doch der Mensch „zwischen Bedürfnis (Hunger) und Befriedigung (Essen und Trinken) ... das ganze kulturelle System der Küche“ gesetzt (Tolksdorf 1976: 67). Das „kulturelle System der Küche“, die kulinarische Tradition kann nun in verschiedenen Gesellschaften sehr unterschiedliche Wertigkeit haben und unterschiedlich tief verankert sein: Sie kann, wie etwa in Nord- und Mitteleuropa und den USA einen eher niedrigen Stellenwert haben, während dieser in Frankreich und Italien hoch ist. Eine noch größere Bedeutung hat das Essen, wie Beer (1996: 199f.) feststellt, auf den Philippinen: „Das Essen gilt als ein zentraler Aspekt des Familienlebens. ... Gemeinsame Mahlzeiten sind ... eine der wichtigsten Gelegenheiten zur Kommunikation. Essen ist auf den Philippinen von wichtiger kultureller und sozialer Bedeutung. Der Status und das Prestige einer Familie hängen unter anderem davon ab, wie viele unterschiedliche Gerichte gekocht werden, vor allem bei besonderen Gelegenheiten wie der *fiesta* oder wenn Gäste anwesend sind. So erstaunt es nicht, dass das gemeinsame Essen in den Ehen ... eine wichtige Rolle spielt.“ Ähnliches konstatiert Pandey für Indien und Waldis für Tunesien, während Englert (1995: 138) die Aussage einer Informantin zitiert, „in Ghana [sei] Essen nur dazu da, um satt zu werden und nicht wegen dem guten Geschmack.“ Die Stärke ihrer eigenen kulinarischen Tradition hindert daher indische und philippinische ebenso wie auch französische Ehepartner daran, sich der Küche ihres Aufenthaltslandes anzupassen. „Geschmack am herkömmlichen deutschen Essen entwickeln die Männer selten,“ erfuhrt Pandey (1988: 165), und auch „die meisten ... befragten Filipinas bereiten nur selten deutsche Gerichte zu“ (Beer 1996: 200), während in deutsch-ghanaischen Ehen „jeder Geschmack an der Küche des anderen Landes gefunden hat“ (Englert 1995: 138).

Neben der Stärke der kulinarischen Tradition spielt, wie schon angedeutet, auch die *Nähe* oder Distanz der kulinarischen Systeme

eine erhebliche Rolle. Ehen zwischen Partnern aus völlig anderen kulinarischen Traditionen werfen gravierendere Probleme auf als solche innerhalb des gleichen kulinarischen Paradigmas, also etwa innerhalb der Balkanhalbinsel oder Skandinaviens oder etwa zwischen Polen und Deutschen bzw. Tschechen und Österreichern, doch spielt hier oft der von Freud bemerkte „Narzissmus der kleinen Unterschiede“ eine große Rolle, können also kleine Unterschiede in der Zubereitung von Speisen oder in den Tischsitten als wichtige Differenzen wahrgenommen werden und Konflikte auslösen. „Tschechische Nationalspeise ist Schweinebraten mit Knödel und Kraut, in Bayern auch, aber die Farbe der Knödel ist anders und sie haben auch einen anderen Geschmack,“ zitiert Libuše Volbrachtová (1988: 212) einen tschechischen Autoren.

Die Bedeutung von Nahrung und Essen in einem kulturellen System wird besonders betont, wenn es ausdrückliche, zumeist religiös fundierte Speisevorschriften und *Tabus* gibt. Diese Nahrungsverbote und -gebote, wie sie etwa im islamischen, jüdischen und indischen Raum bestehen, haben nachhaltige Auswirkungen auf bikulturelle Ehen und Familien insofern, als sie den anderen Ehepartner oft zur deutlichen Änderung seiner Nahrungsgewohnheiten zwingen. „In Indien lebt ein großer Teil der Bevölkerung aus religiöser Tradition heraus vegetarisch,“ schreibt Pandey (1988: 165); „In anderen Fällen essen die Familien zwar Fleisch, aber nur die in Indien üblichen Sorten – Geflügel und Lamm sowie Fisch, aber kein Rind und kein Schwein“ (ebd.: 166). Die hohe rituelle und soziale Bedeutung des Essens in Indien gründet in starkem Maße auf dem Konzept ritueller Reinheit bzw. Unreinheit. „Die Tradition kennt daher genaue Verhaltensvorschriften, *was* gegessen werden soll, *wie* gegessen werden soll, und *mit wem* gegessen werden darf ... Das Mitglied der eigenen Kaste unterscheidet sich von anderen Personen dadurch, dass man mit ihm gemeinsam essen kann“ (ebd.). Es versteht sich, dass das Zusammenleben in bikulturellen Ehen ebenso wie auch der Kontakt zur sozialen Umwelt (etwa bei Einladungen) durch diese ausgrenzenden Konzepte besonderen Belastungen ausgesetzt ist.

Besonders in der Fremde ist Essen in hohem Maße mit der kulturellen Identität verbunden, vor allem dann, wenn es sich um ‚starke‘ und mit Vorschriften bewehrte kulinarische Traditionen handelt. Essen kann zum Symbol von, ja zum Ersatz für Heimat werden (s. Köstlin 1991). So ist das Essen „für philippinische Frauen ein wichtiges Zeichen ethnischer Zugehörigkeit. Ihm kommt dadurch eine große Bedeutung zu. Was gegessen wird, wird dementsprechend auch bei anderen als Ablehnung bzw. Zustimmung interpretiert“ (Beer 1996: 202). Heimatliche Lebensmittel erfahren dabei nicht selten eine erhebliche Aufwertung, ja werden zu Objekten der Sehnsucht, wie etwa Trockenfisch für die philippinischen Migrantinnen (Beer 1996: 201). Für Deutsche auf den Philippinen wiederum wird „das Schwarzbrot, das zuhause nichts Besonderes ist, ... zur Delikatesse. Manche der deutschen Männer haben auf den Philippinen begonnen, selbst zu kochen, Schinken und Speck zu räuchern, Gurken einzulegen usw.“ (ebd.); von der hohen Bedeutung des Schwarzbrots für Deutsche in England oder auf Neuseeland berichten auch Kockel (2002: 250f.) und Bönisch-Brednich (2002: 349–353). Der Verzehr oder die Akzeptanz solcher Lebensmittel kann dabei zum Prüfstein der Akzeptanz der eigenen Kultur durch den Ehepartner werden.

4. Von geringerer Bedeutung ist die **zeitliche Dimension** bzw. der kulturelle Wandel. Der generelle Geschmackskonservatismus wird, wie bereits angedeutet, in der Migrationssituation tendenziell noch verstärkt, vor allem bei Ehepartnern, die aus einer kulinarischen Tradition kommen, die von der des Aufenthaltslandes stärker abweicht. Dennoch gibt es auch hier adaptiven Wandel der Nahrungsgewohnheiten, doch bleibt dieser den Betroffenen oft unbemerkt. Die Dauer des Aufenthalts wie auch das Alter bei der Einreise scheinen daher auf das Nahrungsverhalten keinen sehr starken adaptiven Einfluss zu haben; vielmehr ist nicht selten zu beobachten, dass mit zunehmender Aufenthaltsdauer die Orientierung an der heimischen Kost wächst.

In jeder Ehe bzw. Familie ergibt sich die Notwendigkeit, aus den unterschiedlichen Geschmackspräferenzen und Nahrungsgewohnheiten einen gemeinsamen „Familienstil“ zu entwickeln,

der dann das Alltagsleben der Familienmitglieder bestimmt und meist langfristig prägt. Die vorliegenden Untersuchungen ebenso wie die eigene Erfahrung zeigen, dass in den bikulturellen Familien recht unterschiedliche Strategien gewählt werden, die kulturelle Differenz im Alltag zu bewältigen und Konflikte zu reduzieren oder zu vermeiden; zu lösen. Und zwar in Abhängigkeit von individuellen Faktoren wie auch von den oben genannten sozio-kulturellen Faktoren. Trotz der großen Vielfalt der Strategien in bikulturellen Familien gibt es einige „Arrangements“, die immer wieder auftauchen. Ihre Spannweite reicht von weitgehender kulinarischer Segregation bis hin zu vollständiger Integration:

1. Im Fall der *Segregation* bereitet jeder seine eigene Nahrung, hält also die Nahrung des anderen Partners für inakzeptabel und unvereinbar mit den eigenen Gewohnheiten. Die meisten Filipinas kochen nur selten deutsch, manche bereiten „für Mann und Kinder deutsches und für sich selbst philippinisches Essen“ zu (Beer 1996: 200), und indische wie ghanaische Ehemänner lernen sogar kochen, um nicht die Speisen ihrer Frau essen zu müssen. Die Abneigung gegenüber der Küche des Ehepartners kann – bei Ehemännern – zu weiteren Formen des Ausweichens führen, etwa zur regelmäßigen oder gelegentlichen Flucht zur Mutter, falls diese in der Nähe wohnt, oder in Restaurants und Kantinen. Neben dem getrennten Essen als der wohl deutlichsten Trennung gibt es das getrennte Kochen, wobei jeder Ehepartner seine heimliche Kost zubereitet. So haben einige deutsch-indische „Ehepaare ... eine Form der Arbeitsteilung entwickelt, nach der der Mann indisch, die Frau dagegen deutsch ... kocht“ (Pandey 1988: 165).

2. Der entgegengesetzte Fall ist die vollständige oder weitgehende *Durchsetzung* der Küche des einen Ehepartners, entweder freiwillig oder unter Zwang. Im ersteren Fall kommt es zu einem freiwilligen „kulinarischen Überlaufen“ des Ehepartners, meist des Ehemanns, der nicht auf seiner gewohnten Kost besteht und Geschmack an der Kost seiner Frau findet; hier kann sich jedoch durchaus von Zeit zu Zeit ein starkes Verlangen nach der gewohnten Kost ergeben. Der häufigere Fall ist jedoch die Durchsetzung einer Küche durch einen Ehepartner, meist den Mann, der bedin-

gungslos auf seinem gewohnten Essen beharrt, oder die Kinder bestehen auf dem Essen, das sie von ihren Freunden kennen.

3. Die unter allen bikulturellen Paaren wohl häufigste Form ist die Aushandlung von Kompromissen, die beiden Seiten gerecht werden. Die dabei entwickelten Lösungen sind vielfältig und kreativ; besonders häufig ist das Abwechseln zwischen beiden Küchen. In deutsch-ghanaischen Familien „gaben alle Paare an, dass sie Gerichte aus beiden Ländern kochen und jeder Geschmack an der Küche des anderen Landes gefunden hat. ... bei allen Paaren [herrschen] alternative Arrangements vor, bei denen jede Nationalität zur Geltung kommt“ (Englert 1995: 138). Bei den deutsch-indischen Ehepaaren sind die ehelichen Arrangements kreativ, es wird abwechselnd gekocht (Pandey 1988: 165). Die Schweizerinnen in Tunesien haben zwar die Haushaltsführung inne, doch kann „tunesische Gerichte kochen ... zu vermehrtem Kontakt mit der Schwiegermutter oder den Schwägerinnen führen und ein Kode sein, der die Akzeptanz der europäischen Schwiegertochter oder Schwägerin fördert. ... Die meisten Frauen ... wechseln zwischen tunesischen und schweizerischen Gerichten ab“ (Waldis 1998: 200). Zu beobachten ist das regelmäßige Alternieren zwischen beiden Küchen, zum einen bei den täglichen Mahlzeiten: In manchen deutsch-französischen Familien wird z.B. das Abendessen deutsch („weil es einfach und praktischer ist“) und das Mittagessen französisch zubereitet (Scheibler 1992: 96); zum andern wird die Wahl der Küche durch die Wochentage oder das Wochenende bestimmt: In einer deutsch-englischen Familie z.B. wird das englische Dinner stets mit den Kindern am Wochenende eingenommen (ebd.). Von ganz herausragender Bedeutung ist aber die Wahl der Küche nach dem Anlass. Zum einen werden zu den nationalen oder religiösen Feiertagen und Festen der Ehepartner die jeweils üblichen Speisen zubereitet, beim ausländischen Partner oft in traditionellerer Form als im Herkunftsland. Zum andern werden bei Einladungen die Gerichte oft nach der Zusammensetzung der Gäste und deren Präferenzen ausgewählt. „Kommen mehrere Filipinas oder deutsch-philippinische Ehepaare zusammen, werden *pansit*, *sinigang*, *adobo* oder andere philippinische

Speisen gekocht“ (Beer 1996: 200). In manchen deutsch-französischen Familien bleibt das „typisch französische“ Essen für „besondere Anlässe“, wie z.B. bei Festen und Feiern und Einladungen, vorbehalten (Scheibler 1992: 96f.). Die Speisen des ausländischen Ehepartners erhalten dadurch eine gesteigerte, den Alltag transzendierende rituelle und oftmals hoch emotionale Bedeutung, werden zu „soul food“, die die ferne Heimat ersetzt.

4. In den meisten Familien entwickeln sich – bewusst oder weniger bewusst – Formen der gegenseitigen Adaptation, der Mischung und *Hybridisierung* des Essens und der Nahrungsgewohnheiten. In die dominante Küche mischen sich Elemente der anderen Küche wie etwa einzelne Nahrungsmittel und Gewürze oder Techniken der Zubereitung oder es kommt zu gemischten Tischsitten und Ritualen. Viele deutsch-indische Familien kombinieren „indische und deutsche Küche in phantasievoller Weise miteinander“ (Pandey 1988: 165), fügen etwa indische Gewürze dem deutschen Essen bei. Viele Paare betonen, „aus beiden Ländern das Beste“ gewählt zu haben. Vielfach werden von Besuchsreisen Nahrungsmittel aus dem jeweils anderen Land mitgebracht (s. Scheibler 1992: 96). Die sich in binationalen Familien entwickelnden Formen sind aber niemals eine schlichte Addition der beiden Kulturen, sondern es entsteht in der Regel eine dritte, eine spezifische Mischkultur, die Elemente beider Kulturen auf je eigene Art und Weise kombiniert. In kaum einem Bereich des Alltagslebens ist diese Hybridisierung so leicht und elegant möglich wie bei der Nahrung.

5. Eine nicht selten gewählte Lösung des kulinarischen Problems in bikulturellen Ehen und Familien ist schließlich die Einigung auf eine „dritte Küche“, was den Vorzug hat, daß keiner der beiden Ehepartner sich mit seinen Nahrungsgewohnheiten durchsetzen kann. Diese Strategie der Konfliktvermeidung fällt dann leicht, wenn das Paar in einem Drittland lebt, doch ist sie auch dann zu beobachten, wenn das Paar in dem Land des einen Partners lebt. Eine beliebte Lösung ist es dann, „international“ zu kochen. Pandey (1998: 165) hat dieses Vorgehen in deutsch-indischen, Englert (1995) in deutsch-ghanaischen Familien

angetroffen und auch in einer französisch-polnischen Ehe kocht man öfter „international“.

Fassen wir unsere Ergebnisse zusammen, so zeigt sich, dass die heute ständig an Zahl zunehmenden bikulturellen Ehen und Familien im Spannungsfeld zwischen dem mitgebrachten Geschmackskonservatismus und den globalisierenden und vereinheitlichenden Tendenzen des heutigen Warenangebots und der "world cuisine" (Goody 1997) gezwungen sind, in ihrer Lebensführung Praktiken des alltäglichen Miteinanders zu entwickeln und aufrechtzuerhalten. Da es sich beim Essen um einen stark wertbesetzten und tief emotional verankerten Bereich handelt, ist es nicht verwunderlich, daß es in vielen Familien häufig zum Fokus und zum Auslöser von ehelichen und familiären Konflikten wird. Die Frage, was auf den Tisch kommt, wird sehr oft zur ehelichen Machtprobe. Liebe geht auch in dem Sinne "durch den Magen, als die Ablehnung der Nahrung des Partners zugleich auch als Ablehnung seines Landes, seiner Kultur und seiner Person empfunden wird. Die Frage, "ob Reis oder Kartoffeln gegessen werden, wird damit zum möglichen Streitpunkt," und die harmlose Frage an den Gast "Isst Du auch *tuyô* [Trockenfisch]?" wird für Filipinas zum Prüfstein der Akzeptanz ihrer Kultur (Beer 1996: 202).

Die sich in allen bikulturellen Ehen herausbildenden Praktiken und Strategien der kulinarischen Koexistenz – zwischen Dominanz der einen Küche, der Vermischung und Hybridisierung beider Küchen und Ausweichen in eine dritte Küche – bilden auf der Ebene der Familie als der kleinsten sozialen Einheit die Entsprechung zu jenen Praktiken und Strategien der interethnischen und interreligiösen Koexistenz, die sich beispielsweise zwischen den verschiedenen Gruppen und Völkern in den historischen Vielvölkerstaaten (Roth 1999a) und in anderen Teilen der Welt herausgebildet haben. In einer Welt, die immer stärker durch Globalisierung und Kulturkontakt geprägt ist, werden sie zu elementaren Strategien der alltäglichen Lebensbewältigung.

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The Ethnography of Horizontality and Verticality

Ilmari Vesterinen, Helsinki

In everyday language the term 'border' is used to designate the different types of lines based on administrative and property law separating land and water areas in landscapes and on maps. The term 'area' designates a specific part of the ground. Nevertheless, as many students of culture with an interest in borders and areas have noted, these two terms have to be understood in a broad sense conceptually. Both of them are issues of profound undercurrents, mental matters, and ways of life, the linguistic world, human relationships, behavior, and intercultural encounters. In the following article I will be examining the life of the inhabitants of Japanese villages based on empirical material through the areas bounded by ancestors. The objective is to see where forefathers are encountered and how the horizontal and vertical dimensions appear in Japanese villages through the ancestors. The material was collected in Northern Japan over the past two decades. The examples are from a village that I will call Nakamura. Nakamura is an *aza*, a village community, the smallest territorial unit that has its own patron god. Nakamura consists of forty-two houses.

Boundaries and areas of the home

Like other Japanese, the people of Nakamura are both Shintoists and Buddhists. Shintoism can be seen when they are alive; the

deceased are remembered according to the traditions of Buddhism. People trying to convert villagers to new or, more precisely, syncretic religions, visit Nakamura every now and then, but not a single villager has succumbed to their temptations, even though many of them even have the literature urging conversion spread to them by the Sôkagakkai sect.

In Japanese villages ancestors are present in many places. The most important place is the home, the building in which a family lives. Ancestors are remembered in the home every morning, when the tea and water in the Buddhist altar commemorating ancestors, the *butsudan*, is changed. Other offerings – fruits (now often canned) and flowers – are changed as needed. In addition to this everyday activity, ancestors are remembered at the New Year and, according to the Buddhist calendar, at specific annual intervals after the death of the ancestor. Not only by the people of the house, but also by the neighbors and relatives who live further away, celebrate these super annual festivals. During the ceremony a Buddhist monk comes to perform the appropriate ceremonies in front of the altar, and the family members are present when the monk is reading the sutras. The neighbors come during the course of the day, kneel before the altar, pray silently, and ring a little bell as a sign of sacrifice, in this manner the attention of person who is the object of the prayer to the individual making the sacrifice. Observing the Buddhist way of calculating, the important commemoration ceremonies are held in the first, third, seventh, thirteenth, twenty-third, and thirty-third years. The seventeenth or thirty-third year is the last commemorative year; in some places a commemorative ceremony is still celebrated a hundred years after death (cf. Smith 1974: 105–114; Ooms 1976: 71–73; Yanagita 1937).

In many cultures ancestor worship is the responsibility of males; in Nakamura it falls into the realm of female responsibilities. In the morning daughter-in-law of the house changes the tea and water of the *butsudan*. Even though the custom is widespread. The shriveled fruits and withered flowers that can be seen on the altars of many homes reveal human features; people are in a hurry in the morning and there are many other things that

have to be done.

The places for the ancestors in the houses of the inhabitants of Nakamura viewed with respect to both their vertical and horizontal relations will next be diagrammatically illustrated. In the picture we see the house of an inhabitant of the village. The interior of the house is divided into three parts: the area of the gods (the Shintoist divine shelf, *kamidana*, is located without exception at the interface with the ceiling), in the ancestor's area (the *butsudan* is always below the *kamidana*) and the place for people. Although the human dwellings in Nakamura (and neighboring villages) are not exactly as they are in the drawing – in the picture the areas divided by slinging doors, ‘rooms’, are not indicated – the principle is the same in all the houses: the places for the Shintoist gods are at the interface with the ceiling, the places for the ancestors are below those of the gods, and the places for people are at floor level. Through the earthen floor and the open fireplace there is a connection from the house to nature and the world, through the two openings for smoke in the roof there is a connection to the world and the gods. People believe that the soul of a dead person exits through the smoke hole. The fireplace (*irori* in Japanese) is regarded as holy, just as the oven located on the earthen floor (*kamado* in Japanese). There is no indication of the latter in the picture.

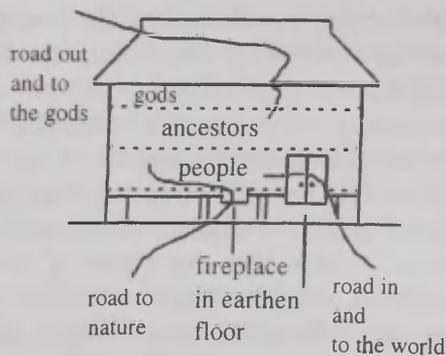


Figure 1: The division of the inner spaces in a Nakamura house. The division in the picture is clear, nor is it far from reality. This is

because in many tradition-bound cultures each individual's home is a center, a space that is 'open' upwards. From the home there is a direct connection to the upper floors, to the ancestors, fairies, gods, heaven, etc. (cf. Eliade 2003: 65).

What happens in a Buddhist temple?

Outside the borders of a Nakamura inhabitation people meet with ancestors a few times a year in the village Buddhist temple. Most of the villagers have commemorative plaques of their ancestors. The memorial plaques – called *ihai* in Japanese – are also found in home altars, and have two names: a name that was used during the person's lifetime, and a name given by a monk after death. In times past the monk gave worse names to dead people of no status and unmarried women worse names than were given to men. Men of influence were given names that aroused great respect. The *ihai* has a long history, even if there is no unanimity of opinion about their origin, It seems credible that the *ihai* is related to the Chinese way of writing or drawing the name of people who had disappeared onto a wooden plaque (cf. Smith 1974: 78). This is a Confucian custom. The Chinese are known to have had plaques as early as the Han dynasty, 206 BC to 220 AD. In Japan offerings, usually fruit, are brought for the ancestors to the temple during the course of the year. Nowadays the fruits are generally canned, and the monk has permission to do with them as he sees fit. Those who have moved from the village visit the temple to meet their ancestors. The *sotoba*, a *stuupa*, a votive pole-like dish with an inscribed Sanskrit excerpt from a sutra that will eventually be removed from the grave is stored at the temple.

Some of the most visible events at the temple are the *higan* festivals that are celebrated on the equinoxes. The participants in the *higan* are the oldest women, the grandmothers, of the house. This is an important observation since remembering ancestors is an important activity on both the household and the village level. The

purpose of the commemoration festivals is to have them as a means for preserving the memory of the people to whom they are devoted for future generations. Nothing could be more horrible for a Japanese – or generally for an East Asian – than to be forgotten after his or her death, with the daily, annual, and other regularly scheduled rituals being left uncelebrated.

Of course, only those houses that have ancestors participate in the *higan*. If the houses are young and lack a *but sudan* (nobody has died yet), there is no participant in the celebration from the house. Neither does a Buddhist monk participate in a celebration if nobody in his house has died. The following is a description of the course of one celebration.

Event: the Nakamura higan of March 21, 1985

General: The day was quite normal and it looked as though nothing special would take place. The fishermen were fishing in front of the village, cars were moving, and the shops were open. As had been the case already on the previous days, many had called to the Nakamura monks and asked about the time that the celebration would begin.

In the morning the representatives of their houses assembled in the main room of the village temple. There were no representatives in the celebration from the houses where no-one had died. All of the participants were women.

Dress and food: The participants were all dressed in everyday clothes. Four of them were wearing knitted caps. Each of them had brought along a parcel of food: seaweed, cookies, dried fish, tea, and sake.

The progress of the ceremony

A. Preparation: When everyone had arrived and greeted one another, the monk resident in the temple arrived to greet the participants on his own behalf. After this, the monk left. Everyone sat in a kneeled position in an oval form in the middle of the temple floor, holding in their hands a band of wooden beads that

extended past their knees. Two villagers with drums positioned themselves in the middle of the oval.

B. Rituals (*nembutsu*): The drummers began to beat in rhythm. At the same time the women began to pass the band of prayer beads in their laps in a counterclockwise direction. Both the drummers and the prayer band passers repeated the words *hame hame da da da, hame hame da da da* in chorus.

The drumming and singing intensified, as did the speed at which the band of beads was passed. This continued for precisely fifteen minutes. Then everything stopped as quickly as it had begun. The participants bowed deeply to one another and said: *Arigatô gozaimasu* (thank you very much).

C. Sequel: The participants rose, put the prayer band and drums away. The final phase of the ceremony began. The participants began to arrange a low table at the same place where they had just been sitting. The contribution they had brought was put on the table. They began to eat, drinking, and chat. The meal and conversation lasted for an hour. The atmosphere was joyful and informal. During the chatting and eating, two *hibachis* on the left side of the temple were lit. Some of the women sat down next to the *hibachi* to warm themselves.

Resolution: After the food had been eaten everybody left to continue their day. The monk was not seen after the initial greeting. On the other hand, the monk's daughter was there the whole time, nor did her role diverge from that of anyone else.

The remainder of the day continued in as routine a manner as it had begun.

In principle, one representative of each house with ancestors participates in the celebration. There is no difference between the houses. In other words, ancestor worship links the houses together as equals. Here it must be emphasized that all of the participants are the oldest living women of their houses; men do not participate in the celebration, even if the oldest living member of a household is a man.



Ancestor worship links the houses to one another equally.

Summing up thus far, the following can be said about the division of labor: the men take care of the household's external relationships, the women maintain a connection with ancestors both inside and outside the home. Women maintain some of the household's external relationships through ancestor worship. The role of the oldest woman is thus important and revered.

In the vicinity of the village boundaries

In Japan the inhabitants of a village are usually able to say where the village begins and where it ends. The boundaries of a village were visible before during a *michikiri* period. *Michikiri* were celebrated when an epidemic threatened or sometimes when there was fear of an epidemic at a certain time of the year. Then people spread a holy rope, a *shimen*, across the road at the village boundary to deny the evil access to their area. According to information provided by Kunio Yanagita during the village's Shinto shrine ceremony the villagers erected flags at the village boundaries to prevent any kind of contamination entering the village. In many cases there was a holy statue at the boundary, frequently *dôsojin* (the boundary god). Nor is it rare even today to see occasionally a man and a woman in an embrace as a *dôsojin*. Evidently sexual activity was believed to have magic power against evil spirits. A custom also existed of going to the village border to receive fellow villagers who were returning from a long trip (Yanagita 1951, q.v. *murazakai*). Sometimes there was – and frequently still is – an empty building at the village boundary where travelers could stop before entering the village. Nowadays the building has no function. In Kamakura, the Japanese administrative center from 1185 until 1333, there is a place at the

old boundary that is referred to by the name of Rokujizô. Connected with it is a tale of six monks. They were killed by the villagers because they had come to the village at a time when they were not expected. One can thus conclude that the village boundary was not merely an administrative construct, but rather it was the border between the village and the external world. Outside of the boundary there was a foreign country (cf. Yamaguchi 1988: 216).

The boundaries of Nakamura are rather far from the outermost houses. There are stone markers at the boundaries indicating the place where the village ends and the world begins. The boundary markers are covered with moss, grass, and trees, which shows their age, as well as the fact that they no longer have the significance that they once had. The villagers also know the hills and mountains, meadows and fields. At the mountaintop there is usually a Shinto shrine. It is natural to be familiar with the boundaries because beyond the village is the unknown world.

The village cemetery is located inside the village boundaries, but rather far from the build-up area on the side of a mountain. People visit the cemetery rarely. Sometimes weeks go by with no-one visiting it at all. The gravestones (*sekitô* in Japanese) are overgrown with moss; the paths have grass growing on them. A grave is visited only a few times a year: on the day of the deceased person's death and at mid-summer during the *bon* (*obon*) celebration. The fact that it is not much used is not a sign of its lack of significance. The infrequency of visits is a sign of events taking place according to a schedule. When the regularly occurring super annual ceremonies have ended after seventeen or thirty-three years, the graves will be visited only at random intervals. During the summer, in mid-July, the *bon* period begins, during which the dead return to the village. Some people say that the ancestors come from the cemetery. The *bon* celebration was celebrated in Japan already during the pre-Buddhist era before the 6th century of the Christian era. This is by no means strange, since this particular time has been the period when the dead move around in the beliefs of numerous peoples.

Three borders, three areas

In summary we can state that in Nakamura (and its neighboring villages) three mutually distinct areas exist that provide a venue for meeting with ancestors: the home, the Buddhist temple, and the cemetery. The Shinto shrine cannot be regarded as a place where ancestors lived, nor, for that matter, can the *kamidana*.

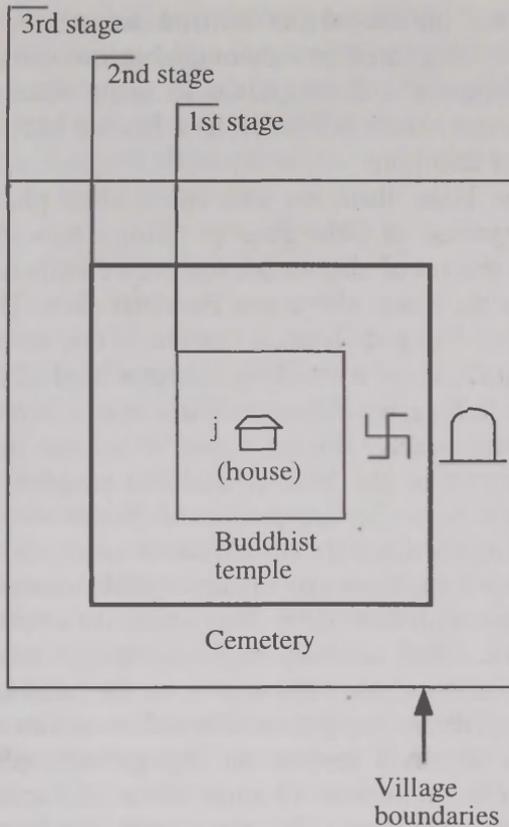
When this use of space is regarded through the prism of changing to an ancestor, it becomes apparent that the starting point is the home. The home is also the end point: specifically, it is from home that the journey towards the status of ancestor begins. A person who has recently died is called a *hotoke* (dead, Buddha). The status of ancestor is attained gradually in conjunction with commemorative services. In conjunction with commemorative ceremonies that are performed in the home, ancestors change into Shintoist divinities, *kamis*. After this the ancestor merges with nature, and the commemorative service can be ended. This type of imagined disappearance of a soul is not unusual. In his book *Suomalaisten runojen uskonto* ['The Religion of Finnish Poetry'], Kaarle Krohn relates that the Ingrians brought food for the recently deceased until they reasoned that the body had decayed; then it was believed that the soul had also disappeared into nothingness (Krohn 1914: 52).

The change in Japan can be described as the following sequence:

alive → *hotoke* → ancestor → *kami*.

Chronologically, the meeting takes place according to the following diagram: at home the ancestors are met with daily and in certain years. In the temple this takes place twice a year. In the cemetery a few times a year.

The division into areas may be depicted as follows:



Places for ancestors in a Japanese village.

How old are these places as places for meeting ancestors? First of all it is appropriate to say that the inhabitants of Japanese villages do not spend time pondering religious issues. Religion is the equivalent of traditional customs; people do what they have always done. When I discussed the issue with the people of Nakamura, they were surprised about this constant pondering of things. Remembering ancestors within the sphere of the home is the oldest, and it probably goes back to pre-historic times. Ancestors

are remembered for the sake of remembering them, but also because without being cared for they might become irritated and even dangerous. Japanese culture knows of many wandering spirits, such as the *muen-botoke*, a Buddha who has not been accorded the due amount of attention.

Within the home there are two other sacral places: both are nowadays regarded as belonging to Shintoism – one of them, *kamidana*, is the set of shelves for the gods mentioned previously that is inside the home above the Buddhist altar. The other is a small room for the gods located outside, a few meters from the north-western corner of a dwelling. About a third of the dwellings in Nakamura lack such a structure. These houses are usually inhabited by young people. On the figure above the last-mentioned place is indicated by the letter j. Buddhist temples started to be built in Japan after the acceptance of Buddhism in the sixth century. Remembering ancestors at the cemetery is probably the most recent custom, since the village's public cemeteries do not have a long history behind them. Previously, each family buried its dead in a place it had selected, nor, it is thought, were the graves deep. This conclusion has been drawn on the basis of documents that tell of dogs destroying graves. The oldest custom was probably to leave the deceased person on the ground unburied. With Buddhism came cremation. In some areas of Japan two burial methods have been used. The grave with the body was soon forgotten, and the relatives and villagers went to a new so-called soul grave (Yanagita 1957: 194–195; Bitô 1991: 383) to remember the dead. It should be emphasized separately that in all fourteen of the villages studied there is a Shinto shrine, in some there are two.

Verticality and horizontality

In the preceding, Shintoism has been mentioned a few times. The Japanese are often both Buddhists and Shintoists; the functions of the two religions are different. Crudely simplifying, it can be said

that the rites connected with life are conducted according to the principles of Shintoism, while the commemoration of ancestors is conducted according to Buddhist norms. This article has also looked at them as well as at the symbolic and concrete boundaries that define the fields of these religions. It can be added that the connections of Shintoism to the world outside of the village boundaries are minor, since the village temple always represents some branch of Buddhism; the main temple is often in Kyoto or Nara. The Shinto shrine, for its part, is in principle the village's own, independent institution, even though the Shinto priest may live outside of the village boundaries in a neighboring village.

Now I shall return to the horizontal and vertical relationships and view life at the borderline between Shintoism and Buddhism.

The palpable earnestness governing the manner in which the villagers relate to the upper and lower divisions of space is illustrated by a sequence of events that took place in Nakamura. In the early 1980s the inhabitants of the village decided to demolish its old Shinto shrine and build a new one on the ruins, even though the old shrine was in good condition and not in need of replacement. Everyone participated in the construction costs, which were assessed according to household. Why was such a major and expensive project undertaken? According to the explanation given by the villagers the demolition and erection were done so that the shrine would be physically at the same level as the village Buddhist temple. The new shrine was built on a higher place than the temple, and now the situation has improved in the opinion of many, but not all.

K. Satô, head of house 13, and Mrs. Shirai [= R.S.], the lady of house 3, tell about it in the following interchange:

K. Satô: The new shrine was built in the same place as the old one. It is the *kami*'s [god's] land.

K.S.: There were many illnesses. They were the result of the level of *jinja*. It was at the same level as the *otera* [the Buddhist temple].

I.V.: What kinds of illnesses were there?

K.S.: All kinds. Headache.

R.S.: (continues) There were fevers. Even a few deaths [lists different kinds of illnesses].

K.S.: All kinds of illnesses.

When examining vertical relations one should know that the inhabitants of Nakamura, like so many other Japanese, believe that the deities of the mountains and ancestors have a lot in common. There is a Shinto shrine on the peak of the mountains close to the village, a *yama-miya*, and a shrine, a *sato-miya*, at the side of the road leading up to the mountain at its base. The villagers say that at spring and new years the gods descend from the mountain to the village. Many believe that the deities of the mountains assume the form of ancestors when they enter the village (Cf. Hori 1968: 153-154).

According to Mary Douglas, for a person's social coordinates the horizontal dimension means order and classification, while the vertical dimension means pressure and control (Douglas 1970). If these ideas are also kept in mind, the life of the inhabitants of Nakamura can be divided into two worlds, one horizontal, and the other vertical. The internal world includes relationships to both ancestors and friends. Additionally, it includes everything that is familiar and safe. The external world includes relationships to the world outside of the village. This includes vacation trips to places outside of the village, even a trip to Hawaii or Tokyo, as well as work-related trips to places outside the village. The spatial and symbolic world of the inhabitants of Nakamura is the world of these relationships: a world of vertical and horizontal relationships. In the vertical world movement takes place primarily in the village, in the horizontal world from the village to the world outside. The life of these villagers is vertically oriented: they know their ancestors and *kamis* quite concretely. In comparison to these, the horizontal relationships to the world outside the village are restricted and superficial, even though schoolmates, jobs, and friends are outside the boundaries of the village.

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Rituals Around Unexpected Death

Anders Gustavsson, Oslo

The life of every human being extends from birth to death. Death can sometimes accompany birth as when an expected child is stillborn or miscarried earlier in a pregnancy. In all other cases, life is expected to proceed through childhood, youth, adulthood and old age. In former times, this process was illustrated in mass-produced pictures showing the successive ages of woman and man (e.g. Bringéus 1988). Life reached its end with death after the person had become aged and infirm. Even though average life expectancy has risen markedly during the past decades, death still comes as the end. No-one can escape this fate even if death has often been said to have become subject to taboo in recent years, and marginalized in people's social lives and as a topic of conversation. It has been shoved slightly aside as relating to some distant future date when the individual will have become old and frail, and perhaps even resided for a time in an institution for the care of the aged.

What happens then if death occurs at some earlier phase of life than that more normally expected, and not at a far distant time in people's everyday lives? This will most often be a sudden and unexpected death. How do the deceased's nearest family, friends and acquaintances manage to cope with this? Here is where the subject of ritualization enters in. Can different forms of ritual help to mitigate the shock and ease the process of grief? These are questions that will be discussed in this essay, based on a number of cases in which death has occurred suddenly and, usually, without prior warning. The emphasis is on the present day, but the study also considers the question of variation over time as illustrated by

conditions in the early 1900s. How are new rituals created, and how are they spread, and what meaning do they have for those people thrust into difficult situations? Ritual presupposes the performance of actions and that these actions are carried out in a public, social context. The communal aspect is, in other words, a very necessary element, to the exclusion of individual and solitary actions. The fieldwork for this study was carried out in south-eastern Norway and western Sweden.

Stillbirths and miscarriages

When a pregnancy was cut short by miscarriage in former times, the foetus was supposed to be conveyed in secrecy to the churchyard. The Norwegian folklorist Olav Bø has described how such foetuses were placed in tiny boxes that were then pushed into the churchyard wall (Bø 1960). The foetus was thus placed in proximity to consecrated ground even if this was done in secrecy and without any form of ritual. No social help of any kind existed at this time to assist the parents in their process of grief. Quite the contrary, secrecy and reticence, with regard to their immediate circle, were characteristic. As an extra precaution, such acts were carried out at dusk. A genre painting from 1989 by the west-Swedish folk-life artist Carl Gustaf Bernhardson (1915–1998) shows an incident of this kind in the coastal village of Grundsund in Bohuslän in 1923 (see figure 1).

The artist's father, a fisherman, walked to the churchyard one evening carrying a home-made wooden box containing a tiny stillborn boy, for burial in the family grave. The painting shows the fisherman's two older children, one of them the then eight-year-old Carl Gustaf, standing at the churchyard gate. This incident made a deep emotional impression on the little boy, according to what he told me himself later in his life.



Figure 1: A fisherman from Grundsund in Bohuslän carrying a stillborn child in a wooden box for burial in the family grave in the churchyard. Genre painting by Carl Gustaf Bernhardson who was the brother of the stillborn child and eight years old at the time.

A similar and secretive act was carried out by my father in 1942 in the village of Tegneby in Bohuslän where we lived, when my mother suffered a miscarriage. He went alone to the churchyard one evening and buried the foetus in my grandfather's and grandmother's grave. When I told of this incident in a newspaper interview in 2003, it soon became apparent that no-one in my parents'

circle of friends had ever heard of my mother's miscarriage. The secrecy surrounding the act was compact and total. I did hear my mother discuss the incident with my father when I was a youngster. She deplored the fact that a neighbour woman with a cold had come for a visit and infected my mother. In her eyes, the miscarriage had been caused because she had caught this cold. Her grief for her lost child still existed, obviously, even though the norms of the time made it impossible for her to show that grief openly. One consolingly happy event referred to by my mother was that she became pregnant quite soon afterwards, and gave birth to my sister the following year.

I discovered a striking contrast to such reticence regarding the stillborn or miscarried during my study of symbols on gravestones, mostly from the 1990s, in an area reaching from Gothenburg to Oslo (Gustavsson 2003). Here, I found gravestones whose symbols showed that birth and death had taken place on the same day. The earliest examples of these were located in Norway. In 1996, legislation was passed in this country stipulating that any foetus miscarried after the 28th week of pregnancy was entitled to a free place of burial in the town in which the mother resided. In actual fact, I found several examples that were dated earlier than this countrywide legislation. Because of this legislation in 1996, the status of the stillborn and miscarried was officially upgraded by society in a manner quite without previous precedence. Many Norwegian parents have had gravestones erected for such babies during the 1990s and have cared tenderly for their graves. The child's first name is usually engraved on the stone. The parents also convey their distress at never having met the living child by means of inscriptions such as: 'Our twins David and Benjamin whom we never were allowed to know. Sleep well' (Sarpsborg) or 'Our little Nora. You were the little girl we lost' (Sandefjord) (see figure 2). Their love for the baby can also be expressed by having the stone shaped like a heart. Compared to earlier circumstances, the parents now have a place where they can express their grief and, by means of the inscriptions on the stone, their emotions. The grieving process can take place in the public sphere as represented

by the cemetery, and as such opportunities gradually have been sanctioned by society. The secrecy of earlier days has been abolished. The gravestone itself becomes a point of departure for the expression of emotions and the performing of acts that demonstrate grief and bereavement.



Figure 2: The gravestone and wooden cross placed on the grave of a stillborn girl in 1999 in Sandefjord cemetery in Vestfold county. The text near the bottom of the stone reads: 'You are always with us'. Two teddy bears have been placed in front of the stone and the wooden cross. All photographs taken in churchyards and cemeteries are by the author.

Countrywide legislation, comparable to that of Norway, was not enacted in Sweden until the year 2000 in connection with the separation between Church and State. Although some few gravestones for stillborn or miscarried children were taken into use before this legislative enactment, it gave official legitimacy to the whole procedure of erecting such stones. They have also increased in number after this time in the cemeteries of western Sweden in which I have carried out fieldwork. One example is a stone in Morlanda Cemetery commemorating 'Our little Per', who died at birth in November, 2002. As regards time, Norway is somewhat to the fore in this recent development that has also won acceptance in Sweden.

The death of children

When children died in former times, they could be buried in small and separate graves with a wooden cross or tiny, low stone. They were sometimes placed in the family grave, and their names, dates of birth and death sometimes, but not always, inscribed on the stone. If the parents were still alive, it was not uncommon in Sweden to find their names inscribed uppermost and the child's name inscribed below. This custom has continued until fairly recent years.

The innovative trait in both Norway and Sweden, during the 1990s, is that children's gravestones have been much more personalized than previously. The name and birth- and death-dates are not merely indicated, but one or more symbols expressing something specifically characteristic of the dead child, and not of children in general, is also inscribed. The personal and individual aspect is expressed in a way that never occurred earlier. This can take the form of a life-sized depiction of the child's hand or foot on the gravestone. Drawings made by the child can be used or pictures of the child's pets or toys. Toys, especially teddy bears, can also be placed in front of the gravestone shortly after the death. Such

symbols are less long-lasting than inscriptions on the stone. They must therefore be replaced at regular intervals so that the grave does not appear unkempt. Proper care of the grave has been shown to be very important to the child's parents, siblings and grandparents.

In recent times, there has also been some use of colour photographs of the child. Parents have stated that the deceased child is felt to be somewhat nearer to them and to be more tangible when a photograph is placed on the grave. All of these new symbols aid in maintaining the memory of the dead child among its family members and also give visible expression to their bereavement. The child will not be forgotten so easily when personal gestures of this kind are used. This can aid both parents and other relatives in coping with their grief, as my interviews have clearly indicated. These new symbols counteract forgetfulness, something that is experienced as being appalling and alarming when the child has died as a result of an illness or an accident. The inscriptions can sometimes illustrate the deceased's struggle against that illness, such as 'Brave little Peter M' concerning a boy from Kungshamn who died of leukaemia in 1995. A child's death does not always come suddenly, but can often have been preceded by a shorter or lengthier period of illness. Irrespective of the length of the illness, the death of any child must be considered as an unexpected death. It contradicts all general expectations about life and violates that which people regard as the normal course of life. It is precisely this aspect that gives rise to crises that prove difficult to manage.

Memory goes back in time, while the inscriptions that speak of reunion point to the future. Phrases such as 'We'll see each other again' and 'See you soon' or 'In hopes of meeting again' are used in Norway, or as in Sweden, 'We'll meet again'. These are vague, so-called generally religious expressions that are of obvious assistance in dealing with grief. When it comes to children, it is especially difficult to contemplate a complete and final separation. The difference between an underlying general and vague religiosity, and a definite Christian belief cannot be established by means of the inscriptions, but only through conversations with the

deceased's relatives who have chosen the texts. Texts of this kind which allude to a continuation of life after death have in later years become much more numerous on children's gravestones in Norway and Sweden as compared to those raised for adults, especially elderly people. This is where the secularization of society is most noticeable, especially in Sweden, if one makes comparisons with the texts chosen earlier in the 1900s. Pictures of one or more guardian angels on the gravestone can also allude to something beyond earthly existence. A form for duality is also apparent in our day, in that the dead child can be regarded as an angel in keeping with neo-religious conceptions (Alver 1999). On a wooden cross erected in Stala over the grave of a little girl who drowned in the year 2000, for example, the inscription reads 'Beloved wild-angel'. In Skjeberg, Østfold, the following text has been used: 'A tiny angel to us came, greeted us, but left again'.

The idea of burying children in an anonymous memorial park has quite simply not gained acceptance. One's own child must retain its individuality even in death. Memorial parks are more suitable in cases where no near relatives are available or live close enough to take care of a grave. Quite the opposite situation exists with children's graves in that both parents and siblings will usually still be alive. Other children, playmates and schoolmates, can also visit the grave and express their feelings of remembrance and bereavement. Cemetery personnel have told of entire kindergarten classes coming to visit the grave of a dead classmate. They leave a number of keepsakes, quite often things they have made in kindergarten or the schoolroom. Such visits occur in the years immediately following the death. A definite action of this kind better enables these little friends to deal with their feelings of bereavement. This collective expression from the child's friends supplements the nearest relatives' visits to the grave. Thus, different categories of people, in the deceased's circle of friends, benefit from ritual expression.

The increasingly individualistic character of growing numbers of children's gravestones has also led to an increased willingness among the next of kin to talk about this obviously shocking death.

I understood this very clearly during my fieldwork in cemeteries early in the 2000s. On such occasions, I have listened to many tragic accounts concerning shock, grief and bereavement, but have also been met with a positive and active desire to talk about the deceased whose grave and gravestone we were standing by. I have never been rebuffed when desiring to start a conversation about the gravestone in question. Quite the contrary, I have been met with a frankness and even staunchness that has surprised me. The fieldworker visibly becomes a longed-for conversational partner with the time and interest for listening (see Hörz 2003). Two parents who had lost their child through the so-called sudden infant death syndrome (SIDS) in 2003, related some months later how important conversations with others about this difficult experience had been: "Being able to talk with others about everything that had happened was so helpful. You do brood about every single detail over and over again. Talking about this to professional people who also showed sympathy was of enormous benefit to us" (*Aftenposten*, 2 February 2003).

Close relatives also show a certain pride in indicating just what is special about the stone chosen and the motif placed on it. They are never unwilling to be photographed alongside the selected stone. This can show that individualization is the goal one sought. In such cases, the desire of the close relatives is to be different from all others. One can assert oneself and one's family as being innovative and the sole choosers of a new motif for the gravestone. Presenting the gravestone and speaking with an outsider can then have great meaning. When close relatives have noticed or have been told by others of my studying and photographing gravestones in a cemetery, it is not unusual for them to approach me. As an example, I can mention an incident in Sigelhult Churchyard in Uddevalla during the summer of 2000. A young family who were tending a grave came over to me and asked if I would come and see their grave that was, in their opinion, something special. A certain pride glowed in the mother's face. They first commented that I certainly never before had seen any similar motif. It depicted an ice-hockey player and had been placed on the grave of a 14-

year-old, sports-interested boy who died suddenly in 1999. I quite obviously disappointed the family somewhat when I told them that I had seen the ice-hockey motif on another gravestone in a nearby industrial town, this one for a 12-year-old boy who had died in 1995. The family then told me, however, that they considered driving over to see the stone.

This kind of frankness when speaking of a recent and tragic death is in stark contrast to my fieldwork experiences, during the 1970s and early 1980s, on death and burials. A prohibition on and an unwillingness to talk about the subject was obvious, especially in the urban surroundings of such large cities as Gothenburg and Malmö. My conclusion, at that time, was that "city dwellers are especially hesitant about speaking of incidents concerning their immediate family" (Gustavsson 1982: 16ff). Anything having to do with death of the loved ones was dismissed brusquely and considered to be of private concern only. No-one outside the most intimate family was supposed to be concerned. Private funerals, open only to the nearest and dearest, became far more customary (Pleijel 1983). Any real outside help in coping with grief could not be expected under such conditions. The difference, when compared to the present day is, in other words, extreme. These changes are also evident in the media that show an increased interest in dealing with questions of death and grief. I noticed this very clearly in both Norway and Sweden when I published my work on symbols on gravestones in the two countries. Both the national and regional press, in addition to national and regional broadcasting showed great interest in printing articles about me and my work in graveyards.¹ Interest of this kind from the media is something I never experienced earlier, despite having done research on circumstances having to do with death, funerals and graveyards since the mid-1960s. The media help by showing what might be legitimate and interesting to talk about and be concerned with, and that no longer needs to be hidden. Obviously, people no longer feel the need to keep their innermost feelings secret. They no longer risk breaking a social norm and the conversational taboo that previously called for silence and reticence concerning recent grief, tragedy and shock.

This indicates that the norms, for what can be considered suitable to talk about or not talk about, vary in different periods of time. In later years, candour concerning the personal sphere has increased and individuals are focused upon in an entirely different manner than previously. One is not expected to hide one's own personality but instead exhibit the characteristic and personal in what was earlier thought of as a completely private sector of life. This can be of enormous help to people who live with great and sudden grief, as my recent fieldwork has convinced me. One single sector concerning sudden death, that the media still avoid writing of concerns suicide, except when this happens to very well-known persons. Such avoidance in reporting on suicide in a personal, not a general manner has obviously contributed to the fact that suicide still is a subject that people prefer not to talk about. This can harm the closest relatives, who often experience great feelings of guilt. I have met reactions of this kind during my fieldwork.

Death in the productive phase of adult life

Death can also occur suddenly and unexpectedly during active adult life. In former days, before the great advancements in medical science, the risk of dying in childbirth was a very real peril in every birth to quite a different degree than we can now imagine. Ever since the Middle Ages and up to the end of the 1800s, the usual custom was that women who had newly given birth were 'churched', that is to say, were received anew into the fellowship of both Church and Society after their isolation in connection with childbirth. This was an act whose purpose was to express honour and thanksgiving, even though a concept of purification had been ascribed to it in more ancient times. A woman who died in childbirth could not benefit from this churchly rite of initiation and celebration. During the Middle Ages, there were specific ecclesiastical handbooks containing texts to be used in these women's funerals. The church of the reformation decided, however, to

discontinue such usage, seeing it as papist and a rite of purification for the deceased. The usual funeral rites were considered to be sufficient, as they were for all other deceased persons. Common people did not accept this change, but wished instead for a continuation of the older practice. They persisted in this long after the reformation until, indeed, the 1800s by carrying out rituals before the funeral and without the services of a parson (Gustavsson 1972: 205ff). A woman proxy offered a prayer for the deceased. The folk-life recorder Eva Wigström from Skåne in Sweden, recorded a statement in the 1840s and later related it thus: "at which time the godmother entered the church and prayed for the deceased, and then made a donation to the priest, the parish clerk and the poor box while the coffin was held outside the church door" (Wigström 1880: 235f). These donations are those that a woman who had survived childbirth would herself have made as late as in the 1800s. Wigström's account was recorded at a time when coffins usually were not carried into the church for the funeral services. The woman who was to be churched, however, would enter the church. It was this reception into the fellowship of the church that, for her, was the whole point of the ceremony. In popular opinion, this then should mean that a woman proxy was to enter the church, pray and make donations on behalf of the woman who had died in childbirth.

This lingering popular ritual indicates the difficulties that official regulation can encounter in the popular sphere if this differs from the strong position held by continuity and tradition. This is especially true with regard to death. As long as prior official ritual retained a content acceptable to the common people, they would follow it. The question, of women who had died in childbirth, was extremely sensitive and continuation of older traditions would then be considered prudent. The church could not simply abolish ceremonies and rituals that had long been fixed in tradition. This was especially true in such crises as would naturally arise in connection with a sudden death.

Even though deaths in childbirth have decreased strikingly in number the nearer one comes to our own time, active adults are

still subject to death because of illness, accidents etc. In the following, I will concentrate on those deaths caused by shipwreck, traffic accidents or murder and manslaughter. Death in childbirth does still occur, however, as can be ascertained in many cemeteries. One tangible example can be found in Dragsmark cemetery in Bohuslän commemorating the death of a 24-year-old woman who, with her unborn child, died in 1995 as the result of sudden illness. The gravestone is very personal in shape, consisting of a natural fieldstone with a large hole holding a radiant sun (see figure 3). The symbol of the sun with its beams and warmth indicates light defying death's terrible traumatic shock. The gist of the symbol is that light will after all conquer darkness. The unborn child has been indicated by the inscription 'Her daughter'. During my periods of fieldwork, I have met other women who only just managed to survive childbirth but who lost their babies. Childbirth, in other words, even in our own time is not completely free of danger to life and threat of death.

A young parent can sometimes die, either instantaneously or after a period of sickness, leaving his or her spouse and children bereft. No matter what the cause, sudden death is a tragedy for families with young children. In such cases, a heart-shaped gravestone can be used, indicating the special love felt for the deceased. Smaller heart-shaped stones are often placed in front of the larger one. A husband from Lommeländ in Bohuslän, whose wife died in 1997, said simply that 'She was my most beloved' as an explanation of his choice of the heart symbol. Texts, both inscribed on the stone and placed in front of it, express the devotion and the grief felt for the deceased. The inscription 'A wonderful wife and mother of three' can be found on a stone in Herrestad Cemetery near Uddevalla, erected to the memory of a thirty-four-year-old woman who died in 1987. 'Fare well, mamma, with love from Magnus' was written on a card placed in front of the gravestone of a thirty-three-year-old woman from Kungshamn in Bohuslän, who died in 1997. Several hearts were drawn in below the text. A belief in a better existence after death is shown



Figure 3: The hole in this natural fieldstone symbolizes the sun spreading its beams. A gravestone in Dragsmark cemetery for a twenty-four-year-old woman and her unborn child who both died in connection with the birth. A tiny porcelain angel has been placed in front of the stone.

by this little child who loves and misses his mother. A wife from Sarsborg whose husband had died in 1999 at the age of forty, wrote the following letter to him: SORROW. It began as a tiny tear as my heart broke because you had left me and everything became so sad. Why did you have to leave? Why can't you return to us and make us happy again? Please, please, come back to us, dear [---] and daddy. In some cases, an entire family can suddenly die because of an accident such as a fire. When two young parents and

their newborn child were killed in a fire in Idd in Norway in 1999, the next of kin had the following text inscribed on the stone: 'The ships have sailed away'. The pictural symbols on the stone were three birds flying off over the sea, and a lighthouse that safeguarded their course and warned of danger.

The deceased's acquaintances or fellow workers can also express their emotions at the grave. In front of the gravestone of a forty-four-year-old woman from Uddevalla who died in 1999, a nursing colleague placed a porcelain cat and a smaller stone on which was written: 'Lisbeth. We'll meet again', and signed 'Anita'. A vague and general religious belief in a reunion after death can help survivors to live on despite their grief due to the loss of a friend.

Loss of life at sea

Being dependent on one's income from work on the open sea must be associated with obvious dangers of shipwreck and death by drowning. This became only too evident in the coastal villages of Sweden's west coast when extensive deep-sea fishing started in the 1860s. The fishing boats, so-called English cutters, were powered by sail until the 1890s when they were equipped with motors. This improvement led to a reduction both in the risk of accidents and in the size of the crew, from 12 or 14 to 6 or 8 men. In turn, this also meant that fewer men than before lost their lives at one time. The 1880s were especially heavily hit by accidents. During the 1900s, the two world wars also meant great risk for people living along the coast because shipwrecks could be caused by the explosion of submerged mines. Some crewmembers could be saved, but a very great number drowned.

During the world wars, bodies were sometimes washed ashore, but this was never the case in deep-sea fishing. Psychologically speaking, it was felt to be an even greater tragedy if the dead were not buried in consecrated ground. The next-of-kin, widows,

mothers and children, then had no place on which to focus their grief and no grave to care for. In addition, popular superstition held that bodies not buried in consecrated ground could become ghosts and be a danger to the living if met unexpectedly (cf Klintberg 1973; Pentikäinen 1974). Nor was it possible to hold a funeral service if the body had not been found. The popular term used along Sweden's west coast was that the drowned men 'were lost'.

Anxiety regarding shipwreck was naturally very prevalent among the fishermen's wives. In addition to the mental shock and grief, the loss of the family's breadwinner would devastate the basis of the household's economy. Having to live with this constant and all-encompassing fear meant that a tight social relationship between the women was vital. Being able to console and support each other was of vital importance when one of their number, or as could happen only too often, several women in the same village had lost a husband and one or more sons. Before the day of the telephone and telegraph, men arriving home and sailing into their home port would show grief and bereavement by the lowering of their sails if one or more of the crew had been lost. The men were, however, forced to go to sea in their boats even in the combat conditions of the two world wars (Åberg & Edvardsson 1985). On being interviewed, the fishermen stated that they had no other choice because of their need to sustain their families. They could still feel that their women were in an even more difficult situation in that they lived with constant uncertainty. The men themselves, on the other hand, in the midst of the reality of the sea, were completely engrossed in their work. Under such circumstances, they had little time to spend worrying about possible accidents.

The despair encountered in hard-hit coastal villages was often remarked upon in the oral material collected during the 1980s for the Kattegat-Skagerrak Project. Religion frequently became a source of comfort and refuge for the anxious and sorrowing women. One fisherman's wife, from the island of Öckerö near Gothenburg, who had lost two young sons when their boat hit an submerged mine, told of her reaction on learning of the disaster: "...went home and sat down all alone. And then something odd

happened. A bible verse that I had repeated time and time again entered my mind: "Thy heart shall not be troubled nor forlorn..." (Åberg & Edvardsson 1985: 100). Shipwrecks at sea have sometimes provided a psychological basis for religious revivals in a locality. This can occur when charismatic revivalist preachers have come to a coastal village in connection with terrible disasters. I found such activity in the 1920s on the island of Åstol in Bohuslän (Gustavsson 1984: 32 ff). The preachers' sermonizing served to remind the local people of eternity that had been made relevant by the deaths due to shipwreck.

When the widows of these drowned fishermen died themselves, often many years later, they were buried in single graves in the churchyard provided they had not re-married. The epitaph on the gravestone simply used the word 'Wife' without any mention of the husband's name. The woman's status as a widow has been marked on gravestones in later years, something that never occurred previously. The inscription on a gravestone in Mollösund Cemetery, for a woman who died in 1966, shows that she was the 'Widow of Joakim Patriksson who died in the shipwreck of the Orion in 1924'. A woman from Sydkoster had been a widow for even longer, as can be seen from the inscription on her gravestone from 1992: 'Wife of Axel Antonsson who drowned in Koster Fjord in 1934'.

Many years after local families had experienced these terrible disasters, the idea of raising a common memorial stone in the cemetery began to be discussed in some of the villages along the coast of Bohuslän. The names of all those lost at sea since the start of deep-sea fishery were to be inscribed in chronological order while their ages were also given in many cases. This makes it possible to determine the number of young and middle-aged men from the various coastal villages who had lost their lives at sea, and to see that many died at about the same time. The dominant position of the 19th century as to the number of deaths can be seen, for example, on the memorial in Bohus-Malmön. 38 out of a total of 48 men drowned during the second half of the 1800s.

The memorials were raised to ensure that the names of the dead would never be forgotten and also that they would always have a place in local history even if their final resting place lay at the bottom of the sea. The earliest recorded memorial stones of this kind were raised in the 1950s, such as those in Gullholmen in 1952 and Åstol in 1958. Soon afterwards, stones were raised in Rönnäng in 1960 and Kungshamn in 1965. The initiative in these cases was taken by the local fishermen themselves. The stone in Kungshamn is inscribed to that effect: 'Kungshamn's fishermen raised this stone in the year 1965'. It was in these years that extensive deep-sea fisheries came to an end in the villages of Bohuslän. This was especially true of the 1960s. In Grundsund, where fishing activity continued for a longer period, the memorial stone was raised by the local congregation in 1981.

There were still many coastal villages without memorials in the 1990s. Several were raised, however, in different places within a short period of time. Bohus-Malmön and Kåringön each acquired such stones in 1993, followed by Mollösund and Bovallstrand in 1994 and Öckerö in 1998. The newest memorials recorded are those erected in Resö in 2000 and Lyse in 2002. Local newspapers showed great interest in these events, printing long articles about the reasons for raising the various memorials and their dedications. Many of these latest memorials have been erected through the efforts of local historical societies. This is because they wish to emphasize the fact the importance of the dead men had to local history, despite their not having been buried in their home ground. They would no longer remain anonymous, but were at last to be remembered and honoured for their work at sea on behalf of home communities. On Kåringön, a total of 157 men were honoured. After the ceremony in 1993, one of the older island fishermen's wives, who had been instrumental in raising the memorial, said, "It was a moving experience to see that memorial for all those who did not return. Now they have come home at last. [---] There were tragedies connected to each and every name. My own forefathers were lost at sea. That was something every single family on

Käringön experienced. Now everyone has a place to visit” (*Bohusläningen*, 22 May, 1993).

Extensive archival research has also been carried out by enthusiastic local historians to ensure that every possible name could be inscribed on the stone and none forgotten. Oral tradition was not sufficient in this reconstruction of the shipwrecks that had occurred in the latter part of the 1800s. At the time of the dedication ceremony for the memorial in Mollösund in the summer of 1994, the newspaper *Bohusläningen* reported that “Majken Rohdén has completed the weighty task of finding all the names of the deceased. She has also made a list of all their next-of-kin” (*Bohusläningen*, 30 July, 1994). The inscription on the Mollösund memorial reads: ‘Storm and strife gave them a grave at sea’. Below the inscription are listed the names of the 48 men who died at sea between 1861 and 1994 (see figure 4). That last date concerns a man who drowned in the sinking of the ferry *Estonia* in the Baltic Sea.



Figure 4: A memorial stone raised in 1994 in Mollösund cemetery in commemoration of fishermen and mariners who were lost at sea between 1861 and 1994. The text below the depiction of a sailing ship reads: ‘Storm and strife gave them a grave at sea’.

The dedication ceremonies have been conducted by ministers with the participation of local historians, former fishermen and seamen. The clergymen's participation has given a spiritual dimension to the ceremony similar to that taking place at an ordinary funeral service, something that those who died at sea had never benefited from. A great many local inhabitants, both old and young, have been present at these ceremonies as has been reported in regional newspapers. About two hundred people attended the ceremony at Lyse near Lysekil in 2002 (Bohuslänningen, 30 July, 2002). The memorial consequently becomes a communal concern of interest to the entire local populace. Many local people have relatives among these long-dead victims.

The memorial stones have given local history a new dimension. Memories that formerly were found only in an oral narrative tradition, have now received a tangible, physical shape. Such tradition is in grave danger of being diluted and eventually disappearing. In this situation, history has been revitalized by means of the newly erected memorial stones whose sturdy quality bodes well for the future. If and when a new death occurs at sea, the victim's name will be inscribed on the stone and thus find its place in a historical relationship with local society.

As a comparison with the coastal areas and fisheries of northern Norway, one might mention the book written by the historian Narve Fulsås from Tromsø on the sea, death at sea and weather conditions in the period 1850–1950 (Fulsås 2003). In this book he has carefully documented the making of a memorial stone erected in 1950 in memory of fishermen who drowned during the Lofoten fisheries. This is actually older than the oldest stone in Bohuslän, namely the one from 1952 on Gullholmen. The inscription on the stone in Lofoten reads: 'In memory of fishermen lost on the Lofoten Sea'. No names or years are mentioned, and in this way the stone becomes a common memorial in contrast to those along the coast of Bohuslän. The anonymity of the dead men is accentuated, in that it is only by means of personal names and dates that the individual makes its presence felt. In Bohuslän, there are very few instances where names and dates are not listed on memorial stones.

No later than the year 1950 has been mentioned by Fulsås due to that being the concluding year of his study. Nor does my own research cover the important fishing areas of western and northern Norway, in that it has been concentrated on the coast of Bohuslän in western Sweden.

A new and recent trend in the west-Swedish area of investigation, in addition to the memorial stones, has been the holding of a memorial service in the parish church when the body or bodies of the victims have not been recovered from a shipwreck at sea. One such service took place in Morlanda Church in the year 2000 in memory of a lone fisherman. The usual funeral rites must be adjusted to account for the absence of a coffin in the church. The next of kin and circle of friends and acquaintances are thus given an opportunity for a farewell ceremony that was unknown previously. Their grief and bereavement can have a more explicit expression. After a ceremony of this kind the deceased's name is inscribed on the memorial stone in token of future remembrance. Local newspapers report on such events that can arouse widespread local interest. The newspaper *Göteborgs Posten* used the headline 'The entire countryside mourns the crew' when reporting on a memorial service in Kville Church. This took place after the sudden disappearance of the fishing boat *Novi* with her entire crew of four during lobster fishing in September of 1995. Nearly all 1,800 seats in the church were filled, indicating broad local involvement in this farewell to the dead. This particular ceremony included memorial speeches, the lighting of candles and the recitation of poetry (*Göteborgs Posten*, 2 January 1996).

Death due to traffic accidents

The sea is not the only reaper of accident victims. These tragedies also occur on highways because of the heavy growth of automotive traffic in the 1900s. The difference between accidents at sea and those in traffic is that the scene of an accident on a highway can be

determined. The ethnologist Konrad Köstlin has made a study of the increasing number of roadside memorials in the shape of crosses placed along German highways at the scenes of fatal accidents (Köstlin 1999). The site then has a kind of sacred meaning for passers-by because a fatal accident has taken place there, and it also serves as a reminder to drive safely. General religious and secular meaning can thus go hand-in-hand in contemporary society.

Roadside memorials of this kind have also begun to be found in Norway and Sweden in later years. A cross decorated with flowers can be placed at a spot alongside the road where an accident has occurred. One wooden cross that I photographed after an accident in Hälleviksstrand on Orust in Bohuslän in January, 1998, disappeared, however, after a period of about three months (see figure 5). Another cross in Stala on Orust that was set up after an accident at a sharp bend in the road in October 1997, still stands and is regularly decorated with plastic flowers. This cross is very conspicuous and very easy to see here. The memory of a fatal accident and a warning of the dangers in traffic are indeed combined in this example. The cross therefore will retain its significance for wayfarers in years to come, not just in the months immediately after the accident. The fact that a memorial marking can remain and be cared for over a long period of time can be of actual benefit to the next of kin. This was confirmed by a married couple in a newspaper interview in 2003. They had lost their son in 1995 when he was run down by an inebriated driver. The parents have cared for a bed of plants encircled by stones at the scene of the accident. The father stated: "Visiting the grave is just too sorrowful, so I do not do that oftener than twice a year. This memorial does not arouse the same feelings and I also feel I am doing something meaningful about drunk driving" (*Kyrkans Tidning*, 30 October-5 November 2003). The accident site is, in other words, experienced as being less personal than the grave, while also giving an opportunity for activity on behalf of society at large, in this case warning of drunk driving. This effort is made so that others will not suffer the same kind of tragedy as oneself.



Figure 5: A wooden cross placed alongside a highway near Hälleviksstrand after a fatal traffic accident in January, 1998. A young man lost his life here after crashing into a rocky cliff.

A memorial made of stone cannot be placed as close as a wooden cross to the road itself, but it is, on the other hand, far more durable. After comedian Lasse Lindroth was killed in 1999 in an accident at a very sharp curve in Bohuslän when driving home from Oslo to Gothenburg, his relatives placed a memorial stone on the site. The inscription on the stone reads: 'Lasse Lindroth died here on 11 July, 1999'. Through the personal name the dead person will remain an individual for posterity in contrast to the anonymous wooden crosses.

The Norwegian association *Landsforeningen for trafikkskadde i Hordaland* ('The National Association for the Victims of Traffic Accidents, Hordaland') planned to place signs marked with crosses at sites of fatal accidents along highways throughout Norway. These white crosses on a black background were meant to symbolize death. According to the Association, they would warn about the continuously rising number of fatal traffic accidents and thus help to save lives. The cross as a symbol of death would, in this

case, act as a deterrent. The Norwegian transport authorities did not however give permission for the plan. Instead, they saw the crosses as a danger for traffic safety because of their distracting drivers' attentions (*Aftenposten*, 12 August 2000). An illegal action was carried out in Norway in the autumn of 2003 when 58 wooden crosses were set up along highway E6 in Østfold as a reminder of the 58 persons who had been killed on this highway since 1990. After an hour, the activists were forced by the police to remove the crosses (*Halden Arbeiderblad*, 25 November 2003). The 58 dead persons were here not seen as individuals but remembered in a collective way. The reason for raising the crosses was once again to warn of the danger of new accidents. The activists also hoped that their demonstration would help hasten the building of a new four-lane highway. Thus, a criticism of the Norwegian transport authorities, and of the State, was involved in the action.

In recent years, a new form for remembrance has gained popularity in Sweden in that crosses have been replaced at accident sites by brighter symbols, such as flowers and lighted candles, and also poems and photos of the victim or victims. Such items do not have anything approaching the durability of wooden crosses or stones. The new symbols have a more spontaneous character as an expression of the sudden grief and bereavement brought on by an accident. Such brighter symbols will help lighten the bleakness of the shock that has been experienced, however. The cross, on the other hand, is more linked with death and sorrow in modern Swedish society, and to the darker sides of existence. Brighter symbols can fill a need for support in the severe situation of grief. A similar change, replacement of the cross with flowers and candles, has also been recorded on gravestones in recent years (Gustavsson 2003).

Friends of the victim or victims have also begun to assemble in person at the scene of an accident shortly after it has taken place in order to give silent and collective testimony of their grief and bereavement. This is especially true when the accidents involve young people. Several instances of this new custom have been reported with articles and photographs in both Norwegian and

Swedish newspapers. One newspaper reporter from Oslo told of having been sent out to photograph several such incidents during the last years.

I had the opportunity of conducting a documentation of a memorial event in Morlanda in September 2000. A seventeen-year-old boy from Västra Frölunda, a suburb of Gothenburg, crashed his car one night on a rocky cliff and was killed instantly. The next evening, a large group of dark-clad young people assembled at the scene of this accident about eighty kilometres from Gothenburg. There, the young people lit candles and set out flowers and several enlarged photographs of the victim (see figure 6). They remained



Figure 6: A seventeen-year-old boy from Västra Frölunda in Gothenburg lost his life after hitting this mountainside in his car in September of 2000. His young friends gathered at the site on the next evening and placed several photographs of the victim here. They also lay down flowers and numerous lighted candles and torches.

at the site in heartfelt silence for a long time. I observed all of this at a tactful distance and later photographed the richly adorned site. Within a few weeks this memorial had, however, disappeared. The flowers had withered and the candles burned out. The idea of using the site as a symbol of warning had not been the object here, as it had been in previous instances of wooden crosses being placed alongside highways. After the funeral, the next of kin and the young friends could visit the grave whenever they wished to commemorate the victim, and had no need of driving to an accident site a long distance away.

Traffic authorities in Sweden have reacted with unease to the new custom of gatherings of large groups of people at accident sites. As a representative for the Highway Department in western Sweden stated in 1999: "When these people gather together after an incident like this, they just don't consider their own safety. We have had several close calls recently and fear that this can lead to a serious accident" (*Göteborgs Posten*, 17 January 1999).

One and the same traffic accident can often involve the deaths of several young people. I have found quite a number of newspaper reports from Norway in recent years showing how an entire community is stricken when the young victims come from this same area. This leads to acute despair involving the entire community just as was the case when several fishermen from the same village were lost (see above). After a traffic accident, in February 2000, in Norway in which three young people were killed, a man who lives in the stricken community of some 500 people said: "In a tiny village like ours, we all feel like the next of kin" (*VG*, 8 February 2000). The scenes of such traffic accidents and the young people's homes often lie near each other, since the victims have been on their way to or from some nearby social gathering. Grief can be expressed by gathering together both at the scene of the accident and in available village meeting places such as the church, the community centre or a clubhouse. Such gatherings are held immediately after the accident and can include talks and the lighting of candles and, occasionally, a display of photographs of the victims. Crowds of people have shown their

sympathies at such times of grief by gathering together both outdoors and indoors. The solidarity of the local community is very strong in such critical situations and is experienced as being communal. Over 500 young people took part in a memorial service in Randaberg Church in the year 2000 after three local young people had been killed when they crashed into a tunnel wall (*Aftenposten*, 26 March 2000). "It helped us all when we saw that almost the entire community was present", said the local sheriff when nearly 300 people gathered in

Eggedal's community centre in Buskerud county after two young men were killed in 2002 when their car crashed into a building (*Dagbladet*, 12 August 2002). (See figure 7).



Figure 7: Young people from Kløfta some distance from Oslo gathered at the scene of an accident on the day after three local youngsters died here after colliding with a bus. Photo: *Aftenposten*, 18 August 2003.

Murder or manslaughter in public areas

The murder of Sweden's prime minister, Olof Palme, on a city street in Stockholm in 1986 was an immense shock. This was expressed in numerous ritual demonstrations. These have been

described and analysed by the German ethnologist Martin Scharfe who was then a guest professor in Stockholm (Scharfe 1989). Enormous quantities of flowers, candles and hand-written tributes were laid at the murder site. Several newspapers in both Norway and Sweden have reported in recent years about similar expressions of grief and remembrance at murder sites. If the murder has taken place indoors, such observances are carried out outside the building in question. When a murdered man was discovered in December of 2003 lying in his apartment in Forsbacka in Gästrikland, the newspaper *Aftonbladet* reported shortly afterwards that "his friends have made a huge memorial outside the apartment block, consisting of candles, flowers and personal greetings" (*Aftonbladet*, 8 December 2003). They also expressed uneasiness and fear because of the possible presence of an unknown murderer in their neighbourhood. "You don't feel safe outdoors any more", as one of the man's friends said. These cases concerned a completely ordinary person who was victim of a murder, but the murder of Sweden's foreign minister Anna Lindh, on 10 September 2003, received special attention. A large photograph of Lindh, surrounded by flowers and lighted candles, was placed outside the department store in Stockholm where she was stabbed.

The murder of Sabina, a little five-year-old girl from Arvika, Värmland, who was stabbed by a psychiatric patient the day after Anna Lindh's murder, also received vast attention in Sweden's national newspapers. "Scores of children have placed toys, flowers and drawings for Sabina at the scene of her murder", reported *Göteborgs Tidningen*, and published several photographs of the objects (*Göteborgs Tidningen*, 21 September 2003). A large photograph of Sabina was hung on the fence around her day-care centre. Many of the greetings from children and adults concerned angels. 'The angels are guarding you, Sabina', wrote Rebecca and Anki. Sabina was seen as having gone off to a life among angels, as was expressed by one mourner: 'Little Sabina, play with the other angel children'. This indicates, as was the case with grave-stones for children (see above), a need and desire to emphasize continuation beyond the limits of earthly life when a child dies.

The brutal and sudden obliteration of a fragile, budding life will otherwise make the parting even more tragic and definite. A belief in an affirmative continuation after death can help in the traumatic grief process. The dead child has not only come to the angels, but is also considered to have become an angel-child. This is consistent with a general religious conception of existence (Dahlgren 2000), and has also been reinforced by neo-religious movements (Alver 1999).

Ritual expression is felt to be necessary not only at the scene of a murder but also in the public sphere, as has been shown in connection with deaths due to traffic accidents (see above). In this public space, people can experience solidarity and express their grief and protest at the traumatic situation that has arisen. The evening after Sabina's murder in Arvika, over 2,000 people met in the town square to take part in a memorial ceremony for both Sweden's foreign minister and for little Sabina. Here there was no distinction as to social class or age. Death obliterates all social classification. The message expressed by the ceremony was for a complete repudiation of all crimes of violence. In situations involving sudden crisis and shock, whether on the national or local level, public expressions of solidarity and repudiation are of vital importance. In these cases, crimes of violence are considered to be symptoms of negative social phenomena as symbolized by video violence, reduction in psychiatric care, etc. A determination to fight against such evils and for the public good must be developed. This is shown by the protests that are expressed as ritual actions in public gatherings and appeals.

Both Norwegian and Swedish newspapers have had many articles concerning such ritual expressions in recent years. The essential elements are flowers, lighted candles, a silent group of people at the murder site and a photograph of the victim. At larger gatherings in some public locale, sacred or secular, speeches with concluding appeals are also common. These express a need not only for an appeasement of remembrance and grief, but also for changes with regard to the future. Anxiety for a repetition of the violence can often be expressed at such gatherings if the murderer

has not yet been arrested. A demonstration of this kind took place in Oslo in January of 2002. The torchlight procession that followed was held under a banner proclaiming 'This must not be repeated' (*Dagbladet*, 26 January 2002).

A new form of ritual expression encountered in recent years is that gatherings take place not only immediately after a murder, an accident or other sudden deaths, but also on the anniversaries of such events. This is especially true of the gathering of friends of the victim or victims on the first anniversary of a tragedy. These first anniversaries have attained a special symbolical meaning. For the next of kin, such manifestations by their friends and acquaintances have come to mean very real assistance in the prolonged process of grief. "It feels as if the meeting can support us throughout this day of death", as the mother of a strangled girl said on the anniversary of her murder in Gothenburg on 19 January 2003. Her friends held a memorial meeting on 19 January 2004 at the same place they had assembled a year earlier (*Göteborgs Tidningen*, 19 January 2004).

A newer way of commemorating the scene of a murder is to raise a memorial stone. This was done after the murder of two policeman on 28 May 1999 in the village of Malexander in Östergötland. The mother of one of the policemen took the initiative for raising the stone. It was dedicated in October, 1999, in the presence of some fifty relatives and friends. During this dedication ceremony, the mother looked towards the future and said: "I hope that this memorial will awaken memories, that many people will see it and will remember what happened" (*Göteborgs Posten*, 24 October 1999). Passers-by have continued to place flowers at the stone.

The ritual demonstrations relating to fatal accidents and murder that have taken place in recent years seem to have become very similar in both Norway and Sweden. A ritual pattern has obviously been created. Newspapers have most certainly contributed to the spreading of this trend through their written articles and, not the least, photographs from the scenes of these tragic events.

Concluding remarks

This study has concentrated on the ritual actions and patterns that sudden death gives rise to among relatives, friends and acquaintances. These are, of course, deeply tragic situations in which ritual observances may be of vital importance in carrying on with life even when faced by traumatic experience. Ritual actions can aid in lessening the state of shock and in adjusting to the event in connection with the grieving process. This study has stressed episodes from recent years where one can find numerous innovations dealing with the management of sudden grief. Ritual patterns manifest themselves and can be seen as being in obvious contrast to earlier traditions. These have also been taken into account in this study so that both change and continuity over time can be more clearly observed.

In our time, death has quite clearly become less subject to taboo than previously. This is even more apparent in dramatically critical situations. Newspaper reports and a noticeably increasing interest in life's difficulties have obviously contributed to their no longer being hidden away. They can instead be coped with more openly than in earlier times in the company of close friends and acquaintances. These friends must then also find methods for adjusting to the unexpected and traumatic. This is probably best accomplished by demonstrations of solidarity and collective manifestations. This also helps the next of kin to understand that they are not isolated with this crisis, but can instead call on social and clearly expressed support. Solidarity and collectivism are important key concepts here, in contrast to the individualism that otherwise is clearly and often asserted in contemporary society, even as to the gravestones in local cemeteries (Gustavsson 2003).

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On the Origin of Turku Species

Pekka Leimu, Turku

The speciality of Turku and Finland Proper

My home town, Turku, is the oldest city of Finland and it is nowadays the center of the small but historically important province of Finland Proper (Fi. *Varsinais-Suomi*, Sw. *Egentliga Finland*, Ger. *Eigentliches Finnland*). The strange name of the province derives from the fact that the name of this province used to be just Finland (Fi. *Suomi*), but since this was adopted for the name of the whole country, the province had to be renamed like this. Finland Proper and its center Turku, during the period of sailing ships, used to have close connections with Sweden and Estonia, because the Baltic Sea connected, but not separated us, with the neighbouring countries. These connections had, of course, cultural and linguistic influence on the area around Turku, even in the whole area of Southwestern Finland just outside Finland Proper. During the agrarian era, we, for instance, used draught oxen like the Estonians and Eastern Swedes as Kustaa Vilkuna has shown (Vilkuna 1934: 80) and our dialect still has an Estonian influence as has been proved long ago (Hakulinen 1942: 49–50) and repeated recently by Professor Emeritus of phonetics at our university, Kalevi Wiik (2003). We, Southwestern Finns, still differ, culturally and by dialect, from other Finns and therefore we are constantly a very popular topic of jokes by the other Finns all around us. As the center of Finland Proper, Turku and its citizens usually are the targets of most of this joking. I myself am a Turku citizen of the

third generation on both sides, and I love my home city, but this is my first and only article about Turku. As a researcher, I usually need to have some distance between my topic and myself. Or otherwise, I should need a very good reason to write about a topic close to me. This time I have just such a reason.

Researchers of Finnish language seem unanimous, that the Finnish name of our town, Turku derives from the Russian word *torg*, meaning a market place, meanwhile the Swedish name of it *Åbo* derives, of course, from Swedish *å* meaning a river, and *bo*, meaning to live, thus *Åbo* people are people living by the river. I do not understand the logic according to which this word *torg* derives only from the Russian language, because the Swedish word meaning a market place is just the same, *torg*. In my opinion, we should look for more probable historical reasons that we have adopted the word from Swedish. Turku has, for many centuries, had many more contacts with Swedes than Russians. But I shall return to the matter at the end of this presentation. In this article, the main question is only the contacts between the citizens of Turku and the Russians: what kind, how much and how close contacts there have been?

Turku as an attraction for foreign tourists

During Swedish rule (1155–1809), Turku was the capital of Finland but, being too far away from Saint Petersburg, it then lost this position to Helsinki in 1812 during Russian rule (1809–1917). But Turku remained the capital of the Finnish Lutheran Church, which it still is, and the cathedral of Turku is still the main church in our country. In the local provincial newspaper, *Turun Sanomat*, there was, on the 14th January this year, a whole page article with the title 'Russian tourists fill the national temple – A long way from the Ural Mountains to the Cathedral', with a half page colour picture of the Turku Cathedral with nine young Russian tourists in front of it. At the beginning of the article, Pirjo Saari, the leader of

the Russia project of the communal tourist agency Turku Touring states, that during last year, almost 33 000 Russian tourists visited Turku Cathedral. Then the dean of the cathedral Rauno Heikola states that the Cathedral of Turku is, for the Russian tourists, both a place to practice religion, and a building of historical importance. (Kärkkäinen 2004) With the latter, he referred to the period of Russian rule in Finland. He continued as follows:



Figure 1: Cover picture of a brochure on the Cathedral of Turku in Russian language. Turku Touring.

“The Russians are well aware of their roots. These roots could be found also from the Grand Duchy [of Finland]. There still are old connections. [---] When the Russian military forces left Turku, in the second decade of last century, it left behind a blood heritage known as B blood group” (Kärkkäinen 2004).

Pirjo Saari from Turku Touring continued here:

“The Russian travel agencies still use, in their marketing, these old connections with Russia. In one of their brochures, the question is asked whether people know why blood group B in Turku is more common than elsewhere in Finland. The answer is that it is due to the former Russian garrisons in Turku states Pirjo Saari” (Kärkkäinen 2004).

Turku and Finland Proper in the eyes of other Finns

When I read this, I remembered that, years ago, I had read something similar, but it looked to me so unbelievable, that I did not pay much attention to this argument. This could not be true I thought, because there had been Russian garrisons in almost all Finnish cities during the Russian rule and still there are no reports of any deviation of great frequency of blood group B in these. Why should only Turku be an exception? Then I remembered having read something similar in the local students magazine *Turun ylioppilaslehti* just last autumn. I phoned the editorial office of the magazine and asked for a copy of the paper. When I received this, I found that the theme of the whole number of the magazine was just Turku citizenship – written by students and editors obviously from elsewhere. This was once again such a humorous situation, which I mentioned at the beginning of this article. One of the articles of the magazine had the title “The Turku citizens just live and do not make noises. About his/her genotype, the local people

are wheat and rye in the same warm isolating package”. In this article, thus was it written:

“Of their appearance the Turku citizens are a mixture of gracefulness and angularity, because in them there are united the fair Scandinavian and the Slavic genotype from Russian officers. Just like white wheat and dark rye in the same package” (Asola 17.10.2003).

I have to emphasize here, that I am not writing this as a Turku citizen, because a great frequency of blood group B here in Turku would be a stigma for us or because Russian blood would be worse than others. Neither concerns this especially me personally nor my family. My blood group is A rh+ and my grandparents on both sides were born elsewhere than in Turku – which does not exclude the possibility that they would have had any blood ties with Russians. I just write this because I do not believe in the theory of the influence of Russian soldiers on the deviating blood group of Turku citizens.

The blood groups of Turku citizens and the research into this

Just the same day when the former article had been published in *Turun Sanomat*, and the matter was occupying my mind, I happened to meet an old friend of mine during lunch at a restaurant near our University. He was Petter Portin, the Professor of Genetics at our University, and we had known each other since our years of studies in the 1960s. We both were then involved in student politics on the same side of the barricade, and this was before Finnish student policy turned to party politics. However, during lunch we did not discuss old times, but I asked about his opinion about this theory of the frequency of blood group B in Turku and the connection with the former Russian garrisons here. He

promised to consider the question if I would send him the clipping of the article in *Turun Sanomat*, which I did. He then published his opinion on the matter in the 'Letters to the Editor' section of the newspaper on the 21st of January. He wrote there that the argumentation about the deviating frequency of blood group B in Turku was simply not true. He had got figures of different blood groups in Turku and the whole country from the Blood Service of the Finnish Red Cross. The figures were about new blood donors in 2001 and these were the following. The amount of the sample was, in Turku, 2 579 people and in the whole of Finland, 21 599 people.

	Turku	Finland
Blood group A	40,27 %	41,51 %
Blood group O	34,36 %	32,97 %
<i>Blood group B</i>	16,82 %	16,69 %
Blood group AB	8,55 %	8,83 %

According to Petter Portin, the distributions here did not differ from each other, were fully comparable and the material was sufficient. Thus, the frequency of blood group B in Turku was not different from that in the whole of Finland. (Portin 2004)

On the same day, when this article was published, I got an e-mail message from Petter Portin, where he said that a colleague of his had stated that this theory about the frequency of blood group B in Turku, as a consequence of former Russian garrisons, had once been presented by the then Professor of Serology and Bacteriology at our University, Eero Mustakallio, who had died a couple of years ago. Petter Portin wrote, that he was going to try to find this research report to get to know about Mustakallio's research material. Just a moment, I thought, I knew this man! In the 1950s, when I was a schoolboy, the University of Turku was small, and all the professors and their families knew each other, at least in principle. My father happened to be the Professor of Chemistry and thus a colleague of Mustakallio. He was quite a handsome man, and I remember even having once visited his home, which was on the bank of the River Aura, the best place in the center of Turku.

The reason for this visit I do not remember, but I was there alone and not with my parents. He had also a pretty daughter, a couple of years younger than I, and a new Jaguar in the yard. She went to the same school as me, but she is nowadays a well-known local politician in Helsinki representing the Center Party. In the register of Finnish Professors, I saw that Eero Mustakallio was born in 1907 (Autio 2000: 408) and a call to the local population register center revealed that he had died in 2000. Two days later, on 23rd January, I got another e-mail message from Petter Portin. In this, he said he had received a post card from a Turku tourist guide, who had read his article in *Turun Sanomat*. This guide wrote that the theory of the frequency of blood group B in Turku, as a consequence of the former Russian garrisons, was taught to them as a fact in the schooling of these local tourist guides. So no wonder, that the Russian tourists knew this.

But the discussion about the matter in *Turun Sanomat* did not stop here. On the 4th of February, the successor to Eero Mustakallio, Professor of Serology and Bacteriology at our University, Paavo Toivanen, wrote his opinion about the matter in 'Letters to the Editor' in *Turun Sanomat*. This was a reply to Petter Portin. According to Toivanen, blood group B was previously more common in Finland Proper than it is now, and clearly more common than elsewhere in Finland. He stated that this research result was published in 1989 by his predecessor Eero Mustakallio. He had collected material about 43 812 Finnish-speaking people between the years 1935–1972. According to this, the frequency of blood group B in Finland Proper was 19,4 %, when in Western Finland, without Finland Proper, it was 17 %, in Northern Finland 16,7 % and in Eastern Finland 17,5 %. Paavo Toivanen continued:

“In his research report Professor Mustakallio does not take any stand on what would be the reason for this greater frequency of blood group B in Finland Proper. We should, however, remember that, after the end of the War of Finland in 1809, there arrived in Turku between 1000 and 2000 Russian soldiers, the greatest part of whom was left here as a

permanent garrison. The total amount of population in Turku was then 9000, so that the Russian garrison made up a remarkable part of it. In the same research report, it was argued that blood group B was then much more frequent among Russians than among Finns in general or, for instance, in Estonians and Swedes” (Toivanen 2004).

However, regarding Estonians, Toivanen here made a mistake, as Mustakallio did not argue about them like this. But according to this, it was not Eero Mustakallio but just Paavo Toivanen, who connected the former frequency of blood group B in Turku and Finland Proper and the former Russian garrisons here with each other. But the Russian tourists in 2003 and 2004, and their local tourist guides in Turku, could not have read this article in advance in *Turun Sanomat* in February 2004, so who gave them the idea of these blood ties of Russians and the Turku citizens?

The blood group research by Eero Mustakallio

Now that we knew the author and the year 1989, it was easy for both Petter Portin and myself to find the original research report of Eero Mustakallio, and so we did. And we both found that there was nothing about Russian soldiers or garrisons in Turku, during the period of Finland as an autonomous Grand Duchy within the Russian Empire (Mustakallio 1989). So the question seemed to be a dead end at the moment. However, Petter Portin sent, on the 10th of February, his reply to Paavo Toivanen to be published in *Turun Sanomat*, but by accident it was published as late as the 8th of March. In this reply, he came to the conclusion that migration had leveled down the difference of the frequency of blood group B. He referred to the results of Mustakallio and admitted that these were relevant. According to this, during the years 1935–72 the frequencies were the following.

	Finland Proper	Western Finland	Finland as a whole
Blood group A	40,84 %	41,46 %	42,61 %
<i>Blood group B</i>	19,40 %	17,53 %	17,52 %
Blood group AB	7,71 %	7,08 %	7,48 %
Blood group O	32,05 %	33,93 %	32,39 %

The amount of the sample was in Finland Proper 6 249 people, in Western Finland 26 773 people and in whole of Finland 43 812 people. Petter Portin stated here that the difference between Finland Proper and Western Finland and the whole of Finland was significant in both cases. (Portin 2004; see also Mustakallio 1989: 15–17)

Then, Petter Portin asked what would be the reason for the differences in the materials presented by him and having got from the statistics of blood donors in 2001 of the Finnish Red Cross and that of Eero Mustakallio. His answer was the following:

“The simple answer is that migration between the surroundings of Turku and the rest of Finland has leveled down the difference; the district of Turku has all the time, since the emptying process of the Finnish rural areas since the 1960s, been the winning area for migration. The difference had already leveled down in the materials published by Professor Harri Nevanlinna in 1973. [---]

The Russian garrison in Turku, after the War of Finland [1808–1809], has nothing to do with the matter. For a long time, it has been a well-known fact that the frequency of blood group B increases when moving east of Finland. In central Russia, the frequency of the gene form responsible (not the blood group itself) is 19 % and in China 29 %. In Finland, the corresponding figure is 13,2%. [---]

If the reason for the former clearly higher frequency of blood group B in the district of Turku would have been caused by the Russian garrison in Turku, every soldier of the garrison should have had to procreate according to a rough

estimation on the average at least ten children. Besides, elsewhere in Finland there were, at the same time, much larger Russian garrisons in relation to the amount of local population when compared with Turku. [---]

An obvious explanation, for the high frequency of blood group B in the district of Turku, might be found in the early history of settlement of our country when units of reproduction were small and just a mere chance might have changed genetic frequencies to one or another direction" (Portin 2004).

When I am writing this in March-April 2004, it is still unclear if Paavo Toivanen, or anybody else, might reply to this and continue the discussion in *Turun Sanomat*. But, from my point of view, this is not the main question. What was, at this stage of the matter, still unclear for me was, where had the local tourist guides got the idea of these blood ties between Russians and the Turku citizens, and where had those schooling them got it. As I have stated at the very beginning, even I had long ago seen such information somewhere. About all to decide this must have been in *Turun Sanomat* in 1989, when Eero Mustakallio had published his research, and perhaps popularized the results in the local newspaper – quite obviously these kinds of results should have interested many of the readers of the newspaper. So I thought that I should next go to the University library and just read *Turun Sanomat* of the year 1989. Fortunately, there was an easier way to find what I was looking for, and when I found it, the former way proved to have been invalid.

At this stage of the matter, an old friend and colleague of mine, MA Risto Laine, phoned me. He had been an assistant in ethnology in the early 1960s when I was just a student. Later, he became a teacher of the tourist industry in the local Workers' Institute and an editor of a provincial religious journal. Now he has retired but is still continuing his career in journalism as a contributor to *Turun Sanomat*. On the phone, I asked him about the archives of the newspaper and if he knew whether it might be possible to find there the news I was interested in, from the year 1989 without

knowing the author of the newspaper article by just using Eero Mustakallio and blood group B as keywords. He said that nobody was allowed to enter the archives but just once a week it is possible for the editors to ask there for a search like something I just had asked. But he said that the editor in chief of the newspaper was a good friend of his and he would ask if he could use his influence to get the information I was interested in. Without going into further details here, I then, within a week, even got two copies of newspaper articles about Mustakallio's researches of blood groups in Turku. But, to my great surprise these were from the years 1946 and 1992. So, if I had read all the copies of *Turun Sanomat* of the year 1989, it would not have helped me, but now I just had hit my target.

The former of these, from the year 1946, was an article about the inauguration speech by Eero Mustakallio for his Professorship at the University of Turku and it was entitled "According to blood groups, Finns are one of the best known nations". Here, the question was about research of blood groups in general and especially about the blood groups of the Finns, but already here the speaker also treated the frequency of blood group B in Turku district. However, according to him the reason for the phenomenon was then not the former Russian garrisons but earlier contacts, by both the Turku citizens and people around Turku, with Estonians:

"There are visible some differences [of the frequencies of blood groups] between Finnish speakers and Swedish speakers [in Finland], and the characters of the Swedish speakers are just between these of the Swedes of Sweden and the Finns. Some differences exist also between Western and Eastern Finns. The district of Turku makes an exception in Western Finland. There is more blood group B than elsewhere. This refers to connections with the Estonians. Also, results of other researches support this conclusion" (*Veriryhmien puolesta suomalaiset... 1946*).

Later, I found that Eero Mustakallio had even written his doctoral thesis about the same topic and this was already approved in 1937. (*Kuka kukin on* 1974: 583–584) So this inauguration speech of his was based on his doctoral thesis.

The later newspaper article was published in *Turun Sanomat* on July 1992 and since I now had found Eero Mustakallio's identity information in the register of Finnish Professors, I thought that the question here would be an interview of him because of his 85th anniversary, which occurred just then, because he had been born in 11.7.1907. But it was not. The article was not only about Mustakallio's research but also about another research on a quite similar topic by another researcher. Both researchers had, according to the article, recently given their lectures in a series of lectures organized by Turku Regional History Society. The theme of the series had been "Of what are the Turku people made" (Pohjola 1992). As far as I know, no series of lectures were possible in Turku, or elsewhere in Finland, in the middle of summer because there would be no audience, but I shall return to this. In this article, contrary to what Mustakallio had presented in his inauguration speech in 1946 and in his article in 1989, the reasons for the frequency of blood group B around Turku were now the contacts, between both the people of Turku and its surroundings, with Russians. The figures themselves were the same as in the later publication. (Pohjola 1992; Mustakallio 1989: 15–17)

Was it Eero Mustakallio after all?

But when reading this I realized that there had to be something about this also in the periodical of this Turku Regional History Society. The title of the journal is *Suomen Turku – Åbo, vår stad*, because it is bilingual. We have this in the library of our department, and so it was not difficult to get it. And there it was, an article about the eastern blood group B in Turku in number 2/1992 of the journal. But concluding about the number of the magazine

the series of lectures had already been given in spring 1992 and not in the middle of summer. As is often said Finland is closed in July, because everybody is on their vacation. Therefore, also the newspapers just suffer about lack of material, and so obviously, just for this reason, *Turun Sanomat* published, in July, this article about a series of lectures having been given long ago. And just this has had to be the initiation of the use of the story about the connection between the frequency of blood group B in Turku and the Russian garrisons in our tourist industry, because *Turun Sanomat* has many more readers than *Suomen Turku – Åbo, vår stad*. The author of the article in the later must have been the editorial secretary of the journal, Eeva Haapakoski, because in the article there was given no name of the author. She was a very competent journalist, because she used to be, for decades in Turku, the correspondent of a nationally very old and important newspaper *Uusi Suomi* that was published in Helsinki, but was bankrupted in 1991. She died in 1994 (Population register of Turku). The contents of both these articles was more or less similar, but in the following I shall quote the later, because it is the source of the other and because I also think that this has just been the source of the whole story as material in our tourist industry. Again, the figures themselves are exactly the same in the both articles as well as already in Mustakallio's before mentioned article from year 1989 but the reasons of their existence are different. In the article there are also given a reason why the frequency of blood group B later did not become high in Helsinki, after Turku had lost its status of capital to it. In Helsinki, there were barracks built for the soldiers contrary to Turku where they were accommodated in the houses of the citizens:

“Professor Mustakallio had also considered reasons for high [blood group] B [in Turku] and had come to the conclusion, that one big factor here was military quartering. Tender relationships, between both Russian merchants or members of their security forces and girls from Turku, have been

possible at least since early middle ages, maybe even much earlier in the market places of the River Aura. [---]

During the Great Hate [1713–21, a period within the Great Northern War, when Finland was occupied by the Russians] about 5000 soldiers were accommodated in the houses in Turku. [---] During Lesser Hate [1742–43] here might even have even more troops. In 1808, thousands of Russian soldiers marched into Turku and 540 houses were obliged to accommodate them. Even after losing of the status of capital here [in Turku] there were still left a couple of thousand Russian soldiers accommodated. In the year 1839, here were still 600 of them. Although garrisons were also beginning to build, houses of the citizens were still needed as quarters.

Independence [of Finland] took finally the Russian soldiers to their own country. The men left but the strength of 'actions in darkness' can be seen in the mirror of the genotype of the citizens of Turku" (Haapakoski 1992; comp. Pohjola 1992).

So, as we saw in 1946, Mustakallio explained the high frequency of blood group B, in Turku and its surroundings, by early contacts between the local people and Estonians. About Russians there was not a word (*Veriryhmien puolesta suomalaiset...* 1946). In 1989, he explained this by the high frequency of blood group B among original Finns and this was according to him quite similar as among Estonians. The question here was only about Finnish speaking Finns. The frequency of this blood group was lower among Swedish speaking Finns like also among Swedes. Referring to archaeological research results of Unto Salo, the then Professor of Archaeology at our university, he then argued, that the reason was, that the Scandinavian immigration never penetrated significantly to the inland of Finland Proper. About Russian soldiers, he wrote nothing either here (Mustakallio 1989: 12–14, 16–17). He had no footnotes referring to Salo in his presentation, but in the bibliography there are three publications by Salo, who also had

read the manuscript of Mustakallio's text, and the later thanks the former about this in the preface of the publication (Mustakallio 1989: preface). Thus, only in his last presentation in 1992, Mustakallio considered that just the Russian soldiers in Turku and its surroundings were the cause for the phenomenon. Or did he?

Eero Mustakallio never published the lecture in question by himself, but the editor of the magazine *Suomen Turku – Åbo, vår stad*, Eeva Haapakoski referred to his oral presentation in her article, and of course there were no footnotes in this. So it remains a riddle where he had got the figures of Russian soldiers in Turku at different times or did he gave any figures of them at all. Dear reader, just please pay an attention to the first sentence of my quotation I gave above the article: "Professor Mustakallio had also considered causes for high B and comes to the conclusion..." Before this Haapakoski had given the figures of blood group B in different parts of Finland, including Turku and Finland Proper, which Mustakallio had given in his lecture (Haapakoski 1992). So about all there is to decide is that it seems obvious to me that editor Haapakoski had, in her article, first referred to Mustakallio's lecture, and after that she had interviewed the lecturer asking him about an estimation about the cause for the high frequency of blood group B in Turku. This is just the way editors always use to do. They are never satisfied with the information, which everybody else had got, but they just want privately to get more information to make their own story about it. Maybe, she even had asked if the former Russian garrisons in Turku had had any role in this case of B blood. Possibly, Mustakallio had then answered that this was possible or something like this. Then Haapakoski and not Mustakallio might have given the figures of Russian soldiers in Turku during different periods (Haapakoski 1992) and later *Turun Sanomat* had repeated the message for the general public (Pohjola 1992). And as we have seen, the general public was quite receptive to the message. So after all the riddle, the question remains as to where Eeva Haapakoski might have got the figures of Russian soldiers in Turku during different periods. The more I think about this possibility, the more convinced I become. Why would Eero

Mustakallio, who had made research on blood groups during his whole long career and had never written anything about Russian garrisons as the cause for the high frequency of blood group B in Turku, suddenly at the age of almost 85 years, and having been retired long ago, present, in a lecture for the general public, anything like this? This is just most improbable. Obviously, he also saw both the articles where words had been put into his mouth, first that one in *Suomen Turku – Åbo, vår stad* and then later in *Turun Sanomat*. Maybe he just was too discreet to correct it in publicity, because the question was just about two popular articles. He certainly could not suspect that this kind of wrong information would remain living forever.

Russian soldiers in Turku and Finland in the past

Although the problem, in focus here, has already been solved satisfactory and the main question has been answered, just for curiosity it might be interesting to examine the figures and locations of Russian garrisons in Finland in the past. Not very much has been written about the topic compared with what has been written about Finnish troops during both Swedish and Russian rule. Concerning the period of Finland as an autonomous Grand Duchy within the Russian Empire there is, however, a comprehensive presentation of the topic, "The Imperial Russian Army and Navy in Finland 1808–1918" by Pertti Luntinen, published in 1997. There are even presented two maps about Russian garrisons in Finland, the first in the 1820s and the other in the 1890s. According to the first one (see fig. 2), located in Turku was one Russian battalion but there were other Russian battalions in Åland, Hanko, Hämeenlinna, Ruotsinsalmi, Kyminkartano and Käkisalmi. Two Russian battalions were also located in Helsinki (one of them in Sveaborg), Loviisa, Hamina and Viipuri and a whole Russian regiment in Vaasa (Luntinen 1997: 49). In all these towns or villages, the number of population was, at the time, much smaller than in Turku. About the circumstances then, Luntinen writes the following:

“Planning and preparing for real war were almost forgotten matters. Nevertheless, the disposition of the garrisons, in Turku and Helsinki as well as at Hämeenlinna, Lappeenranta, Hamina and in Viipuri, shows that the main strategic consideration was to secure the coasts of Finland against an enemy landing from the Baltic Sea, along with the politically most important towns and the road communications to St Petersburg” (Luntinen 1997: 50).

Obviously on the map of the two battalions placed in Hamina, one was actually located in Lappeenranta, but these towns are so close to each other, that there were not enough space for both names of the towns on the map. This shows, however, that even strategically Turku had lesser importance than the small towns on the eastern part of our southern coast, where the emphasis of Russian garrisons then was. But no deviating frequency of blood group B has been found there. Luntinen continues:

“Barracks started to be constructed to avoid quartering the troops in the homes of the inhabitants of the country, but progress was slow. The barracks constructed in Helsinki in 1817–33 were giant enterprises in the small town, as were those constructed at Hämeenlinna in the 1840s and 1850s. Home-owners were paid for housing troops by the local communes, and barracks were constructed by the Finnish state, which also paid part of the costs of the fortification works started at Bomarsund on Åland.

The Russians remained strangers in the country because of their different religion, language and customs, but it seems that they were not regarded as an army of occupation. After completing their 25-year period of service, which alienated them from their homes, a few soldiers remained in Finland. [---]

The militarily important fact about the troops was the number of bayonets and sabres they were able to take into battle, but of the men carrying the weapons the documents

do not tell much. They lived under harsh military discipline, the regiment was their home and provider, co-operative cartel was their everyday sphere. Religion and language separated them from the local population, but not hermetically. Finnish women sometimes lived in the garrison in a more or less married state” (Luntinen 1997: 50–51).

The theory presented, above according to which the Russian troops left their traces of blood group B in Turku but not in Helsinki because, in the former, they were quartered in private homes and, in the latter, in barracks thus shows to be invalid. They did not move from Turku to Helsinki after the big fire in 1827, nor already in 1812, when Turku lost and Helsinki gained the status of the capital of Finland – there were Russian soldiers in both these and in many other towns all the time, and neither did the quartering to barracks necessarily separate a Russian soldier and a Finnish woman, if these made some kind of a couple.

Luntinen’s map about the situation in 1890s is quite different (see fig. 3). There were Russian rifle regiments in Hämeenlinna, Helsinki, Hamina and Viipuri, and an artillery battalion in Tuusula near Helsinki. But in Turku there were no Russian troops at all, just a Finnish rifle battalion just as in seven other Finnish towns (Luntinen 1997: 150). So about all to consider during the Russian rule, the military garrisons in Turku could not be the reason for the former deviation in the high frequency of blood group B in the town itself and its surrounding countryside.

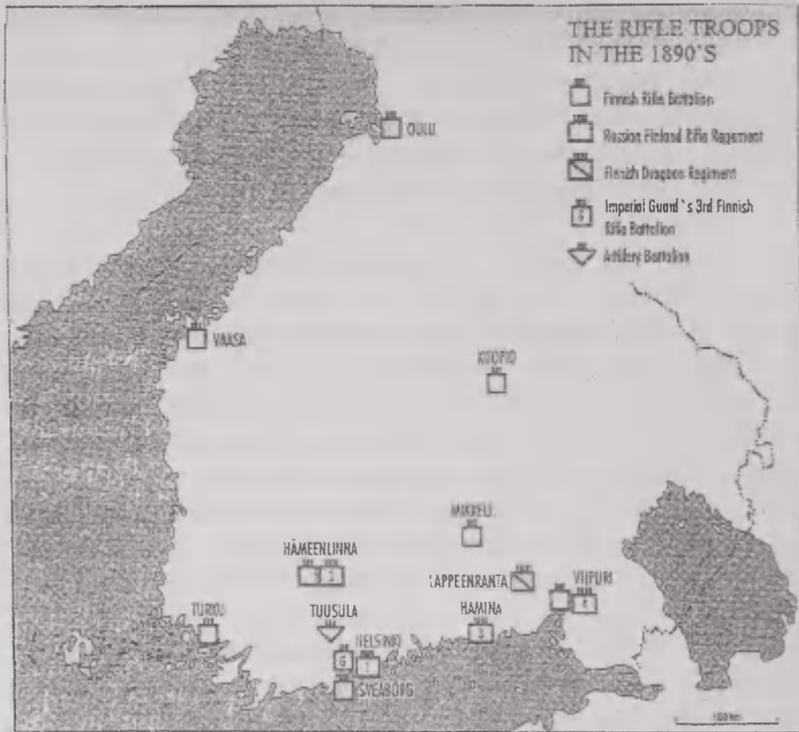


Figure 3: The Rifle troops in the 1890s. The Russian Rifle troops were garrisoned in the southern part of the Grand Duchy to fend off an enemy landing or to deny it to the Imperial Capital, while the Finnish battalions were positioned in administrative centres of the countries (Rus. *guberniia*, Fi. *lääni*, Sw. *län*). (Luntinen 1997)

But what about the Great Hate (1713–21) and the Lesser Hate (1742–43), which were also mentioned as possibilities here? During both these, Finland was occupied by Russian troops, which also conducted themselves arbitrarily, even mass rapes might have taken place. The former occupation even lasted several years. I did not find any figures about the amount of Russian troops in Finland during these. However, during both it was the whole of Finland and not only Turku, which was occupied by the Russians. Turku and even the countryside around it was then the densest populated area in Finland, so that any changes of blood groups should have been relatively bigger elsewhere. It should also be taken into consideration that only Russians used to penetrate to Finland by land contrary to other enemies who ever had attacked Finland, the Swedes, the Danes, the Englishmen, the French and even the Germans. They always came from the sea – and they also left by the sea. Who ever took blood group B to Turku and its surroundings came obviously just from the sea – and also left by the sea. Otherwise, traces might also have been left about a higher frequency of blood group B elsewhere in Finland. This does not relate only to enemies or soldiers but also friendly contacts with foreign people, merchants, sailors, craftsmen etc.: usually only the Russians came by land and others by sea

The etymology of Turku

At the beginning of this presentation I wrote about the origin of word Turku, which is said to be derived from the Russian *torg* but not from the similar Swedish word. And I doubted this and promised to return to the matter. Maybe I have, during this detective story of blood group B in Turku, learned my lesson here, which is that the cobbler should be left sticking to his last. Since I am not a linguist, I asked this from my colleague, Professor of Finnish language at our university Kaisa Häkkinen. According to her, etymologists quite generally agree that *turku* derives from an

ancient Russian word *turgu* meaning a market place and this has later changed to *torg*. This explanation is phonetically irrefutable and also otherwise possible according to her. Also, the Swedish word *torg* has been explained to be a loan from Russian. The Swedish word *torg* has later been borrowed by Finnish but then it became *tori*. For phonetic reasons, the Swedish word *torg* cannot directly be borrowed by Finnish as *turku*. However, she continues, in her opinion *turku* has not been borrowed directly from ancient Russian but via Estonian, and Heikki Ojansuu has earlier presented the same. (E-mail message to the author from Kaisa Häkkinen, 8.3.2004; see also Ojansuu 1916: 192)

Conclusions

Eero Mustakallio has shown that, before the 1970s, the frequency of eastern blood group B in Turku and its surroundings was higher than elsewhere in Finland, and Petter Portin showed that it is no longer like that. He also has shown, in his way, that the reason for this phenomenon cannot be the Russian troops located in Turku during Russian rule – and I have done the same in my way. These are the facts. So the reasons for the phenomenon are just a riddle. From the different alternatives, I would choose the early contacts between the citizens of Turku and Finland Proper and the Estonians, as also did Eero Mustakallio already in his inauguration speech in 1946. (*Veriryhmien puolesta suomalaiset...* 1946). Culturally, linguistically and by our dialect, we still differ from other Finns and have more, than other Finns, similarities with Estonians. The Finnish name of our town, Turku, certainly comes from ancient Russian – but via Estonian. So for the present, this seems to me to be the most credible theory – but even this is just a theory.

Translations of quotations and the picture texts from Finnish to English are made by the author

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Part IV.

Opening Perspectives

On the Discursive Foundations of Estonian Folkloristics: a Farmer's Field of Vision¹

Ülo Valk, Tartu

Ideas of nationalism spread in Estonia at the end of 19th century, at the age of modernization of the society, marked by several major changes, such as urbanization, industrialization and commercial revolution that all transformed the peasant culture. It was the time of the rise of capitalism, spread of education, and belief in enlightenment, sciences and civilization. The spread of education fostered social mobility upwards to such an extent that it became possible for Estonians to obtain prestigious and influential positions in society, such as pastors, writers, journalists and politicians. Social differences increased, leading to considerable distance between the Estonian elite and the 'folk'. Urban Estonian intellectuals started to see peasants as the 'other' to be studied by using scientific methods. In her article about the changing cultural patterns in Estonia Elle Vunder has noted that the discovery of the people "arose as a reaction to the quick disappearance of oral popular culture at the turn of the 18th-19th centuries, which was a consequence of literacy and printed matter" (2001: 140). Literacy penetrated the former oral culture and started to transform it into the national heritage. Performed folklore was disappearing and

¹ The article belongs to the research project "Folkloristics and reflexive cultural critique", which is supported by the Estonian Science Foundation (grant no. 5964).

replaced with manuscripts of old songs and tales, which were produced country-wide by hundreds of people, set in motion by national aspirations.

Just as in other European countries, the birth of Estonian folkloristics was connected with the permanent changes in rural society and the decline of the traditional world of peasants, which was idealized as the foundation of the emerging nation. It became necessary to collect folklore in order to save it from oblivion and to store it as a resource for the cultural developments in the future. Bill Nicolaisen has called the approach that dominated in the 19th century 'a gleaner's vision', because the glorious time of oral traditions was believed to be over and the folklorist's task was to pick up the remaining survivals and fragments of something valuable that was vanishing forever (1995).

Estonian folkloristic discourse bears some birthmarks, characteristic of the time of Jakob Hurt (1839–1907), former president of the Estonian Farmers' Society, and the founder of the discipline and leader of the national movement. These are metaphors, similes and expressions that were drawn from the collective textual pool of the Estonian intellectuals, most of whom had their roots in the peasants' culture. This paper draws attention to a cluster of metaphors, associated on the one hand with nature, and on the other hand with growth and prosperity, which is achieved through accumulation of valuable resources. These ideas are connected with economic and cultural developments in Estonian village, with the growing number of farmers who had become masters through purchasing land from their Baltic-German landlords.

Nature was admired and idealized by the leaders of Romantic Movement, whose outlooks shaped the emerging discipline of folkloristics.² Johann Gottfried von Herder valued natural poetry (*Naturpoesie*), later used synonymously with folk poetry (*Volkspoesie*), both of which were opposed to the artificial artistic poetry (*Kunstpoesie*) (Bendix 1997: 29). However, an artist or

² See the work of Valdimar Hafstein (2001), who has scrutinized the use of biological and botanical metaphors in the history of folkloristics.

poet's outlook on nature is different from that of a farmer, who has to work in the fields: plough, sow and harvest the crop. Hurt's views on folklore and the ways he expressed them were shaped rather by farmer's than poet's vision. Folklore in itself has no value but it becomes precious, when society becomes aware of its existence and its members start to attribute to it certain qualities, such as beauty, old age, commercial or scientific uses. Explaining and building up the value of something as vague as oral heritage was not simple in the earth-bound Estonian society, and it was easier to introduce new ideas by using the vocabulary of progressive farming, comprehensible for most people. One of the basic tendencies in creating metaphors is to think and talk about complex and vague things by using the mental models that are derived from the domain of simple, clear and tangible objects (Krikmann 2003: 58–59). 19th century Estonia was a land of agriculture.

While giving instructions to the collectors of folklore, Hurt compared oral traditions with crops growing in the fields. In 1876 he wrote: "When you start collecting, don't get discouraged, if you get a lot of chaff and it becomes difficult to see grain. It does not matter. There is no grain without chaff. If you want to get a clean crop, you have to clean it from chaff. The same is true about farmers and men of letters. May-be you will argue, "my little scholarship has no impact! Let the smarter men write down what they know. My heap of chaff is worthless." Dear friend, please don't say this. Small heaps of chaff will make a big heap and this will make a lot of grain" (Hurt 1989: 32). In the same article Hurt appealed to his readers to deposit all the recorded folklore in the storehouse of the Estonian Society of Men of Letters. Thanks to his persistent activities of organizing folklore collecting all over the country Hurt was honored with the respectful title 'storekeeper of old treasures' (*vanavara aidamees*). Filling this central store became a tremendous project of local correspondents, whom Hurt compared with hardworking ants, which carry together 'the sheaves of scholarship' (Hurt 1989: 79).

Agriculture as a source of metaphors remained productive throughout the time of Hurt's folkloristic activities. In his news-

paper article published in 1902 he scolded Estonian students who had not used their summer holidays for 'walking in the field of old treasures' (folklore) in order to send their 'results of gleaning' to him. Hurt asked rhetorically: "Do the young kinsmen think that it is proper to look for education in the field of others and neglect the field inherited from their ancestors?" (Hurt 1989: 140). Reaping was not the only metaphor for collecting folklore, however. While turnips were a traditional peasant food in Estonia, growing potatoes became increasingly popular at the end of 19th century. In 1903 Hurt published a note in the newspaper in order to inform the people of Alutaguse about two students sent to collect folklore in this region: "There are still plenty of old treasures in Alutaga; let the local kinsmen and singing sisters help them to save their ancestors' memories, so that they would not be rotting under clods, but would instead be dug out and brought into the light of science." (Hurt 1989: 142). It would have been shameful for diligent farmers to forget about harvesting their potatoes and other vegetables. The importance of recording folklore was thus made clear.

Besides edible roots there are some other valuable resources that can be dug out. In 1890 Hurt wrote about the results of folklore collecting: "Our work is far from finished yet. The open mines of old treasures have shown how deep and thick are the layers of the riches of our ancestors. Not a single layer has been thoroughly dug yet and carried home to the treasury. In some places these layers have only been scratched with spades. Even in places, where one has done great, honest and unforgettable work, one can still find streaks of gold and silver, which are clearly visible and cannot be left hidden underground" (Laar, Saukas, Tedre 1989: 207). But instead of a gold rush folklore collecting was conceptualized as a scientific, neatly and rationally planned endeavor, wisely led by Hurt who gathered all riches in his storehouse. In his paper, given in 1896 at the Congress of Pre-Historic Research in Riga, Hurt talked about his folkloristic activities, noting, "While collecting folklore (*vanavara*, 'old treasures') it became public that in some parishes one can expect particularly rich harvest. I sent there gentle young men, mostly students from Juryew [Tartu] to dig out

scientific riches for me, and provided them with necessary travel money. As my own means were insufficient for this purpose, I found generous monetary support from the friendly kinsmen and from Finland. Altogether one has paid about 800 rubles for collecting. Most diggers of old treasures returned with a very good harvest, as several students brought along extremely pricey collections of songs" (Hurt 1989: 79). It is obvious that the monetary value of folklore collections cannot be smaller than the rubles spent.

Hurt published parallel appeals to the Estonian people to collect both folklore and money in order to support the young national culture. The "Public Letter to Everybody" was printed in 1878 in four newspapers and signed by Hurt and eight other members of the board of the Estonian Society of Men of Letters. They stressed the importance of schoolbooks that were published by the society, and of the project of collecting and publishing folklore. However, support was needed for these and other activities and hence they addressed the readers: "Through this letter we ask the Estonian people and its friends to help the Estonian Society of Men of Letters in its work. This can happen in many ways. But foremost we need monetary help. Writing and scientific research cause expenses just like any other works do. But our young cashbox is still weak and cannot support all the undertakings that we would like to start and accomplish for the benefit of the Estonian people" (Hurt 1989: 37).

While agitating his readers to make monetary donations, Hurt's style is marked by the same rhetoric of growth and good harvest. There is a parallelism between his understanding of the accumulation of cultural resources and capital. In 1879 Hurt published an appeal to establish a special foundation in order to honor Fr. R. Kreutzwald, the author of the Estonian epic *Kalevipoeg*. He wrote: "Contributions should be sent to Tartu to G. Blumberg, who is a gymnasium teacher and the cashier of the Estonian Society of Men of Letters. We shall publicly acknowledge the receipt of donations in newspapers, likewise the Society of Men of Letters is going to report in its yearbooks about this endowment, about its size and

uses. Let the capital of our Dr. Fr. Kreutzwald grow and give good harvest for the glory of our Viru Bard [i.e. Kreutzwald] and for the benefit of the Estonian people” (Hurt 1989: 41).

Since the time of Jakob Hurt, folkloristics has been regarded as a discipline of national importance in Estonia, represented by several institutions. In 1919 Walter Anderson was invited to the University of Tartu to start teaching Estonian and comparative folklore. In 1927 Estonian Folklore Archives were founded and Oskar Loorits became its first director. In 1947 the Institute of Language and Literature was established, together with a new department of folklore research. At present the major centres of Estonian folkloristics are the Estonian Literary Museum, including the Estonian Folklore Archives and departments of folkloristics and ethnomusicology, and the University of Tartu with the chair of Estonian and Comparative Folklore and the relevant PhD program.

One of the foundations of Estonian folkloristics is belief in the importance of multiplying collections and depositing heritage in the central archives in Tartu. The principle of quantification is so fundamental that expressing skepticism about the constant accumulation of folkloric data would sound heretical. The tremendous collection of one million and three hundred thousand pages of folklore manuscripts is a matter of national pride. Likewise, the explosive production of folkloristic texts is governed by the same principle of quantification: the bibliography of Estonian folkloristics includes 4,500 entries for the period 1993–2000 (Ribenis 2002). Quantification as an aim was fixed in the writings of Jakob Hurt, who started the process of gathering the folkloric resources into archives, comparable to a central storehouse or a national bank. Another trace of the farmer’s field of vision that dominated at Hurt’s time and afterwards is the lasting emphasis on rural traditions. Acknowledgement of the existence and of the value of urban folklore besides the classical genres of Estonian peasants has been slow and its study has been retarded for years. Even as late as 2002 “Estonian Encyclopedia” defined folklore in a peculiar anachronistic manner as the “mental creation of peasants” (Tedre 2002: 768).

All Estonian folklorists are involved in the collective textual process of producing relevant knowledge that manifests specific fields of vision, persistent themes and coherent systems of statements that are regarded as valid and truthful. The discipline can be seen as an autonomous discursive formation (see Foucault 2001: 31–39), supported by the authority of the above-mentioned institutions. It has been subjected to certain rules and regularities of its circulation, such as the principle of quantification, and outlooks, such as preferring empirical data to theory, and thematic choices, such as interest in peasants' folklore.³ There is a discursive unity of certain statements for over one hundred years – from the works of Hurt to the current folkloristic practices.

Obviously the farmer's vision was inevitable in early development of folkloristics in 19th century and was prescribed by the needs and interests of the agricultural society, oriented towards economic success and growth. However, its present manifestations in Estonian folkloristics should be handled with analytical care and precaution. They are survivals, specters of the past that can distract us, restrict our field of perception and misled us to blind village lanes.

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Ethnography and Representation: On the Border of the Public and the Private

Anu Kannike, Tallinn

Crisis of representation – museology and anthropology

Speaking about topical issues in contemporary museology, one often uses the expression ‘a crisis of representation’. The crisis of representation is actually a broader historical phenomenon encompassing all ideas associated with disciplining and consecrating acts. It seems that this crisis has especially afflicted the major ethnological and national history museums that have been part of the ‘nation-building’ process. The values of traditional museums have lost their credibility since all formerly fundamental assumptions on identity, history, nation and place have become suspect. It has even been suggested that the only recourse of the museum is

“to proceed ironically with quotations about a curious nostalgia for the way things were but can never be again. It is as though a visit to the museum should be like a visit to a haunted alchemist’s laboratory, forlorn and perhaps historically misguided, but an experience resonating with the lost aura of alchemy that appealed to science” (Lum 2004: 2–3).

In anthropology, the qualities of our present world have been described by words like decentered, fragmented, compressed and refracted, indicating a shift from their opposites. This reflects not only a substantial difference, but, importantly, a change in interest

and analytical focus: from structure to process, or from stability to change as an inherent feature of all social systems (Hastrup 1994: 2).

Somewhat later than in anthropology, the understanding emerged in museology that the notions so far constituting the framework of expositions are not objective entities. The viewpoint that they are cultural constructions and therefore suspect with regard to the question of truth, has also appeared in the discourse of museum studies. The project of the ethnological museum that is rooted in the 19th century ideas of civilization and objectivism has become alienated from the present reality.

However, it seems that, although the problems of representation are based on ideological developments, those responsible for mediating cultural heritage and experience rather tend to focus on the technical means and ways of representation. Namely in this field they are most active, looking for new solutions due to the pressure of the market and public demand. To secure a place under the Sun, one has turned towards the visual arts, drama, and the new media, applying the logic of advertising and commerce. The aim is to survive in the tough competition with commercial centres, open-air spectacles or other entertainment projects. Here, the media is considered to be the way for museums to re-engage with the present through the (sometimes utopian) technological vision of an open and global humanity.

At the same time it is quite obvious that in the everyday practice of museum work – collecting, systematizing and research – one would quite reluctantly give up the traditional worldview and habitual routines. However, the argument that the medium itself constitutes the message, is never entirely true as far as museums are concerned. Therefore, just computerization does not guarantee the existence of a sensible systematic structure or context that gives meaning to its sub-parts. Multimedia is a valuable tool for raising interest in culture or history, but there ought to be a conceptual whole behind the attractive fragments. Otherwise, there are attendant risks that mass media will potentially produce a more chaotic society than a more transparent one (Lum 2004: 2).

New conceptualizations of privacy

One of the important changes that influences the developments in museology, is the change in the concept of privacy in contemporary culture and cultural analysis. The need to review the meaning of the notions 'public' and 'private' is increasingly being articulated in studies concerning everyday life in different sociocultural contexts (Gullestad 1999; Miller 2001; Giddens 1993; Hastrup 1994; Attfield 2000 etc). It has emerged from such studies that, at least as far as contemporary culture is concerned, the relationship between public and private cannot be treated as a simple opposition, although this may be adequate on the level of analytic categories or mental constructions. We do not have to do with similar binary oppositions as sacred-profane, male-female etc. that have been coined by anthropological tradition. Rather, the public and the private each form a part of newly emergent systems of internal referentiality.

However, a bourgeois middle-class concept of the world, opposing working-life and domestic life, male-female and public-private spheres according to one and the same logic, still influences scientific patterns of thought and continues to be reproduced in numerous studies on domestic culture, feminism or consumption. For example, J. Attfield criticizes the stereotypical dichotomies that result in that interior and suburb are usually typified as female and private arenas (Attfield 2000: 187). Similar petrified patterns still exist in the systematizing principles of museums. In Estonian context the conflict-based view on the public-private dichotomy is quite clearly also due to historical-political realities in the 20th century. This is, for example an important context that determines how people interpret their lives in their biographies (see Kõresaar 2004: 10). If we analyse the use and meaning of the term 'private' in the Estonian language, we see that it is usually associated with peace and quiet, independence and security. However, in practice privacy is not sharply opposed to public life, one rather aims towards an optimal level of privacy, a balance of social openness and closed-

ness. Privacy is an important value, but it does not mean isolation or individualist self-obsession (Kannike 2002: 151–154).

In contemporary ethnological thought a more nuanced understanding of privacy has emerged. It is not a simple reflection of the 'system', one-dimensional adaptation or resistance. The stereotype 'private equals static or passive' has started to crumble. The viewpoint that public is a mechanical sum of individual privacies, is also falling apart. For example, researchers studying issues of memory and remembering, demonstrate that the totality of individual memories is not equal to collective memory (Kõresaar 2004). It is also important to specify that we cannot equate the private with the individual: despite the ideals, private life usually is not a 'quiet harbour', but an arena of compromises, contradictions and polyphony. Instead of wished and verbalized harmony, the practice is often dominated by a competition of different interests and individual identities (for example, Kaufmann 1998; Gullestad 1999; Kannike 2002).

Thus, describing culture, one increasingly speaks more about processes than structure, more about changes than stability. Maybe it is worth to examine, whether the same is valid through the eyes of museums? There seem to be strong doubts about this issue, for example, the ethnologist E. Kiuru describes the situation in Finland as follows:

"Material culture studies (in museums, A.K.) are based on a mechanistic worldview, objects are regarded as proofs, criteria of truth...folk culture is divided into clear-cut categories. Collecting is based on the conviction that past is something that is different from the present. The habit of reconstructing and saving folk culture is constantly reproduced" (Kiuru 2001: 64–70).

As a matter of fact one is saving what cannot possibly be saved: it is estimated that a contemporary person in the Western world owns about 10–20 thousand objects – thus, creating a representative collection is a major challenge even for a museum that is very

generously financed. Laying the emphasis on the documentation of culture, instead of trying to collect in an exhaustive manner, is probably inevitable. Here, taking into consideration the changes in non-material attitudes certainly would contribute to achieving better results.

The enormous scale, vague borders and pluralism are the words that are frequently used for describing contemporary culture. This can be illustrated by some examples from the field of home and material culture. For example, the analyses of the domestic use of information and domestic technology show that here objects and meanings constantly cross the vague and shifting border of the public and the private. Especially in the media the increasingly private consumption is a tendency not less significant than its globalization. The ethnographic analysis of the internet by Miller and Slater has demonstrated that studying the web culture does not have to be limited to user statistics, but traditional ethnography contributes to a more profound picture of this central issue of culture building in the contemporary world. This proves that the consumption of the internet online, can more fully be understood, if associated with such traditionally off-line topics in anthropology as family, faith, everyday networks etc. (Miller and Slater 2000).

The material culture of the home is not limited to the physical borders of the dwelling, likewise, mobile objects can be perceived as the basis for a sense of home as well as national identity. For example, anthropologists, studying the culture of eating and drinking, have described the paradox that the mobility of food, the fact that it can be transported from one country to another, makes it suitable as a stabilizer of a sense of home for people who often have to move from one place to another. Studies of the consumption of information and communication technologies at home have demonstrated that the public and the private are not deconstructed or lost their authentic character in the contemporary world, but simply differently constituted through contemporary media (Silverstone and Hirsch 1992). As a tendency, privacy is less often associated with a place and more frequently with a process.

People create and recreate privacy according to the changes that occur in the context of their private lives. Defining the notion of home, an individual-centered approach arises to the foreground instead of a physical spot – home is where a person feels his or her identity is best expressed, where one is oneself to the greatest possible extent. A person is not attached to a home, but a home is attached to a person. In contemporary way of life there are no traditionally fixed, temporally or spatially restricted cultural worlds from where to proceed and where to return. Everything is relative and everything is moving (Clifford 1986: 22). Even if we do not leave our home, we perceive a permanent global movement. The same is valid for culture-building in general. P. Willis argues that in the contemporary world, class traditions, work, trade unions, organized religion, the family, parental role models, liberal humanist education – these things no longer believably place and fill identity in connected and homogeneous ways (Willis 2000: XV). But this does not mean that it is easier to define one's cultural self:

“There are no automatic belongings, so, more than ever, one has to work for, and make, one's own cultural significance. A more mobile home, ironically, also enforces its more individual and unique nature” (ibid: XV).

How to invade into the private domain?

Studying, documenting and presenting people's private lives, one inevitably has to confront delicate topics and situations. Hereby the issues of the reliability of the material and that of ethical borders between the researcher and the informant arise simultaneously. How can a scholar in the position of an 'invader' reach the essence of the topics studied without mental pressure or violation of intimacy? Where are the limits of exhibiting someone's personal life? These are the dilemmas that partly also arise in connection with other central issues of classical anthropology. It seems that

here giving up strict borderlines between topics or academic domains, concentration on phenomena or persons that integrate social relations with the material world in which they function, might offer a solution. Instead of attacking a person with intimate questions, it is possible to study the unexposed aspects of private life by studying the means and ways through which privacy and intimacy are created and perceived by, for example, building a home, moving to a new place or shopping. One has to agree with Daniel Miller who argues that

“an anthropology that thinks that sensitivity about being too intrusive is demonstrated by remaining outside and respecting the distance of conventional social proxemics is a dead anthropology that loses its humanity in the very moment that it asserts it in this claim to sensitivity” (Miller 2001: 15).

Besides temporal dynamics also the national aspects give specific colouring to the meanings of the private and the public. But this, like other national aspects of culture, does not become evident if we incapsulate into the paradigm of national culture. The crisis of central European national museums and the creation of new supranational museums demonstrates that, while looking for or exhibiting national peculiarity, limiting oneself to one's own traditional culture only are neither scientifically fruitful nor attractive for the public. Therefore, for example, in France, museums are developing towards postcolonial and postnational models of cultural institutions. As a result of major restructuration a new museum – the Museum of Arts and Civilizations (*Branly*) is being created instead of two former anthropological museums – the Museum of African and Oceanian Art and the Museum of the Human Being (*Musee de l'Homme*). The National Museum of Folk Art and Traditions will be restructured as well – it will be transferred to Marseille from Paris where it will be reshaped into a Museum of European and Mediterranean Civilizations. These radical changes ought to be interpreted not only in the context of political and economic arguments as the European integration due

to the European Union, but also the changes in scholarly paradigm. Museums of ethnology and cultural history have especially clearly realized that they cannot remain neutral recording institutions beyond time and space. Pluralist societies, homogenizing and differentiating forces, identity problems of national cultures, supranational structures and the new construction of Europe are issues that cannot be ignored. Cultural contexts vary in different countries, but it is the direction of development that matters – an emphasis to a broader context of social history, cultural contacts and processes. The name of the future museum in Marseilles – *Musee de la Passage* – is also revealing of this trend, it is reflecting the ideology of flexibility and historical syncretism. According to the initiators of the idea one tries to transform the museums from the ghosts of the colonial era into institutions that are not representing history itself but try to look at history with a critical, distanced view (for a detailed overview of the projects, see Rogan 2003). The official version of the past is contested by alternative, more human and individualized versions of creating culture.

Another good example of new approaches to studying the ambivalent nature of private-public relationship is presented by the international research project initiated by the Institute of Architectural, Urban and Social Studies in Paris (IPRAUS) that studies mediating persons on the borderline of the public and the private. Historically, for example, houskeepers and, in the contemporary world, employees of real estate development and management companies appear in such roles. These are the persons who permanently move between the public and the private spaces and also play a certain role in establishing and exercising social control. Since it is an international project, it is possible to study European culture and its differences from a specific, very intriguing viewpoint (Segalen 2002). A wider geographical perspective has returned and it is often used as a contrasting tool to interpret local and national experiences.

Conclusion: attacking the borderline

It has become evident by the 21st century that the peak of post-modernist subjectivity in the humanities is over. One of the important conclusions that have been filtered from the recent developments is that ethnography is, despite its limits, indispensable. Ethnologists who have sometimes even been called the handicraftsmen of social sciences, can, due to their 'delicate workmanship', register such changes in mentality and everyday behaviour that are often washed away from the mainstream of official history as well as major social theories.

The contact zone between private life and the public sphere is widening, private life is becoming increasingly mobile and gradually occupies new fields that, until then, were regarded as public. For the museums it probably makes the documentation of private life more complicated, but at the same time opens up new potential opportunities to be among the avant-garde, not the hangers-on of science. In the case of the folk culture museum good old ethnography continues to be important, but it should not necessarily be practiced on the basis of traditional naïve-positivist world of 'topics'. According to K. Hastrup, "there is no returning to old virtues of the lost paradise of Objectivism", but subjectivity in the ethnographic process is demystified and one calls for renewed attention to the vital position of fieldwork (Hastrup 1994: 3).

It is the trump of the museum to study and mediate a very personal relationship to consumption, mass media, globalization. Thus, ethnography fulfils an essential role, enlightening the social dimension of intimacy. It shows the picture of the public life as it is created in everyday life, i.e. the impact of the public sphere, the way it works and is perceived. It is the museum's mission to demonstrate that a picture of even seemingly most public phenomena of public life is not adequate if one does not open up the 'closed doors' of private life.

The more limited are the resources, the more important is the methodology, the skill to ask such questions that do not reproduce

the old research pattern, just mechanically widening it. What the patriarch of Estonian ethnology Ants Viires wrote in his article "The past and future of Estonian folklife studies" in 1993:

"Thus, the field of work in front of us is wide, but the workforce is scarce. One needs the skill to make rational choices at the area of study as well as research methodology. Namely the question of choice is most acute and decisive from the viewpoint of our subject in the present situation" (Viires 2001: 405), is still valid today.

Prof. E. Vunder has emphasized in her empirical and theoretical studies that, in order to understand modernization and changes in cultural patterns, the dialectics of cultural transformation, it is necessary to look not only at the complicated dialogue of the society's public and private spheres, but also the relationship between old and new, modernity and tradition (Vunder 2001: 129). The arenas where modernization is negotiated are often situated on the borderline of official and intimate domains. Key concepts in respective studies need not be mega- or meta-concepts, but ought to shed light on the phenomena, groups or fields where the private and the public meet and are mutually constructed.

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The Prague Congress (1928), CIAP and the League of Nations.

A Short History of *la Commission Internationale
des Arts Populaires* (CIAP) from its Inception until
World War II

Bjarne Rogan, Oslo

European ethnology... The term sounds fine as the designation of an academic discipline. The discipline – or should we say the field? – is not easy to describe, however, and to define it seems hardly possible at all. Aims, topics and methods vary greatly. Still, Europeans from different countries and regions practice their different ethnologies without showing much concern for the disciplinary diversity. The concern over the varying contents and methods of regional and national studies arises when researchers come together and the scope is widened, that is when there is a need to compare material and discuss results across borders, to look at culture contacts, distribution, etc. in a wider context.

A regional discipline striving towards universality

No academic discipline can for long be confined within national borders. Scholarship does not follow geographical and political frontiers. But European ethnology – in all its branches, whether it bears in its name *folk*, *etno*, *demos*, *populus*, *anthropos* or *laios* – has perhaps struggled more than most academic disciplines with

the border question, from the moment it pretended to transgress a purely descriptive phase and to become comparative, that is to put on the hat of science.

The main reason for this lies in its object of study. European ethnology has always been considered a regional science, in opposition to social or cultural anthropology. Its object of study has traditionally been humankind and culture within local or regional confines. These confines have very often coincided with the borders of the national state. It is a well – established fact that the discipline has, if not grown out of, then at least received much of its impetus from the emergence or the consolidation of nation states during the 19th century. In Europe, the discipline has served as a national mirror and been a medium for constructing a myriad of national identities. Its objects of study have often been those aspects of culture, which were understood to be eminently national.

Why then has international cooperation been considered so important for a nation-oriented discipline like European ethnology, and why all the efforts, throughout the 20th century, to create a framework, whether they are congresses, organizations or even permanent institutions – of a supranational character?

There are several answers to this question. One can be found in the nature of the material studied and the need to compare cultural elements across borders. From the moment it was realized that elements in one (national) culture resembled elements in another, the basis for comparative studies and thus also international cooperation was laid. Another answer lies not in the object studied but in the tool itself – the approach to studying culture. There was a need to find out what all the national varieties of the discipline – all the regional, more or less ‘self-grown’ ethnologies of Europe – had in common. Which methods and theories could be called upon to homogenize and elevate a variety of regional practices, often of a rather descriptive character, to a field of research called European ethnology?

These two major incentives for international cooperation overlapped in time, even if the question of comparable material

appeared first and the need for a common theoretical framework grew steadily stronger, especially after World War II.

In addition to these purely scholarly motivations, there were more politically tinged arguments for taking into use folk culture as a medium for mutual comprehension between populations. Paradoxically, the national aspects of culture – or the national specificity of the discipline's object of study – have been both an incentive and a hindrance to international cooperation, as we shall see in the case of CIAP and the League of Nations. Regional or national cultures may be a source of conflict as well as a medium for mutual sympathy.

The following brief sketch of one of the efforts of the inter-war period towards international cooperation within European ethnology springs out of my ongoing study of the history of SIEF (*la Société Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore*, 1964 – d. d.) and its forerunner CIAP (*la Commission Internationale des Arts Populaires*, 1928–1964).

There had also been some efforts to create international fora before 1928, but they were either short-lived – e.g. the *Ist International Folk-lore Congress* in 1889 and the subsequent *International Folk-lore Council*, or they were restricted to a few neighbouring countries, like the *Nordic Folklore Fellows*, started in 1907 by C. W. von Sydow, Axel Olrik and Kaarle Krohn.

The League of Nations and the fear of folklore

The history of *la Commission Internationale des Arts Populaires* (CIAP), before World War II, is closely interwoven with that of the League of Nations, just as its post-war existence owed much to the United Nations, through the umbrella of UNESCO.

In 1922, the League of Nations undertook responsibility for international cooperation within the field of art, museums and culture, through the establishment of a consulting commission, *la Commission Internationale de Coopération Intellectuelle* (CICI).

situated in Geneva. The 12 commission members, among whom we find personalities like Marie Curie (France-Poland), Albert Einstein (Germany), Henri Bergson (France), Kristine Bonnevie (Norway) and Jules Destrée (Belgium), were appointed on the basis of the quality of their intellectual capacities. In 1926, the French government inaugurated, not without opposition from other powers, an affiliated institute in Paris, *l'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle* (IICI), which actually became the executive organ of the CICI.¹ The Prague congress, and later the organization and the running of CIAP, was one of the main tasks of the IICI in Paris. However, the CICI in Geneva strictly controlled the undertaking. Another important task for the CICI/IICI was to administer the *Organisation Internationale des Musées* (OIM), the forerunner to ICOM under the umbrella of UNESCO.

The Pact of the League of Nations did not originally include cooperation in the field of culture. The consulting organ CICI came about through a French initiative (1921/22), just as did the executive organ IICI in 1925/26. Throughout the inter-war years, there was strong rivalry, mainly between French and British interests, but also between the Germans and the French, with CICI, and especially IICI, as the battlefield – the institute being regarded as a French tool for hegemony in the field of intellectual cooperation.² These diplomatic manoeuvres and political battles constitute a backdrop to CIAP that is sometimes difficult to interpret. But even if the IICI was dominated by French interests, French researchers never gained real influence over CIAP. Through the interwar years, CIAP was dominated mainly by ethnologists and folklorists from

¹ I use the French terms, even if a corresponding set exists in English. The CICI of the League of Nations was mainly a French adventure, with a predominantly French staff. See Renoliet 1999. For a short introduction on the CICI/IICI, see *l'Inventaire des Archives de l'Institut international de coopération internationale (IICI) 1925-1946*, Paris juin 1990, <http://www.unesco.org/general/eng/infoserv/archives/>.

² See Renoliet 1999 for a detailed discussion. Corgus 1995 also mentions the German–French rivalry.

the German-speaking area, to some extent also by Italian, Belgian and Dutch scholars.

The commonly held short history holds that CIAP was created in Prague in 1928, during an international congress arranged under the auspices of the League of Nations. The genesis could thus be interpreted as a largely political idea of embracing as many countries as possible – not only in Europe but worldwide – in a scholarly network on popular culture. The history is, however, much more complicated, as there was suspicion and even resistance in the Geneva circles in the inter-war years to start playing with an easily inflammatory thing such as popular culture.

When the CICI decided, in 1926, to organize an international congress on popular art, it was after years of pressure from a group of folklorists, led by the Sorbonne Professor of Art History, and CICI delegate, Henri Focillon. We do not know exactly who these folklorists were, but van Gennep (France) was probably among them. The first initiatives were taken as early as 1922, according to the Belgian folklorist Albert Marinus, a long-standing supporter and officer of CIAP. But it took years to convince the League of Nations that the aim of folklore “is to unveil the similarities between peoples [---] [and] not only to present the original aspects of regions, but also, through deep investigation, to discover what the whole of humanity has in common.”³

It was only after pressure from folklorists “from all over the world, through a steadily growing movement”, as Marinus rhetorically claims, that the League of Nations finally decided to yield and to arrange an international conference on *les arts populaires* – or folk arts. Five cities volunteered to host the

³ Albert Marinus was a member of *la Commission Belge de Folklore*, and had several international commitments. He participated at the 1928 Prague congress and served as Vice President of CIAP both before and after the war. The quotation is from Marinus’ inaugural speech to the CIAP Congress of Namur in 1953 (*Actes ... 1956*). All translations of quotations into English by BR.

congress: Amsterdam, Stockholm, Vienna, Basel and Prague.⁴ The Czechoslovak government came out as the winner – as it was the only government willing to grant financial support to the congress, and the event took place in Prague in October 1928.

The congress was, to a large extent, arranged in France, van Gennep states in a later memo,⁵ planned and organized from Paris. The IICI was responsible for the formal arrangement and all practical issues, and van Gennep was hired as Scientific Secretary of the congress.⁶ It was he who – under the supervision of the IICI – formulated the program. The aims were twofold: “... to serve, at the same time, scholarship and the ideal of reconciliation of peoples.”⁷ The official objective, as expressed in the congress program, was to highlight what the different nations had in common, to study the geographic distribution of the manifestations of folk art and make an inventory of surviving traditions – and finally, study the means to keep alive what could still be found of popular art. Or as stated in the program: “This shows that the aim is not only scientific, but also practical.”⁸

The concept of *arts populaires*, used in the congress title, was not arbitrarily chosen. Van Gennep mentions that the League of Nations “did not want the see used officially” designations like *ethnographie*, *ethnologie* or *folklore*. He gives no further

⁴ Archives MNATP (*le Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires*, Paris). Procès-verbal de la 12ème session, CICI, la Société des Nations.

⁵ Archives MNATP. Carton 804. M. Cuisenier. Memo of October 15, 1945, signed Arnold van Gennep: ‘Comité national des Arts et Traditions Populaires’.

⁶ President of the Congress was the Swiss CICI member Conzague de Heynold, and the administrative secretary the Belgian Richard Dupierreux – an IICI official with a former position as professor at the *l’Institut des Beaux-Arts* in Antwerp and who later became president of *le Comité National Belge des Arts Populaires*. Dupierreux was also General Secretary of CIAP in the 1930s.

⁷ UNESCO archives, Paris. Commission Internationale ... Paris 1928.

⁸ Ibid.

explanation for this, but writes that the term *folklore* was interpreted (by the congress committee and in the program) in its broadest sense, covering all sorts of material culture as well as folk music, songs, dance, theater and dramatic performances, and from all parts of the world – but (to his grief) not folklore in a stricter sense, i. e. not popular religion, legends and fairy tales, incantations, etc.⁹

Albert Marinus gives a fuller explanation of why the League of Nations wanted to restrict the field, and why, in addition, it had been so hesitant about the whole arrangement. The League realized that culture could be dynamite:¹⁰

“You have perhaps observed that the word ‘folklore’ was used neither for the congress nor for the commission that came out of it. The simple reason is that to the former League of Nations, the word ‘folklore’ was banished, just as was the word ‘ethnography’. Actually, they believed that the word ‘folklore’ would give stuff to political claims, and that the populations would not desist from claims, with reference to similarities in costume, songs, etc. Such attitudes were to be feared especially for disputed regions between neighbouring countries”.

The League of Nations forbade the treatment of topics like oral literature, popular religion, etc. What happened then at the congress? The fear was not totally unfounded:¹¹ “Some participants, from different countries, made, as conclusions to their reports, insidiously political annexation claims.” Marinus writes, adding that there were also present ‘a certain number of persons and scholars “who had nothing but scholarship in mind. These scholars were free from any ulterior political motives or border claims”’.¹²

⁹ Archives MNATP. Carton 804. M. Cuisenier. Memo of October 15, 1945.

¹⁰ Marinus, *Actes ...* 1956:18.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² On the other hand, IICI official Richard Dupierreux states that no such claims were made: “D’aucuns avaient redouté qu’ [---] ce congrès fût

We may, so far, conclude that the confusing backdrop for the creation of CIAP was partly international, diplomatic rivalry for hegemony in the field of cultural cooperation, and partly a fear of what the discipline of folklore might offer by way of ammunition to belligerent parties on the European interwar scene. The latter fear emerges clearly from personal notes, memos and letters, like, for instance, the correspondence between the ICII official Richard Dupierreux – administrative secretary of the congress – and curator Sigurd Erixon from *Nordiska Museet* in Stockholm, on the possible participation of the renowned Lund folklorist C. W. von Sydow. On the request of Erixon, that von Sydow be invited to give a lecture in Prague on “la poésie populaire en prose de caractère narratif”, Dupierreux refuses the contribution of von Sydow with the polite, diplomatic understatement that “la poésie populaire a été écarté de nos préoccupations” – “folk poetry has been excluded from our preoccupations”.¹³

The Prague Congress and the inception of CIAP

The original idea, when the CICI voted the motion in 1926 and the League reluctantly accepted it, was that the congress should be accompanied by an international folk art exhibition, to be held in Bern in Switzerland. The exhibition turned out a premature project,

l'occasion pour certaines minorités d'exprimer des revendications inopportunes. L'art populaire est, en effet, souvent beaucoup plus régionale que nationale. Pas un instant, ces appréhensions ne se sont vérifiées. Les congressistes n'ont trouvé, dans la sphère de leurs travaux, que des occasions de s'accorder” (Dupierreux 1929: 15). On more than one occasion, however, Dupierreux was on collision course with Marinus and the the other researchers who wanted to create an independent CIAP.

¹³ UNESCO archives, Paris, IICI Correspondance, F.IX.8 Participation de la Suède. Letter from Erixon dated 31.1.1928 and from Dupierreux registered 8.2.1928.

which was postponed several times, until the war put a final stop to the plans.

The congress in Prague must have been a popular event. It was attended by a great number of participants – how many is difficult to surmise – including official government delegates from 19 of the 31 countries represented. It was not a purely European event; Asia as well as North and South America were represented by several delegates. The official languages were those of the League of Nations, French and English, but German was much used in the debates.

As scientific secretary of the congress, Arnold van Gennep edited the booklet of summaries, as well as the program. By the 15th of August 1928, van Gennep had received proposals for more than 300 session papers, in addition to the 8 plenary lectures, but he complained repeatedly in letters and notes that new proposals continued to pour in both before and long after the deadline, the 1st of September. According to Arthur Haberlandt, more than one third of the papers were read in the sessions, either by the authors or by their representatives.¹⁴ A total of 230 papers were handed in to the congress secretariat,¹⁵ and the proceedings of the congress, *Art populaire I–II* (Paris 1931), contains 180 of them.¹⁶

The program was divided into five main sections: one general section of history, methodology and museology; one on popular art in wood, stone, metal, pottery, vernacular furniture and architecture, etc.; one on textiles and costumes; one on music and song; and finally one on dance and dramatic representations. The program included several exhibitions and demonstrations of folklorist activities – an important element in all the early congresses.

The concept of *arts populaires* or *folk art* was the object of long discussions and efforts of definition, before, during and after the

¹⁴ Haberlandt 1928: 131.

¹⁵ UNESCO archives, Paris, CIAP 1-13/1928-31 (Box 450): Rapport de l'Institut sur le Congrès international des arts populaires de Prague.

¹⁶ Of the Baltic countries, Estonia was represented by Ferdinand Leinbock and Latvia by V. Pengerots, Ed. Paegle and Paul Kundzins.

congress. The circumscription of the term was also a major concern for the initiator of the congress, Henri Focillon.¹⁷ We shall not enter into this debate. It may however be worthwhile to note that van Gennepe explained, at a later stage, that his conception of *arts populaires* for the Prague congress covered the arts of prehistoric times, of Mediterranean antiquity, and of the European medieval age up to the present time. His description of the field includes the Far East as well as "all the so-called primitive or half-civilized arts of America, Africa and the Pacific". In his own words: "It is a matter of course that our two disciplines [i.e. folklore/ethnology and anthropology] are per definition *mondiales* – world-wide."¹⁸ Such was certainly the spirit of the congress.

Whether the delegates agreed or disagreed upon the concept of folk art, another important battle was fought in between the sessions and in the corridors, i.e. on how to follow up on the congress. There seems to have been great tension between groups of representatives, of which we may distinguish three or four: those having a background in scholarship (mostly ethnographers and folklorists, but also geographers, etc., from universities, museums and archives); those with an artistic background (authors, painters and musicians); representatives of organizations working for the conservation and the propagation of popular art and aesthetic impulses; and finally, bureaucrats and official representatives of different brands.

In the official documents, very little is to be found on the disagreement and the discussions, but there obviously was a deep division between the scientific, who wanted to establish an independent scientific organization, and those who wanted an organization with more practical functions and aims. The representatives of the League of Nations preferred no permanent organization at all; alternatively they found an organization controlled by the IICI, the lesser evil.

¹⁷ Focillon 1931.

¹⁸ UNESCO archives, Paris. Commission Internationale ... Paris 1928; Archives MNATP. Carton 804. M. Cuisenier. Memo of October 15, 1945.

According to the Austrian Arthur Haberlandt,¹⁹ his proposal of a permanent Commission, consisting of 9 specialists on popular art, combined with a scientific program worked out by Albert Marinus, was rejected. The compromise was a permanent *Commission Internationale des Arts Populaires* composed by the leaders of the national delegations (24 out of 31 countries joined this proposal), among whom a Board of 5 persons were elected.²⁰ Marinus himself confirms this train of events, adding that he himself – being the author of the first proposal for a scientific program – was refused a place on the Board.

Correspondence, notes and memos in the archives disclose several details of this tug of war and also reveal how IICI administrators tried to repair the damage caused by the election of a permanent commission, in several ways. They did this by rewriting or ‘doctoring’ the text of the resolution in order to tie CIAP closer to the IICI in Paris (an act that caused some turmoil and was criticized by the director of the IICI). Another method was by offering to serve as the secretariat of CIAP and by convening an immediate reunion of the CIAP Board in Paris under the auspices of the IICI. The intention was also to implement a set of statutes giving the IICI control over CIAP by proposing to appoint and pay a scientific secretary for CIAP (the latter proposal was refused by the Board); by trying to prevent CIAP reunions in other places than Paris, etc.²¹

Once the establishment of CIAP was secured, other motions and actions were approved unanimously: the Prague Congress

¹⁹ Haberlandt 1928.

²⁰ Otto Lehmann (Germany), M. Julien (France), Arthur Haberlandt (Austria), J. Schrijnen (Holland), Jiri Horak (Tschechoslovakia, later replaced by Ludvik Kuba). Haberlandt soon after wanted to cede his place to Albert Marinus (Belgium), who was actually elected in Rome in 1929.

²¹ UNESCO archives. See especially correspondance etc. in F.IX.57 Le Congrès Internationale des arts Populaires, Prague 1928. Organisation générale., and F.IX.69 Commission Internationale des Arts Populaires. Bureau de la CIAP. 1ere réunion Paris 18.1.1929.

wanted to establish an international archive for folk art, as well as an international society for popular music and songs – to work among other things with phonographic registration, to found a similar society for cinematographic registration of popular dancing and costumes, to work for the maintenance and propagation of popular manifestations (in cooperation with the international movement for better leisure habits for workers), to go on with the planning of a folk art exhibition in Bern, etc. Another important step was the decision to create national commissions for folk art in the member countries.

The Rome adventure and the countermoves of the CICI

A permanent CIAP was not welcomed by the League of Nations and its sub-organs IICI and CICI. The IICI wanted to use popular art to promote their political aims, i.e. mutual understanding and peace. On the other hand, they felt a strong fear of seeing scholarly results being used for other political purposes, like identity claims with possible territorial claims in the wake. Their preoccupation, as expressed openly in the Institute's report on the Prague Congress, was "to reconcile the scientific independence of the researchers and the erudites of CIAP with an administrative organization where the Institute should have control. These two interests oppose each other and it is necessary to define the limits strictly."²²

The IICI ordered the CIAP Board to convene very soon after Prague; a first time in Paris on the 18th of January 1929, when the German Otto Lehmann (Altona) was elected president, and a second time in Bern on the 23rd of May. The latter venue was chosen in order to co-organize a meeting to plan the Bern exhibition on folk art – the exhibition that actually never took place. On

²² UNESCO archives, Paris. CIAP 1-13/1928-31 (Box 450). Société des Nations. Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle. Rapport de l'Institut sur le Congrès international des arts populaires de Prague, p. 4 (summer 1930).

the question of controlling the scientific program, the CIAP Board refused the proposal of a scientific secretary appointed by the IICI. On other issues, the IICI had their way. Richard Dupierreux,²³ a department director of the IICI and organizer of the Prague congress, was appointed (administrative) secretary of CIAP (later General Secretary), and it was accepted that §1 of the statutes confirmed the close contact between CIAP and the CICI and the Paris institute. Apparently – but only apparently – the IICI had regained control over CIAP during spring 1929.

A CIAP General Assembly, i.e. the Commission consisting of the 24 delegates from Prague, was planned – by the ICII administration – to be held in Barcelona in September 1929, in connection with the World Fair. This meeting was cancelled, however, for reasons that do not concern us here.²⁴ The cancellation led to a hectic activity in the ICII, with the result that the CIAP General Assembly was moved to Rome in late October 1929 and hosted by the recently established Italian National Commission for Folk Art. This transfer was arranged in connivance with the ICII secretary Richard Dupierreux, but against the wish of his superior, the French ICII director Jules Luchaire. Luchaire could accept that purely administrative meetings took place outside Paris, but he

²³ Richard Dupierreux, a Belgian professor serving in the ICII administration, seems to have played a double role. Obviously he felt obliged to enforce CIAP under the wings of ICII. Also, he took several initiatives on behalf of CIAP. Actually he was reproached by CIAP board members (von Schrijnen, NL) of taking liberties and making decisions that only the Board was authorised to do. On the other hand, he seems to have defended CIAP and to have accepted or even initiated actions on behalf of the CIAP board that his IICI superiors thought to be the responsibility of the IICI and the CICI, and for which he was reproached by the director of ICII. See UNESCO archives, Paris: F.IX.69 Commission Internationale des Arts Populaires. Correspondance jusqu'au 30.9.1929; F.IX.73 Arts Populaires. 1ère réunion plénière de la Commission Internationale des Arts Populaires. Rome 25-31 octobre 29.

²⁴ Mainly because of the clumsy treatment of the affair by the Spanish National Commission for Popular Art. Sources as the above footnote 23.

wanted – on behalf of the League of Nations – full control of meetings with a scientific content.²⁵ The General Assembly of CIAP was, however – as willed by the Prague congress – a meeting with both an administrative agenda and a scientific content. The Prague congress had voted a motion concerning the first General Assembly, notably that it should treat the topic ‘Folk music, singing and dancing in their relation to social life’. This was in accordance with the overall idea of promoting folk art in the service of mutual understanding. But it must have been felt a too risky project to be left to the researchers alone; Luchaire reproached his subordinate for this lack of vigilance.

But things turned out much worse, in the eyes of the CICI. Some persons – among whom probably the Belgian folklorist Albert Marinus, who had been voted down and rejected in Prague for his scientific program – had broadcast the meeting in Rome and instigated the Italians to make something resembling a full congress out of this General Assembly. The result was that instead of the 24 persons of the Commission (by then 27), as many as 350 persons convened to discuss and demonstrate folk songs and dances²⁶ – an amazingly high number, and all the more so as the time for convocation had been very short. A new Board – this time consisting of 9 persons, among whom 8 scientific and one secretary²⁷ – was elected. New statutes were approved, stating that

²⁵ See UNESCO archives, Paris, F.IX.68 and F.IX.73.

²⁶ For a detailed presentation of the contents of the meeting, see Lehmann 1930. For the minutes of the first General Assembly and the new statutes voted, see Archives MNATP, Box 804 (Jean Cuisenier), dossier: CIAP 1929-1932(37).

²⁷ Otto Lehmann (Altona, Germany, relected President), Emilio Baudrero, (Italy, elected Vice President), Georges Julien (France), Daniel Baud-Bovy (Switzerland), Ludvik Kuba (Czechoslovakia), Adam Fisher (Lwow, Poland), Albert Marinus (Belgium), Johs. Schrijnen (Niemegen, the Netherlands), Saburo Yamada (Tokyo), and as secretary: Richard Dupierreux (Paris). Shortly after, however, A. van Erven Dorens (the Netherlands) appear on the Board, whereas Schrijnen and Yamada have disappeared.

CIAP was only *temporarily* attached to the ICII. It was decided that the 2nd Congress would take place in the Netherlands in the following year (Antwerp 1930).

All this must have been regarded, more or less, as a declaration of war to the CICI and the League of Nations. The CICI felt that CIAP was, once more, out of their control and reactions soon followed. On the following (12th) session of CICI, in July 1930, its President Jules Destrée presented the case in the following way:²⁸ the Prague congress had turned out such a success that the congress had ventured to elect a Commission (CIAP), however, “without the intervention nor the consent of CICI, a fact that had been given a rather cool reception in Geneva” – a strong reproof in diplomatic language! Furthermore, Destrée admitted that the meeting in Rome had been an even greater success; and whereas the CICI over the years, and with much pain, could muster only 35 national commissions, CIAP had managed to raise 27 in a very short time; Destrée informed the CICI that serious talks had taken place and that “now, however, the escaped bird is ready once again to enter its cage”. Negotiations were to take place immediately, as it was “indispensable that the situation be brought under control” before the forthcoming 2nd General Assembly and Congress of CIAP in Antwerp.

The CICI wanted to make CIAP pay dearly for the wanton Rome affair, and the conditions imposed by the CICI were hard: CIAP should have two presidents, one elected by its Board and one appointed by the CICI President. Furthermore, CIAP should have one secretary appointed by its Board and another by the CICI President. Finally, the General Assemblies of CIAP should be arranged by (and not only with the assistance of) the ICII.

With no funding or any administrative resources, the CIAP Board played a rather weak part in the following negotiations. Still, “the escaped bird” did not quite accept to be caged, at least not yet. Otto Lehmann and Albert Marinus turned out competent negotia-

²⁸ Archives MNATP, Box 804 (Jean Cuisenier), dossier: CIAP 1929-1932(37). CICI/12e Session. Procès-Verbal 11.

tors. The CICI had to withdraw the claim of two presidents, and also a later claim of having CIAP fused with the OIM (later ICOM). The negotiations ended in January 1931, with CIAP in a position directly under the CICI, and with one Board member appointed by the CICI and a secretary by the IICI – but after all with a secretariat and a (modest) budget secured.

Decline of CIAP and rivalry on the European scene

By the beginning of 1931, The League of Nations once again had secured control over CIAP and its rebellious scientific members. CIAP was still alive, but its health declined very quickly during the following years. The 2nd Congress (with the 2nd General Assembly) had been held in Antwerp, Liège and Brussels from August 28 to September 7, 1930. The Congress gathered around 200 participants,²⁹ but it did not have similar consequences as the Prague congress and the Rome meeting. In 1931, no General Assembly was held (as prescribed in the statutes), but the 3rd one was planned to be arranged in Oslo for August 1932. Shortly before, the assembly was cancelled, on the pretext of the low number of inscriptions and the economic crisis in general. Also, the planned 3rd Congress in 1934 in Bern was cancelled, with reference to the postponement of the folk art exhibition – in itself a consequence of the difficult times. Actually, there were no more CIAP member reunions – neither general assemblies nor congresses – before the war, only some Board meetings.

A main headache for CIAP was funding, as the CICI allocation was very low. But the creativity of its scientific members was also at a low level. Furthermore, the German and especially the British suspicion towards the French-dominated IICI and the alleged French hegemonial aspirations can hardly have been propitious for

²⁹ *La Coopération Intellectuelle* no 23 (1930) (UNESCO archives, Paris).

CIAP. Finally, its “Godfather” – the League of Nations – was itself in a continuous state of decline and loss of prestige. In 1933, CIAP President Otto Lehmann had to resign, as a consequence of Germany’s withdrawal from the League. The Italian Bodrero took over as President, but in 1936 his time was out, when Italy followed the example of Germany. To be associated with a bureaucracy with neither satisfactory funding, nor any power, was a poor asset for CIAP.

CIAP was, from the outset, the expression of a strong will from European scholars who wanted to create a common forum for a diverse field of study. However, the consequence of the weakened position of CIAP was that many European researchers sought other solutions. The last couple of nails in the pre-war CIAP coffin came from rival organizations that appeared on the scene in the mid thirties, arranging their own congresses and launching new journals. Nordic ethnology, with Sigurd Erixon as the vanguard, represented a serious challenge. Together with Nordic and German colleagues Sigurd Erixon founded a new organization, the *International Association for Folklore and Ethnology*, with support ranging from the British Isles to the German speaking countries. Another challenge came from France and Georges-Henri Rivière, who – disappointed with the lack of French influence on CIAP – started another rival organization, *le Congrès International de Folklore*.³⁰

World War II put an effective stop to both CIAP and its two rivals. The only one that resuscitated after the war, was CIAP – now within the UNESCO system, and with support from both Sigurd Erixon and Georges-Henri Rivière. After the war life in CIAP, until SIEF took over the baton in 1964, should not become less exciting and promising than before the war, nor less troubled, nor with fewer disappointments and deceptions. To be told in future tales!

³⁰ Rogan a (ms 2003); b (ms 2003); Campbell 1937.

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The Scholar as a Public Intellectual. Reflections Based on Anthropological Studies in Norway

Marianne Gullestad, Oslo

In the spring of 1999, I gave a talk to a large group of Norwegian anthropologists. In this talk, I mentioned that it is strange that anthropologists still use the term 'informant', since this term sounds demeaning to many people. Instead I suggested terms such as participant, 'conversation partner', or just 'partner' – terms that would reflect, more accurately, the often very personal nature of fieldwork, and the fundamental importance of the contribution of the people we work with. I both argued for more egalitarian and dialogic relations during fieldwork and wanted more precision in the representations of the relations between the researcher and the people about whom – and with whom – the research is carried out. The so-called informants contribute substantially to the research process, I argued, more than the term 'informant' makes visible.

Afterwards, I received some thought provoking reactions to this particular point in my talk, and I understood that my remarks had been too simplistic. Several colleagues were disturbed because I used concepts such as dialogue and equality about relations in the field. One person exclaimed in an almost desperate voice: "If we even cannot talk about our informants as informants any longer, what is left for us? What is our particular knowledge? What is our contribution? What is our expertise?" I sensed a defensive anxiety, and I had to realize that this anxiety reveals some very real dilemmas in present-day qualitative social analysis and publication.

The dilemmas, I want to argue, derive from the changing basis for scholarly authority.

Believing that dilemmas should be analytically unpacked and scrutinized, I will, in the following article, present a few reflections on how the vulnerability expressed in 'internal' scholarly discussions about the representation of fieldwork might relate to the interrelations between scholarship and society, and in particular the falling status of scholarship. My reflections touch upon several questions connected to the power aspects of the production and use of knowledge. How do we justify intervening in other people's lives? How do we base our claims to knowledge? Whose problems are examined? Whose interests do we serve? How do we communicate our results to wider audiences? Should scholars attempt to act as public intellectuals? How should we regard the fact that social scientists position themselves very differently on controversial political issues in the public realm? Is public disagreement among scholars a sad fact to be deplored or something to be celebrated? To these crucial questions I have no clear answer, but I think that they need to be discussed. My intention is thus not to provide specific guidelines, but to contribute to keeping an important discussion going. The examination is thus explorative rather than conclusive.

The more particular problem I will explore is if the idea of legitimate scholarly authority can be rescued by reconfiguring it as part of a research process that is based on trust, tolerance, dialogue and co-operation with the people whose lives are examined, as well as the other recipients and 'users' of the research. One problem in this respect is the profound ambiguity of terms such as tolerance and dialogue. The concept of tolerance can be used as a cover for indifference, while the concept of dialogue can be used in a way that *masks* the social inequality of relationships instead of providing a correction. Used in a harmonizing way, 'dialogue'

easily becomes a frame for new kinds of oppression.¹ Keeping these dangers in mind, I want to redefine the notion of 'dialogue' as a *grounded regulative ideal* guiding the many different social relations involved in the various stages of a qualitative research process.

I present these reflections on the basis of my experiences as an anthropologist working as an analyst of Norwegian society for more than 30 years, not only as an internationally oriented scholar, but also by publishing nationally in general interest journals and newspapers, sometimes on controversial issues. The article therefore has a specific Norwegian flavor. But I see no reason why material from Norway cannot be used to discuss more general issues. The relation between scholarship and society in Norway is actually a particularly good case for this discussion. There is generally a close connection between the government and social science scholarship, and several qualitative researchers have had considerable political influence. In addition, because of the small scale of the country and the relatively large size of its reading public, it is often difficult to keep apart the various audiences of social science research (academic, government, popular). Many Norwegian anthropologists and ethnologists have, for example, experienced that their so-called informants turn up at lectures or read publications intended for 'internal' scholarly consumption, and that aggressive journalists force them to take a stand on complex issues. This means that we, for many years, have had to deal with dilemmas concerning our public roles that are now in the forefront internationally.²

¹ The general informalization of social life in Scandinavia over the last 30 years is not only an example of democratization, but also of a continuous masking of hierarchical relations that makes them more difficult to understand for newcomers. The immigrant worker who takes the informal tone too literally, may indeed come to speak to his boss in a very inappropriate way.

² I am, for example, thinking of new journals such as *Contexts* and *Public Culture*.

The scholarly fall from grace

The dilemmas have no quick fixes, and it is also unclear in what terms they ought to be described. Social changes no doubt demand changes in our research practices. The problem is only that they point in different directions. On the one hand, the increasing complexity of modern society forces 'ordinary people', including scholars outside their own fields of specialization, to make their own judgments and be in charge of their own lives. Since people are generally better educated than before, they are also better able to judge for themselves. Their intellectual power has grown, and this is of course a good thing. This is so also when many people use their newly won intellectual power to worry about the unwanted side effects of scholarship. They realize that the sciences have not only led to better health and living conditions, but also to risks connected to pollution, global warming and nuclear threats. Moreover, the democratization of knowledge is accompanied by a general scepticism towards authoritarian relations. There is a change from hierarchy, obedience and command to teamwork and negotiation in work places, schools and families (Gullestad 1996b). In all these arenas, parts of what was formerly considered as legitimate authority are redefined as 'authoritarianism', and thus as illegitimate power. At the same time, the individualization of identification implies a popular need for new kinds of knowledge to underpin identity management, but because of the processes sketched out above, scientific knowledge is often not privileged in relation to other kinds of knowledge. Many people pick and choose from a wide array of sources – from the sciences to New Age.

On the other hand, these developments are partly reinforced and partly deformed by the expansion of the market and the accompanying commercialization of the mass media and the educational institutions. The scepticism towards the sciences is amplified by the media and, in particular, by television, articulating a profound anti-intellectualism in many countries.

In the mass media, there is an increasing focus on celebrities, sensationalism, polarization, personalization and conflict, on entertainment instead of information, and on massaging people's prejudices instead of inspiring them to become more reflective. The tendency in populist journalism is to reduce the workings of complicated structural forces to simple, concrete and emotionally loaded relations between people. The aim is to make complex relations immediately recognizable in the light of the experiences of the reader and/or viewer. The mass media, thus, demonstrate relatively little responsibility for ensuring that differing values and interests are played out in constructive ways. Even public television and serious newspapers are influenced by these tendencies.

For these reasons, it is almost impossible to distinguish between, on the one hand, a valuable democratization of the dissemination of knowledge, and on the other hand the anti-intellectualism of parts of the mass media and the commercial culture industries. Some aspects of the changes are due to the better-educated and more competent public, engaged in the exercise of their democratic rights. Other aspects of the changes are due to an aggressive commercialization of the public sphere in which profit to the owners is the bottom line. It is difficult to assess what is what, and, accordingly, which new orientations are required on the part of the world of scholarship in its various relationships with the social environment. In any case, social changes have profoundly destabilized the social role of scholarly knowledge, and the associated relations of authority, implying a descending social status for scholarship. Many people no longer accept enlightenment practices of popularization of research in the form of monologues. This development affects the natural sciences as well as the social sciences and humanities, but I think it is safe to say that it has hit the qualitative social sciences the hardest, and particularly the discipline of anthropology. Some of the exasperation of my Norwegian colleague can be interpreted in terms of this 'fall from grace'.

Communicating to the community of scholars: The case of cultural analysis

The changing conditions for scholarly authority can be illustrated by the development of cultural analysis over the last 30 years. These transformations are often summarized as a shift from seeing 'cultures', as essential entities, to studying cultural relations and processes. Historically, anthropological notions of culture were developed in close relation to 19th century notions of the nation as a homogenized and bounded entity, involving naturalized connections among people, culture, blood and territory. These tight conceptual connections have, over the years, become analytically destabilized by new theories focusing on what goes on in the hybridity of border zones.

Even if it can be argued that analytical practices have always been more nuanced and subtle than just assuming that cultures are homogeneous, continuous and bounded, the emerging focus on cultural processes at the margins no doubt implies a crucial theoretical advance. Within academic life, the new conceptualizations very quickly acquired some of the self-evidence formerly enjoyed by the essentialist container notion of culture. However, at the same time as this is happening in parts of the academic world, people in the streets and in the villages are turning to essentialist notions of 'cultural tradition' and 'belonging' with new force. This can be interpreted as an attempt to defend their interests against the negative effects of the globalization of capital and the waning power of state bureaucracies and trade unions to protect them. There is, thus, a widening gap between parts of the academic elite and common people: Common people often defend local values, some scholars function as extensions of their voices, while other scholars honor transnational loyalties (Lash 1995). This situation gives rise to the following question: Should the gap between common people and specific academic social circles be regarded as the result of an academic defense of old forms of authority, in other

words as a part of a new struggle for illegitimate power, or as an expression of legitimate authority?

The anthropologist Jonathan Friedman (1997) has presented some ideas that address this question: The switch from 'essentialism' to a focus on 'diversity' in cultural analysis marks a change in underlying and largely unacknowledged political ideologies. According to him, a 'cosmological shift' has taken place in the academic world, from the celebration of local autonomy to the celebration of 'hybridity' and 'diversity.' Friedman relates the 'cosmological shift' to the class positions of academic elites within a changing world order, and maintains that the participants in these discourses have "identified with the cosmopolitan space of the global system and have vied for a hegemonic position within that space" (Friedman 1997: 89). In other words, he argues that it is an unacknowledged aim, within the most influential parts of cultural analysis, to defend, reinforce and strengthen the elite position of the researcher. The growing gap between the esotericism of some cultural analysts and the essentialism of people in the street is, in his view, a way of struggling for illegitimate power and hierarchy. In a similar vein, the anthropologist Bruce Kapferer (1999), building on Arrighi (1996) and Jameson (1998), has argued that the change in the analytical conception of culture can be seen as a reflection of the divorce between production and finance capital and the accelerating abstraction of the latter.

I think Friedman and Kapferer make two important points when they call attention to the material conditions for building scholarly knowledge and to the existence of hegemonies within academic life. But I disagree with the economic determinism that I discern in their analysis. The structured location of scholars, in terms of social class, no doubt influences the questions we ask, the kind of material we work with and how we analyze our material (Gadamer 1975, Haraway 1991, Skjervheim 1976). But the relations between political economy and cultural patterns cannot be reduced to reflections. Cultural patterns, including cultural analysis, have many reasons and mediations, which need to be carefully teased

out. And like most other social actors, scholars cannot be regarded as mere marionettes.

Why scholarly knowledge needs to be situated in its social relations of production

I also disagree with the view that the connections between the (upper middle class cosmopolitan) class position of scholars and specific cultural theories necessarily discredit the theories. *All* theories are located in some way. The location of a piece of knowledge implies theoretical positioning, cultural preconceptions, as well as biographical experiences. Every location simultaneously implies blind spots for some issues, as well as a position or a set of positions from which it is hopefully possible to see other issues particularly clearly.³ Knowing the connections between a specific location and a specific theory should therefore not lead us to discard the theory, but rather to qualify its interpretation and use.

Mediated by their structured positioning, social change has influenced many scholars to turn to notions such as 'creolization', 'cosmopolitanism', 'movement', 'syncretism', 'metissage', 'hybridity' and 'diversity'. Sometimes, analyses building on these and similar concepts seem to be both normative and descriptive in a confusing way. Then, 'hybridity' wrongly becomes not only an analytic term, but also a normative ideal. Nevertheless, used as

³ Elsewhere (Gullestad 2002, chapter 4) I have argued that there seems to be some intriguing parallels between the cosmopolitan ways of life of some cultural analysts, on the one hand, and the ways of life of migrants and refugees, on the other. To put it bluntly: In contrast to quite a few people in the street who attempt to defend their communities by protecting them from what they see as strangers, quite a few cultural analysts are alienated from their local neighborhoods, and identify with the person in exile. These parallels may partly explain the current theoretical interest in 'migration' and 'hybridity', as well as the moral force of these theoretical ideas.

analytical tools, these theoretical concepts not only mirror experiences, they are also serious and valuable attempts at grasping what goes on.

The feminist Donna Haraway (1991) has defined objectivity in a new and useful way when she states that any piece of research has to be reflexively 'situated' in order to be objective. Knowledge is situated, and thus objective, when the researcher understands that it is partial, and that this partiality is connected to the contexts in which it is produced. Her main point is to stress the importance of acknowledging that there are particular points of view, and that they influence the results. I regard this kind of objectivity as one central part of the basis for legitimate authority.

The need to situate every piece of knowledge makes visible the inevitable ethical and political nature of social and cultural studies. To put it bluntly, it is impossible for a researcher not to be part of the problem she is studying, as it were. In the social sciences, the scholar is never a neutral observer, but always also a participant (Skjervheim 1976). Every scholarly interpretation is provisional, open to challenge, and can never transcend its own historical contextuality. For this reason we, as scholars, continuously need to develop reflexive and critical distance to current political and ideological truths, as well as ways of discussing ethical and political issues explicitly and publicly. In order to correct biases and to minimize the inevitable blind spots, we also need to cultivate and ameliorate what I call a *multiperspectival approach*. Since no point of view (that is, no location in national and global class structures) is privileged, as many points of view as possible need to be taken into account in every research project.

Research 'from below' does not only come from below

In order to spell out the multiperspectival approach, I first need say a few words about how I define qualitative research. In my view, the value of qualitative research is to make possible new

discoveries, by tracing connections across different social fields and subsystems that are normally separated by bureaucratic or disciplinary divisions. The tendency has been to focus on various kinds of marginalized groups in order 'to give them a voice.' This kind of experience-near qualitative research can offer a critical perspective on relations of power. I am thinking of forms of knowledge which examine what the world looks like from the point of view of the so-called ordinary man or woman. Often, this implies to demonstrate the rationality of activities and forms of knowledge that when they are seen from 'above' or from 'the outside' seem to be incompetent or ineffective. The difference is often one between a limited technological or economic perspective, on the one hand, and a broader social and cultural perspective, on the other. The everyday knowledge of marginalized people is often regarded as old-fashioned, irrational or simply immoral within hegemonic ideologies.

Because of her education and position, the scholar is part of the cultural elite – in a broad sense of that term. During fieldwork, she actively learns about other people's ways of life. But both the way she enters the relations of fieldwork and what she learns are informed by theoretical ideas coming from outside these networks, and the knowledge she produces is meant to be communicated outside the networks of people who have contributed the empirical material. Producing knowledge 'from below' thus inherently presupposes knowledge about specific people and their fields of action, scientific theories, as well as the practices of the various people and institutions who are supposed to use the results. This means that *knowledge from below does not only come from below*. The production of knowledge takes place both from the 'inside' and from the 'outside', in other words, from several perspectives at once. Building this knowledge, and communicating it to various audiences, thus implies a complex, contradictory and multi-perspectival process.

During fieldwork, the researcher attempts to understand what goes on from 'the inside' and by means of analytic writing she communicates what she has learned 'out' or 'up' to colleagues and

to the cultural and political elite. Often, she communicates in different genres to reach her various audiences. To analyze is normally to contextualize: The scholar examines the material conditions under which people live, the values they attempt to realize, as well as the justifications they present for their actions. As a method, this can be called a form of *descriptive cultural relativism*. One suspends judgment until one knows more about the life worlds of the acting subjects. This kind of knowledge is crucial if one wants to contribute to social change. In order to be able to inspire a change in specific patterns of action, one needs to know the reasons for and social meanings of these patterns.

Nevertheless, it is a problem if the relativism becomes normative; implying that everything that comes from 'below' is worth defending and celebrating. In these cases, the research easily appears as nostalgic and romantic, covering up conflicts and 'internal' oppression and exploitation. The social role, extending from this scholarly position, is the scholar defending 'her people.' For example, much research on local communities in Norway, from the 1970s and until today, has insufficiently dealt with internal conflicts, by placing most lines of conflict between the specific local community and 'the center.'⁴ The recent debates in the Norwegian mass media about the so-called integration of immigrants have reinforced the dilemmas stemming from this practice. Some anthropologists and journalists accuse other anthropologists of lying, because, it is argued, they have been silent about internal problems in the social circles of (especially Muslim) immigrants. It is a fact that much anthropological research still builds on outdated structural functionalism, with a tendency to emphasize external boundaries and play down internal divisions and external connections. At the same time the accusations do not take into account the need to consider the context of communication when disseminating results. The structurally unequal power relations between the majority and the historically new minorities are such

⁴ Politically and theoretically this approach has been based on ideological nationalism and social science structural functionalism.

that a focus on problems in specific minority families almost inevitably leads to the stigmatization of whole categories of people. There is, thus, a need to frame research projects in such ways that the reinforcement of stereotyping is avoided.

The importance of the theoretical framing of a research project

The building of knowledge is always influenced not only by the people whose practices are examined, but also by its (implicitly or explicitly) intended recipient(s) (Altern & Høltedahl 1995; Høltedahl 1998). But who is the intended recipient? The international colleagues? The government? Specific categories of practitioners and decision-makers? The people whose lives are examined? The general public? The dissemination of research to these very different audiences involves more than just a change of rhetoric in order to fit into a new social environment. Such a model of the dissemination of research wrongly implies that the analysis remains the same; it is only its linguistic packaging that changes. On the contrary, the possibilities for successful dissemination are already implied in the way the study is framed and carried out. Each research project has one or more implied 'imagined' or 'imminent' readers.

It is a real challenge to develop ways of building knowledge that 'a priori' neither romanticizes nor demonizes the people studied. More than ever, we need scholarly perspectives that make visible the marginalizing strategies implied in hegemonic patterns of thought, in order to mobilize resources and point to alternative social and political strategies. This necessarily involves, first, to study not only the ways of life of marginalized people, but also the dynamic interrelations among people involved in different fields of knowledge, and how some forms of knowledge become hegemonic and expand at the expense of others. Elite social circles influence the selection of the fields of knowledge from every day life that

become formalized and reshaped into formally sanctioned disciplines and educational programs. Every selection has the consequence that other fields of knowledge are marginalized. Knowledge is power, and above all the power to influence what is regarded as knowledge, and to make these definitions appear as self-evident.

Second, we need to resist any unreflected tendency to celebrate, protect and conserve common sense knowledge 'from below.' People are not always sensible, not least because they apply hegemonic frames of interpretation that seem self-explanatory and self-evident. Social and geographic mobility and formal education do not only take one away from established ways of life, they also lead people into new ones. In my book, 'Everyday Life Philosophers' (Gullestad 1996a), this was the case for Einar who struggled hard to be able to leave his community of birth. The fiction he read at school taught him about other life worlds than his own, and this knowledge was liberating.

Third, in the light of the new conceptualizations of culture outlined above, it is no longer analytically adequate to see social classes, local communities, ethnic groups, nations or transnational social fields as units with common values and aims. It is therefore necessary to get a better grasp of power relations connected to specific constructions of gender, ethnicity, race and social class. But it is also not adequate just to look at each individual in isolation. The aim must be to pay close attention to the real or imaginary collectivities that each person actually identifies with.

Fourth, one cannot assume that all relevant social arenas are local, regional or national. Fieldwork always 'takes place,' but not necessarily within one specific locality. The globalizing processes of the world economy, together with the growing division between production capital and investment capital, lead to both new translocal fields of varying scale, and to the restructuring of local communities. According to Zygmunt Bauman (1998) the ability to move freely is the most important sign of inequality in the world today. For some people, the local community has become a prison, while others live in diasporas spanning several continents. The

framing of each research project needs to take this mobility, or lack of it, into account as well as the fact that many people live by ideas partly formulated elsewhere, and that their lives may be affected by decisions taken in far away fora.

These four points can be summed up in a need to reframe the typical qualitative study. Traditional studies of this or that marginalized group tend to construct the object of study in a way that ultimately reinforces a limited understanding of the problem and reinforce stereotypes. Instead, we need analytical frameworks spanning both ethnic groups and social fields of varying scale.

Relations in the field: Providing feedback and discussing preliminary findings

For anthropologists and qualitative sociologists the making of ethnographic discoveries is most typically secured through participant observation (or observing participation) during fieldwork, working with relatively few people in order to cover many aspects of social life over time. Elsewhere, I have argued that it is also possible to work ethnographically in other ways, in particular by using autobiographical texts (Gullestad 1996a, b). But I do not think that formal interviews alone permit new ethnographic discoveries of the kind outlined above. Formal interviews may be an important part of a repertoire of methods, but they generally do not allow the researcher to discover and pursue studying what is important to the people she works with. The researcher who reduces fieldwork to formal interviews is often filing information into pre-formulated categories, and risks learning very little. For example, what an outsider may perceive as 'just chatting' may contain valuable information about material conditions and organizing value concepts. My second book is a monograph based on what people, who do not know any better, might call 'just chatting', 'confidences' and sometimes 'gossip' (Gullestad 1984/2002).

In order to illustrate this point, let me repeat an anecdote from the appendix about method in William Foote Whyte's famous book 'Street Corner Society' (1943). There, Whyte's main conversation partner in the field, Doc, tells Whyte that he asks too many questions. Instead he is advised to just hang out. By just hanging out, Doc argued, Whyte would get new answers to questions that he had never even imagined asking. The anecdote illustrates that to do fieldwork is to make new discoveries across social situations and subsystems over time, and to develop experience near analytical categories while still in the field. Accordingly, after some time in the field, many fieldworkers have experienced that they needed to change their planned analytic focus (Okely 1997).

The scholar is a student – a novice – during fieldwork. This means that she has little legitimate scholarly authority *in that context*. Her social position outside the fieldwork relations may, of course, influence the roles she can take during fieldwork, but basically she is not only a 'professional stranger', but, in many cases, also a *helpless stranger* in relation to the people she works with. This is the way it should be. If she wants too much to be in control, she will learn very little. The people she works with, on their part, can be seen as the ones who are *competent in the everyday knowledge of these particular social environments*. Often, the researcher is the one in need, in relation to her conversation partners. She may be far from home, and because of this she perhaps becomes emotionally dependent on some people. She does not possess as much knowledge as they do about how to cope with their particular circumstances, and some of their practices might seem scary or just strange. Thus, the research process is not only an intervention in the lives of the people she works with, it may also be a life-changing experience in her own life. To many anthropologists and qualitative sociologists, doing fieldwork is an experience of profound existential importance. For me, this has certainly been the case.

However, the personal and existential aspects of qualitative fieldwork are generally difficult to conceptualize and acknowledge. There is a crucial tension, between the nature of these experiences

and common sense ideas, concerning what it means to be professional. For many scholars, their self-respect, dignity and academic recognition are tied to the instrumental aspects, not to the personal aspects of social relations. The ideal is to be in control and keep one's distance and not be involved in relations of dependence. Established notions of professionalism, thus, work against intellectual honesty and academic precision concerning how the data were produced within specific social relations. To talk about the personal aspects of fieldwork is sometimes dismissed as 'confessions.' Such ideas and their accompanying practices now need to be reconfigured. Doing fieldwork is not only to participate and observe, but also to engage in personal social relations, involving an exchange of ideas and a mutual learning process.

Like the scholar, people in the field generally work hard in order to make sense of what goes on around them. This fact can be used more systematically in social research by extending the exchange of ideas with the conversation partners to include the period of writing up the material and making the analysis. Formerly the logistics of transportation often imposed a break between data production and analysis, especially in anthropology. New communication technologies, as well as more anthropological research 'at home,' now make this break less necessary. A systematic use of dialogue with the conversation partners in the analytical stages of the research process can potentially strengthen the interpretations and secure that the people involved can make use of the resulting knowledge (Holtedahl 1998).

However, providing feedback and listening carefully to the responses to this feed-back does not necessarily imply to relinquish authority over the resulting texts. In the writing process the researcher commands final authority, and I see this as valuable and legitimate. The concept of authority is actually etymologically connected to being an author. I define legitimate authority in the writing process as forms of authority that are based both on the ability to situate the knowledge produced in Donna Haraway's (1991) sense, and on the number and quality of the perspectives

brought to the material. Over the last 30 years, many anthropologists have experimented concerning how to represent the 'multiple voices' of fieldwork in their textual production. Co-authorship is a solution chosen by some. But also in these cases the writing and editing scholar has the final authority, and I see no reason to deplore this fact.

My point of view is not based on a sharp dichotomy between data and theory, implying that the conversation partners only contribute data. I see continuity and no sharp break between everyday life reflections and social science theory. The legitimate authority of the writing author(s) is based on the embeddedness of the scholar in social relations and on the multiperspectival nature of the research process. 'Objective truth' is a matter of *combining* and evaluating strategically different points of view. Legitimate scholarly authority in the writing process is *both embedded in and enabled by dialogic social relations*. Scholarly authority is closely related to scholarly autonomy, and is embedded in dialogic relations – to people in the field, to colleagues, to governments and NGOs, and to the general public. Ideally, legitimate scholarly authority implies the ability to balance all the relations against each other in a way that always takes differences of power and resources duly into account.

Disseminating the results to a wider public: The scholar as a public intellectual

When a scholar disseminates the results to wider audiences, she might be called a public intellectual. But what is the role of the intellectual in the twenty first century? There are many arguments against seeing present-day scholars as public intellectuals. Scientific knowledge has become narrow expertise. Scholars are often (more or less) well-fed employees, and not 'free intellectuals.' This implies that the loyalty to those who pay for the research or to those who award academic merit may be higher than the loyalty to

those whose lives are examined and to the deliberations of civil society. The number of scientists is overwhelming, scholarly knowledge has become specialized expertise, and scholars often disagree profoundly among themselves. The historical record of the role of both scholars and novelists in twentieth century Europe is disturbing (in Norway, the famous novelist Knut Hamsun's support of Nazism is a prime example). Many people now think that scholars have lost the self-proclaimed authority to appeal to universal values. The role of the scholar as public intellectual is thus the focus of intense discussion and redefinition.

Zygmunt Bauman (1993: 90) is among those who have argued that the role of the 'free-floating intellectual', in Mannheim's (1968) sense, is no longer possible. In other words, Emile Zola's self assured intervention in the famous Dreyfus case could not be repeated today. Pierre Bourdieu (1993: 29) was also skeptical about the traditional figure of the intellectual, and suggested a more modest role as a *fonctionnaire de l'humanité*. Apparently inspired by Levinas, Lyotard (1993: 29) has located the moral authority of writing in a duty or a debt to an unknown Other ('...d'un Autre, dont on ne sait pas ce qu'il demande, ni même s'il demande quelque chose...'). This is a suggestive formulation, but it does not lead us very far in terms of pragmatics.

Michel Foucault, on his part, made a useful distinction between the 'universal intellectual' and 'the specific intellectual'. The first belongs to the past, while the second is somebody who makes her specialized knowledge politically operative. To this last conceptualization I would add elements of Antonio Gramsci's (1971) ideas about 'the organic intellectual' and the hegemony of common sense. According to Gramsci, each class has its own organic intellectuals who play a role in social movements by transcending their class to build alliances. There is some resemblance between this notion and the idea of an experience-near multiperspectivism that I advance in this article. I am, however, not primarily interested in Gramsci's reified notion of social classes, but in the stress on communication across social groups. For Gramsci 'culture' is the contested terrain of struggles for hegemony within

civil society, and 'hegemony' is ideology that has become self-evident and embedded in everyday practice. Struggles for hegemony are struggles about what counts as knowledge.

Add to this Zygmunt Bauman's (1987) suggestion that present-day society needs intellectuals who act as *interpreters* between people with different ideas and values, more than as legislators and judges of what is supposed to be universally right. Political struggles are very much struggles about ideas and organizing value concepts. Cultural analysts can contribute to the public deliberations of civil society by translating between ways of life, and by providing more informed accounts of what goes on than the sensationalizing accounts offered by the mass media. It is a question of translating between spheres that do not easily lend themselves to translation, and thus to inspire the general public to reflect and think in a multiperspectival way. This can be regarded as a form of cultural criticism, grounded in dialogue as a regulative ideal. Borrowing Michael Walzer's (1988) term, cultural criticism has to be *connected* in order to be effective. In other words, from multiperspectival dialogical connectedness, the public intellectual can draw the legitimate authority to speak.

Still, to act as a public intellectual is no simple matter, due to the social changes sketched out in the introduction to this article. The scholar can no longer expect to be listened to respectfully. The results of scholarly work are not accepted as 'the truth', but are used as resources in further deliberations. There is, thus, a change from finished product to resource in the popular reception of scholarship, and a reduction in the status of scholars. On the one hand, if we cherish democracy, it should be a source of joy, and not just a sad fact, that scholarly knowledge is subordinated to public deliberations. On the other hand, the commercial aggressiveness of the mass media does not facilitate dialogical deliberation in civil society, in Jürgen Habermas' (1994) sense. Some aspects of what goes on invite openness and new forms of dialogue with the people about whom the research is made, as well as with the general public, other aspects invite resistance, withdrawal, closure and the protection of what is left of scholarly autonomy.

The scholarly fall from grace therefore leads to various reactions: In order to defend themselves, some scholars choose to maintain established authoritarian research practices instead of reconfiguring scholarly authority. Others renew their repertoire of power strategies. The gap between present-day cultural studies and everyday knowledge can partly be interpreted as result of new strategies to keep up the traditional asymmetry in a new situation where this asymmetry is less self-evident and legitimate. Other scholars again try to ride on the new waves by supporting populist resentment instead of analyzing it, or by adapting to the expanding practices of the market. For example, academic institution building is sometimes reduced to brand-building, and the dissemination of research outside the research community is sometimes reduced to PR stunts in relation to ministries and other 'users' – and funders – of research projects. I therefore want to emphasize, as strongly as I can, the distinction between commercial advertisement and a true dialogue as a regulative ideal in the communication between a research institution and its social environment. One kind of activity encourages presenting a nice and harmonizing picture of the research institution; the other encourages a intellectually more productive focus on dilemmas and unresolved problems. This distinction can be difficult to draw in practice, but all the more important to keep alive in principle.

The concept of 'dignity' is a key notion in the experience-near and multiperspectival approach that I have tried to sketch out. I tie this concept to the aim of strengthening both the dialogic practices of fieldwork and writing, and the deliberations in civil society. According to Alain Touraine (1988), social movements are characterized by dialogue, because even adversaries in the fight for power share some common aims. Anti-movements, on the other hand, break down civil society because they are characterized by isolationism and the primary aim of building one's own identity rather than by the will to develop a dialogue. To engage in dialogue is to treat one's adversaries with dignity, to talk *with* them, not against them, and to attempt to *convince* them, not persuade them. In addition to the dignity of the people we work with, it is

due time that we also start talking explicitly (and not only implicitly) about the dignity of the scholar. The dignity of the scholar is closely tied to the social recognition of his or her legitimate scholarly authority and autonomy.

Closing note

The discussion in this article is meant to contribute to every scholar's ability to make his or her own sound judgments in fieldwork and writing. To do social research is usually to build knowledge about some people for some others, be they the scientific community, the ministry, transnational NGOs or the World Bank. I have argued that such addressees are implicit in the framing of the building of knowledge, as imagined readers. To this complexity I have added the need to situate the research, the value of dialogic feedback to the people whose lives are examined, as well as the democratic value of disseminating the results to the general public. In fieldwork, the multiperspectival approach involves balancing off to talk *about*, to talk *on behalf of*, to talk *to*, and now increasingly to talk *with* the people whose lives are examined.

On the one hand, the aim of knowledge for knowledge's own sake may cover other unacknowledged aims and effects. On the other hand, explicitly stated political aims (for example to serve oppressed people) may be glaringly contradicted by the way the research is conducted. Every piece of knowledge thus needs to be situated by means of a systematic reflection over what gives the analyst the authority to speak, whose problems are analyzed, and for whom the research is useful and in what ways. Once these ethical and political aspects of scholarship are brought into the foreground, they can be publicly argued, defended, defeated and ameliorated in explicit and critical deliberations. I do not cherish public disagreement among scholars, but I accept it as a necessary fact. I even want to argue that once some scholars have entered the

public realm with analyses and points of view that other scholars find wrong, based on the best of their knowledge, it is a professional duty for these scholars also to enter the public realm to argue against their colleagues. It is important not to strive for consensus too early, before differences are thoroughly spelled out and debated.⁵

One of the most pressing political problems in plural societies today is to develop a shared commitment to democracy in terms of agreement on some fundamental rights and procedures, without enforcing cultural homogeneity on minority groups. As people feel insecure by having to 'create themselves', they seek out and cultivate cultural traditions. In my work over the last five years on the immigration debates in Norway, I have demonstrated that in processes of identification the tensions between descent and consent has shifted in favor of descent, and I have shown how this is a basis for the revitalized majority nationalism and racialization (the categorization of people on the basis of characteristics that are assumed to be innate) (Gullestad 2001; 2002abc; 2003a,b; 2004; in press). Nevertheless, the aim of scholarship can never be to deny people identities and 'cultural belonging', but rather to contribute to make identities more reflected; to achieve a balance between romantic self-expression and enlightened critique; and to reconcile identity formation and the development of a political culture in which difference, disagreement and contestation can be played out in constructive ways. The regulative ideal should be to theorize and practice the research process as a way of building on the knowledge people already have, on reframing people's knowledge, and thus as an addition to their present knowledge, not as a subtraction or a demasking (Gullestad 1996a: 33–47).

I started this article by telling a story about some Norwegian anthropologists who fear that they will lose authority if the so-called informants are no longer called informants, but are treated more equally as partners in the building of knowledge. I have

⁵ This comment is premised upon to the political culture in Scandinavia, where there is a strong emphasis on consensus.

attempted to demonstrate that there are some very real dilemmas involved in giving up established sources of power in order to obtain both deeper insights and new forms of legitimate scholarly authority. These dilemmas cannot be solved in the abstract. They can only be solved in *lived and reflexive practice*. We need to reflect more on which aspects of scholarship function to maintain and develop which aspects of our own power positions as academic elites. We also need to know more about the power structures preventing critical reflection among the people we work with as well as among the various other categories of people who make use of our research. I have argued that the legitimate authority of scholarly writing is not grounded in positions, but in the quality of the relations between the scholar and his/her many interaction partners: the persons whose lives are analyzed, funding agencies, colleagues, and the mass media. Contrary to what one might believe, experience-near and multiperspectival research based on dialogue does not necessarily inhibit the realization of values such as autonomy and authority, but can enable them.

Acknowledgment

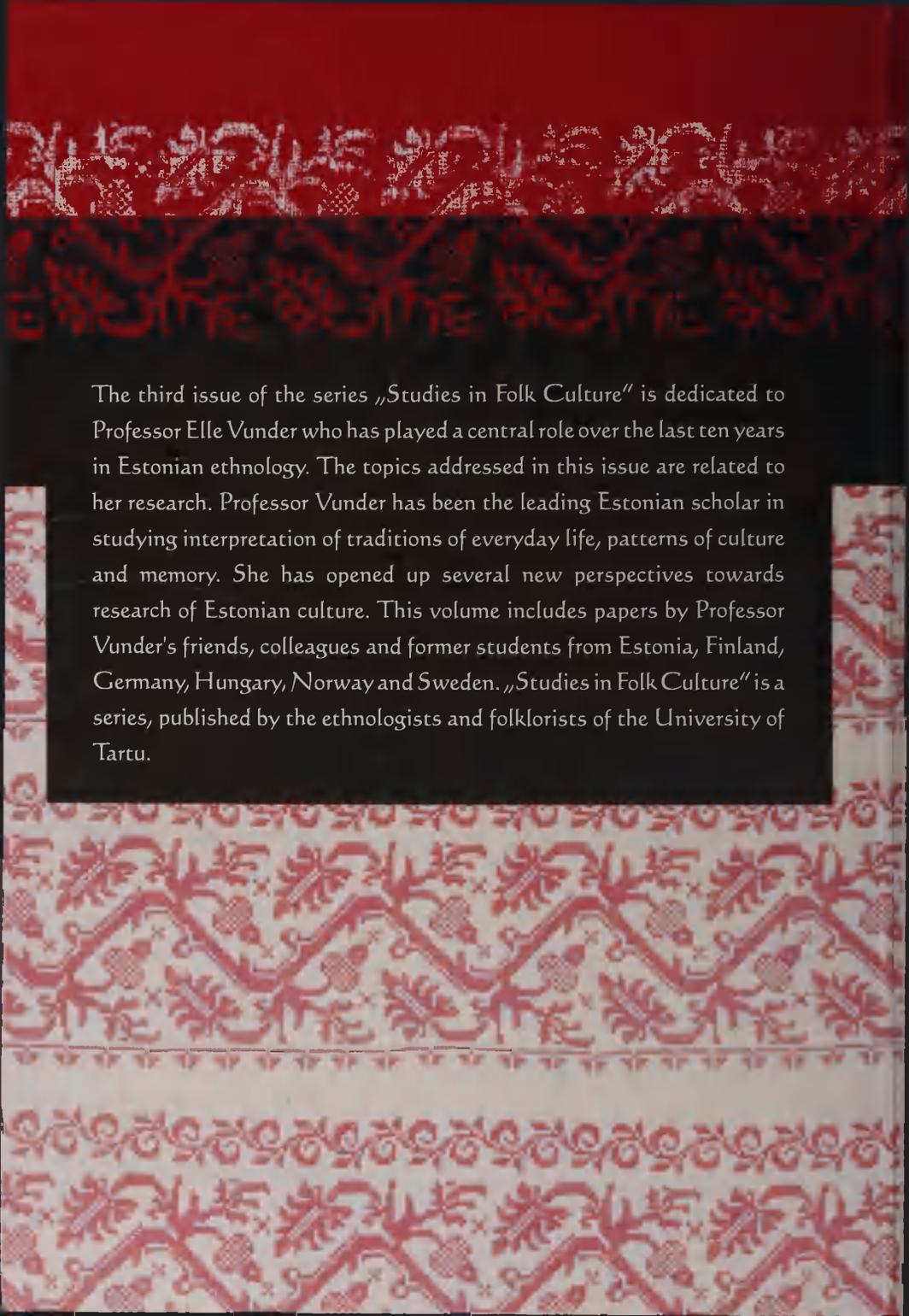
Earlier versions of this paper were presented at a conference on the production of scholarly knowledge at the University of Ngaoundéré, Cameroon, 26.–27. November 1999, and as a key-note lecture at the conference 'The meeting between researcher and the field – methodological and ethical issues in qualitative studies.' The Danish National Institute of Social Research. Copenhagen December 9th–10th 2002.

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