

# **PRO ETHNOLOGIA I**

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## Eessõna

Eesti Rahva Muuseumi uue sariväljaande mõte tekkis sellest, et oleme aastaid kirjastanud oma konverentsi ettekannete teese. Need on mõnes mõttes jäänud ühekordseteks ettevõtmisteks, mida tuleb aina uuesti alustada. Praegu leiame, et kindlam raamistus tuleks kasuks ja annaks võimaluse üllitada muidki lühiuurimusi ja -kirjutisi.

Võib-olla peamine väljaande loomise põhjus on etnoloogiaajakirja või muu sarnase trükise puudumine Eestis. "Pro Ethnologia" ei asenda ajakirja väga mitmel põhjusel, küll saab ta luua aluse edasiseks tegevuseks selles suunas. Eesti etnoloogia, nii kitsamas, traditsiooniliselt 'etnograafia' nime all tuntud mõistes kui avaramas, 'cultural/social anthropology' tähenduses, pakub piisavalt probleeme, mis vääriks arutamist. Leiame, et just probleemide püstitamist vajab Eesti etnoloogia praegu kõige rohkem.

Teise tähtsa asjaoluna tõdeme vajadust muutuda avatumaks - on suur vahe, kas kirjutada mõnekümnele rohkem või vähem tuttavale kolleegile kodumaal või leidub võimalikke lugejaid ka mujal maailmas. Sellest nimi "Pro Ethnologia" ning tekstide avaldamine reeglina kahes - eesti ja inglise - keeles.

Käesolev esimene vihik on mõneti juhusliku sisuga, sest koondab muuseumi 35. teaduskonverentsi ettekannete teesid või lühikokkuvõtted. Teisipidi on see esinduslik valik, sest annab läbilõike muuseumi uurijate praegustest töödest ja tasemest.

15. märtsil 1993

Heiki Pärdi

## Preface

The idea of the new series of the Estonian National Museum arose from the tradition to publish the abstracts of our conferences annually. To a certain extent it was connected with single actions that had to be started anew every year. We now consider it necessary to give a firmer frame to this work. It would enable us to publish other short researches and surveys as well.

One of the major reasons for initiating their kind of publication is the fact that no periodical of ethnology exists in Estonia at present. "Pro Ethnologia" cannot replace a journal for a number of reasons; however, it can create a basis for further activities in this direction. There are enough problems to be discussed in Estonian ethnology both in the strict traditional strict sense of "ethnography" and in the broader meaning of "cultural/social anthropology". We are of the opinion that first and foremost Estonian ethnology needs the setting of new problems.

Another major argument is the necessity to open up for the world - it makes a great difference whether to write for some twenty or thirty more or less familiar colleagues or for possible readers abroad. Hence the name "Pro Ethnologia" and texts both in Estonian and English as a rule.

The contents of the present issue are somewhat heterogeneous as they comprise the abstracts or summaries of the 35th conference of our museum. On the other hand, they represent a selection of current problems our researchers deal with and demonstrate the level of their work.

March 15, 1993

Heiki Pärdis

# EESTI TÄNAPÄEVAKULTUURI VISUAALSE DOKUMENTEERIMISE KAVAST

Henn Heinsoo

1. Kava eesmärk on seire põhimõttel jäädvustada filmil esinduslikkuse alusel valitud kooskondades inimeste ja inimgruppide suhteid ning käitumistavasid - igapäevaelu, elukeskkonda ja muud, mis annab ülevaate hetke kultuurisituatsioonist. Selliseid visuaalseid dokumenteerimisi korratakse iga viie aasta järel vähemalt ühe inimpõlve vältel. Nii on kavas luua kultuuriuurijatele, sotsioloogidele ja teistele ühiskonnateadlastele põhjalik visuaalse informatsiooni kogu Eesti kultuuri uurimiseks.

2. Käesolev töö on esimene etapp pikemaajalisest ja laiaulatuslikust Eesti ühiskonna igapäevaelu dokumenteerimisest ja uurimisest kavast. Selline dokumenteerimine viiakse läbi Eesti 15 erinevas kooskonnas, mis kokku peavad andma ülevaate fikseeritud perioodi kultuurisituatsioonist. Visuaalse dokumenteerimisega kaasnevad muud uurimused, mida teevad vastavate erialade spetsialistid. Selle töö põhirõhk on visuaalsel dokumenteerimisel ja töö on teostatav ka iseseisvalt, sest sellega kaasneb võtete jaoks teabe kogumine, materjali põhjalik legerimine ja vajadusel paralleeluurimustele viitamine.

3. Oleme veendunud, et inimeste kultuuriarusaamad väljenduvad kõige ilmekamalt just igapäevastes tegemistes, oma keskkonna kujundamises, suhetes lähedastega, tutvusringkonnas ja avalikus elus osalemises. Seega eristame kolme erinevat dokumenteeritavate suhete ringi:

- intiimne e. peresisene,
- makrokollektiivne, s.o. töökaaslased, tutvus-/sõpruskond,
- ühiskondlik e. avalik elu.

Just sellepärast püüame filmida inimesi nende igapäevaelus - kuidas nad riietuvad, söövad, suhtlevad eri tasanditel, kuidas nad oma eluruumi korraldavad jne., s.t. püüame panna inimesed tegutsema ja siis seda dokumenteerida.

4. Tänapäeva kultuurile on omane vähenenud tähenduslikkus. Suurem osa toiminguid ja suhteid on isegi kontekstis raskesti mõistetavad. Filmis toimub kõik taustsüsteemis ehk kontekstis. Taustsüsteemid muutuvad inimestest ja asjadest kiiremini ning võivad muuta asjade ning tegevuste-toimingute tähendust tundma-

tuseni. Kultuurist terviklikuma ettekujutuse saamiseks on tarvis vaadelda nähtusi nende toimumise keskkonnas. Tavameetoditega on see raskendatud, sest igapäevaelu meie ümber on nii tavaline, et möödub märkamatuks. Paljude nähtuste mõistmiseks on vaja neist ajaliselt eemalduda (päevadest aastakümneteni) ja/või neid võrrelda varasemate/hilisemate analoogidega. Sellise võimaluse annab sündmuste jäädvustamine filmis, kus aeg "liigub" koos pisimategi detailidega täpselt nii nagu filmimise hetkel. Sündmus on filmi abil korduvalt vaadeldav. Selliste filmidokumentide perioodiline, plaanipärane kogumine annab head võimalused kultuuri olemuse ja arengu seaduspärasuste mõistmiseks.

5. Eesti sobib taolise visuaalse monitooringu läbiviimiseks järgnevail põhjusil: 1) väike territoorium ja rahvaarv, geograafiline ja kliimaatiline mitmekesisus, suhteliselt arenenud infrastruktuur ja kompaktsusest tingitud kõrge isereguleerivuse kiirus; 2) Eesti asub Ida ja Lääne mõjude piiril ning on sajandeid olnud võõrvõimu all; 3) piirkonniti elab siin teisi etnilisi gruppe ja lokaalsetes gruppides on palju hilismigrante; 4) 1940. a. lõhus NSV Liit meie tsiviilühiskonna ja asendas selle totaalise riigiga. Segipaisatud suhted ja pealesunnitud sündmused (sõda, sundväljaränne, kollektiviseerimine jne.) on kahe inimpõlve jooksul loonud uusi traditsioone ja tekitanud vastuolusid. Praegu toimub tagasimine isereguleeruva ühiskonna arenguteele. Nende muutuste jälgimine võib anda huvitavaid teadmisi kultuuri kohta.

6. Töö koosneb neljast etapist:

I Dokumenteerimisele kuuluvate kooskondade valik, eelinformatsiooni kogumine ja uurijatega kokkulepete sõlmimine valitud kooskondades etnosotsioloogiliste uurimuste läbiviimiseks.

II Filmivõtted kooskondades koos lisateabe kogumisega. Vaadeldakse erinevaid tunnuslikke suhtlustoiminguid, dokumenteeritakse erinevate kultuurisuunitlustega üksikisikute ja gruppide (pere, talu, majandusühistu, kool jt.) tegevust ühe päeva või pikema perioodi vältel. Püütakse tabada suhtlusvõrgustikke ja tegelikke interaktsioone.

III Võttematerjali kirjeldamine ja legendeerimine, uurijatele kasutuskooptate valmistamine. Originaalmaterjal süstematiseeritakse ja see läheb arhiivi säilitamisele. Originaal-



materjali kasutatakse äärmisel juhul uute koopiade valmistamiseks.

IV Dokumenteerimistsükli lõppemisel koostatakse ülevaatematerjal (videomontaaž), mis on kasutatav õppetöös. Tagasiside eesmärgil näidatakse seda filmi ka dokumenteeritud kooskonnas.

Võttematerjali põhjal saab luua eesti rahva igapäevaelu tutvustavaid ja eriotstarbelisi filme.

#### ON THE PROJECT OF VISUAL DOCUMENTATION OF MODERN ESTONIAN CULTURE

Henn Heinsoo

1. The aim of the project is monitorially to record on a film strip relations and manners between peoples and groups of people in selected representative communities, everyday life of these communities, their environment and other things that can give an overview of the cultural situation at a given period of time. Visual documentation of this kind will be carried out every five years in the course of at least one generation. We are going to lay the foundation for a meticulously compiled collection of visual information to be used by researches, sociologists and other scientists interested in studying Estonian culture.

2. The present undertaking is the first stage of a long-term and large-scale project including the investigation and documentation of everyday life in Estonian society. The documentation will be carried out in the 15 different Estonian communities, and the final result if this work will give us an overview of the cultural situation of the period under study. Visual documentation entails other research which will be done by specialists in the respective fields. The main emphasis in the present work lies in visual documentation and this can be carried out independently as it involves gathering information about pictures to be shot, providing the material with detailed legends and, in case of need, referring to parallel studies.

3. We can be convinced that people's notions of culture are most graphically expressed in their everyday activities, in the way

they shape their environment, in their relations with their close friends, acquaintances and in their participation in public life. Hence we distinguish between three different relations to be documented:

- in an intimate or family circle,
- in a macrocollective, i.e. workmates, acquaintances, friends,
- in social/public life.

And this is why we try take of people performing their everyday actions - we record this ways they dress, have their meals, associate with other people at different social levels, how they arrange their living space and environment, etc, etc... Our aim is to let people carry out their activities in the usual way and record these just as they naturally are done.

4. Modern culture is characterised by blurred and diminished meaning. Most activities and relationships are difficult to understand even in a context. In films all actions take place in a background system or context. But background system change faster than do things and people and they can distort the meaning of things and actions beyond recognition. In order to get a more integral picture of a culture it is necessary to observe phenomena in the environment in which they occur. This is difficult when we employ the usual methods because everyday life around us is so common to us, and passes unnoticeably. To understand several phenomena, we need to distance ourselves from them in time (in days or decades) and/or to compare those phenomena with earlier/late analogues. We get such an opportunity by recording events on film strips in which case time 'moves' together with the minutest details, exactly as it did at the moment of shooting the film. With the help of a film recording it is possible to view an event repeatedly. Making periodical use of such film documents gives us good opportunities for comprehending the essence and regular development of culture.

5. Estonia is well suited for such a visual monitoring, the reasons being:

1) a small territory, small population, geographic and climatic variety, a comparatively well developed infrastructure and a high-speed self-regulation;

2) Estonia lies on the borderlands of eastern and western influences and has for centuries been subjected to foreign influences;

3) in places Estonia is inhabited by ethnic groups and there are local groups containing recent immigrants;

4) in 1940, the Soviet Union destroyed our civilised society and replaced it with a totalitarian state. All the topsy-turvy relations and events forced upon the inhabitants (war, deportation, collectivisation, etc.) have in the course of two generations created new traditions and contradictions. At present we are returning to the course of development typical of a self-regulating society. Observing the changes that are taking place during this process may give us a lot of information about our culture.

6. The work is divided into four stages:

I. Selection of communities whose actions and activities are to be documented, collecting preliminary information and concluding contracts with researches for conducting ethno-sociological studies in the communities singled out for the purpose.

II. Shooting of films in these communities with simultaneous gathering of additional information. Observation of various cases of characteristic social intercourse, documentation of different cultural events organised by single persons and groups of persons (family, farm, collective industrial undertakings, school, etc.) during a single day or during a longer period. We try to capture networks of social intercourse and actual association with fellow creatures.

III. Description of pictures taken and provision of legends, making copies available for research workers. Original material is systematised and sent to the archive for preservation. In case of need, original materials are used for making new copies.

IV. At the end of documentation a comprehensive video montage is put together for use in classes. To provide a feedback, the film is also shown to the community in which the events were recorded. On the basis of the recorded material films can be montaged to acquaint the viewers with either present everyday life of Estonians or serve some other specific purpose.

## MÕNINGAID MÕTTEID "NAISERÖÖVIST" EESTIS

Anu Järs

"Naiserööv" on naise vägivaldne äraviimine tema enese ja vanemate nõusolekuta. Sellega on tihedalt seotud "röövabielu" - naise röövimine abielu- (või sellelaadsete) sidemete loomise eesmärgil.

Evolutsionistid jõudsid ideeni "perekondlike suhete" progressiivsest arengust promiskuiteedist abieluni, kusjuures naine esialgu rööviti, hiljem osteti. "Röövabielus", mis on iseene- sest segane termin, näidates vaid hankimise viisi, nähti abielu ürgvormi. Paljusid kosja- ja pulmakombestiku elemente peeti kunagise üldise naiseröövi kombe jäänusteks ja toodi näiteid naiseröövi laia leviku kohta lähemas ajaloos.

Seda koolkonda esindab ka L. v. Schroederi 1888. a. ilmunud "Die Hochzeitsgebräuche der Esten und einiger anderer finnisch-ugrischen Völkerschaften in Vergleichung mit denen der indo-germanischen Völker" - esimene kokkuvõtlik käsitlus eesti pulmakommetest. Tähelepanuväärseima evolutsionistliku uurimusena 20. sajandi I veerandist tuleb nimetada A. Kruusbergi ülevaadet eestlaste varasematest abieluvormidest "Esiisade enneajalooline õigus I. Perekond" (1920).

Mainitud evolutsionistlikud ideed on Eestis kaua elujõulis- tena (kuigi mitte ainuvalitsevatena) püsinud. 1973. a. imunud ülevaates "Eesti pulmad" nendib Ü. Tedre, et Muinas-Eesti vara- feodaalse ühiskonna tütarlaps osteti või "tõmmati" (s.o. rööviti) naiseks. I. Soomere pühendab "Väikeses Eesti seksiraamatus" (1990) naiseröövile eraldi peatüki.

Sageli on tsiteeritud Läti Henriku kroonikat, kus kirjel- datakse, kuidas eestlased sõjaretkedel naisi ja lapsi vangi võtsid. Eriti on rõhutatud teadet 1226. aastast, kui paavsti legaat nägi saarlasid paljude vangidega Rootsist koju pöördumas. Kuid Läti Henriku esitatud faktide puhul tuleks arvesse võtta tausta - vaenuolukorda. Ning miski ei kinnita, et nende nais- tega tõepoolest abieluside loodi. Tegemist on nii või teisiti eranditega.

Järgnevail sajandeil on *tõmbamist*, nagu naiseröövi kommet nimetati, korduvalt mainitud ning selle üle palju kurdetud. Küsimus oli arutlusel 1422. a. Valga maapäeval, kus see surma

ähvardusel keelati. Sama küsimus oli päevakorral 1428. a. Riia provintsiaalsinodil. Andmeid naiseröövide kohta sisaldavad kirikuvisitatsioonide materjalid, kroonikad jne.

Siiski ei saa seda pidada normaalseks ja valdavaks naisevõtuviisiks. Naiseröövi esinemist legitiimse abielu sõlmimise vormina ajaloolisel ajal ei ole kusagil õnnestunud kindlaks teha. See on alati olnud väljaastumine kehtivate normide vastu. Selle eksisteerimine ainsa naisevõtuviisina ürgühiskonnaski on hüpoteetiline. Tuleb eristada tegelikku naiseröövi ja näilist. Tõenäoliselt oli neiu äraminek vastu tema tahtmist haruldane. Sagedasem oli "pruudirööv", mis toimus poolte kokkuleppel. Selline "rööv" võimaldas eirata teatud reegleid. Neiu võidi *tõmmata* tema nõusolekul, kui ei saadud vanemate nõusolekut. Muide, 20. sajandi algul tunti Varbla kandis sõna "tõmbama" just sellises tähenduses. *Tõmbamisega* võidi mööda hiilida ka korralike pulmade korraldamisest, kui see jõukohane polnud. 1637. a. välja antud talupojapulmade kohta käivas patendis on just viimast aspekti rõhutatud - *tõmbamiste* põhjuseks võis olla üle jõu käiv pidude ja pulmade pidamise komme. Võrdluseks, Venemaal laulatati noored salaja (mõnikord vanemate teadmisel), kui nad tahtsid vältida pulmapeo korraldamist.

J. W. L. Luce ja teda kordava F. J. Wiedemanni andmeil oli Muhu saarel naiseröövist säilinud igal aastal joomisega tähistatav *tõmbamisse* aeg. Tõenäoliselt on silmas peetud noorte suhtlemist, mis tavaliselt seostub õitsikometega. Seejuures tuleks tähelepanu juhtida sõna "tõmbama" ühele tähendusvarjundile. A. Saareste sõnaraamatus on toodud noorte suhtlemise kohta käivate väljenditena ka *tüdrukuga* ehk *poisiga tõmbama*. Kasutame praegugi sõnapaari *ringi tõmbama*.

Kosimise ja pulmade ajal ette tulnud võitlusstseene, mida on peetud kunagise naiseröövi igandiks, võib vaadelda siirderiitusena, kus avaldub eraldumisdramatika, samuti kaitsena võimalike ähvardavate jõudude vastu.

## SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT ABDUCTION IN ESTONIA

Anu Järs

"Abduction" means carrying away a woman by force without her own and her parents' consent. The term is closely connected with "raid marriage" - the abduction of a woman in order to contract a marriage or ties of such kind.

Evolutionists presented the idea of the "progressive development" of family relations from promiscuity to marriage, whereby a wife was originally abducted and later bought. "Raid marriage" - a vague term, in fact, which only indicates the way of procurement - was considered to be the ancient form of marriage. Several elements of wooing and wedding customs were supposed to be the relics of abduction widespread in earlier times, respective cases from more recent history were referred to as well.

L v. Schroeder's "Die Hochzeitsgebräuche der Esten und einiger anderer finnisch-ugrischen Völkerschaften in Vergleichung mit denen der indogermanischen Völker" that was published in 1888 also represents the school mentioned above. It is the first comprehensive study of Estonian wedding customs. A survey by A. Kruusberg on the earlier forms of marriage of the Estonians "The Prehistoric Law of Forefathers I. Family" (1920) also deserves mentioning as the most remarkable evolutional study from the first quarter of the 20th century.

Such evolutionist ideas have survived for a long time in Estonia (although they have not been predominant). In his survey "Estonian Wedding" (1973) Ü. Tedre mentions that in the early feudal society of Ancient Estonia a maiden was either bought or abducted. I. Soomere's "The Small Estonian Sex Book" (1990) devotes a separate chapter to the abduction of a wife.

Quite often the Henrik's Livonian Chronicle has been quoted describing how Estonians took women and children prisoners during their campaigns. The fact that the pope's legate saw Saaremaa men return from Sweden with many prisoners in 1226, has been attached special significance to. But as for the data presented by the chronicle, their historical context - the state of war - has to be taken into account. Besides, nothing

proves that normal marriages were contracted with these women. Anyway, this was exceptional.

In the following centuries abduction has been mentioned and complained about on several occasions. It was discussed at the Valga Landtag in 1422 and prohibited on pain of death. The same question was on the agenda at the Riga provincial synod in 1428. Materials of church visitations, chronicles, etc. also include data on abduction.

However, this cannot be looked upon as a normal and dominating way of getting married. No any firm proof of abduction as a legitimate way of marrying in historical times has been found. It has always been an act in conflict with valid norms. Its existence in prehistoric times has also remained hypothetical. One has to distinguish between a real and apparent abduction. Carrying away a maiden against her own will must have been quite rare. In most cases it happened by mutual consent. Such kind of "abduction" enabled to ignore certain rules. A girl could be abducted if her parents did not give their consent for marriage. For instance in Varbla parish namely such a meaning was attributed to the word "to abduct" at the beginning of the 20th century. By abduction one could also evade the arrangement for a proper wedding if they were not within one's means. A patent on peasant wedding from the year 1637 also stresses the latter aspect. In comparison, if the young couple wanted to evade a wedding feast in Russia, they were wedded in secret (sometimes parents were aware of it, too).

According to J. W. L. Luce and F. J. Wiedemann a certain "time of abduction" was persisted on the island of Muhu, which they considered to be a relic. They probably describe customs connected with tending the herd at night. Hereby a connotation of the word "to abduct" has to be mentioned. In A. Saareste's dictionary this word is also applied to the intercourse of young girls and boys in general. In this sense, the term is also used nowadays.

Fighting scenes that occurred by wooing and wedding and have been considered to be relics of ancient abduction, can be looked at as transition rites expressing separation drama, and also as protection against possible evil forces.

## EESTI RANGIPUUD UURIMISOBJEKTI JA -ALLIKANA

Anu Kannike

Kaasaegne esemeuurimus põhineb kompleksel kultuurikäsitlusel, mille kohaselt esemed pole teatud ideede, normide või tähenduste suhtes sekundaarsed "kultuuri produktid", vaid kujutavad endast kultuuri aspekti. Kui varasemas etnoloogias oli ese väärtuslik ajalooliste rekonstruktsioonide allikas, siis nüüd on huvikeskmes esemete semiootiline sisu, nendega seostuv individuaalne ja kollektiivne kogemuste maailm.

Eset võib vaadelda teatud viisil kodeeritud tekstina, mille puhul kommunikatsioonifunktsiooni täidavad nii vorm kui sisu. Kui teksti kodeeriv süsteem koosneb erinevatest tasanditest, ei garanteeri neist ühe tähenduse avamine teiste mõistmist. Esemee ornamendi sümboolne sisu on ajaloolise kontekstiga dünaamilisemas seoses kui vorm. Seega allikana ei tarvitse viimane anda sisutähenduse kohta usaldusväärset infot. Kultuuritekstidele on omane ka võime genereerida uusi tähendusi. Esemee tähendusi taasluuakse pidevalt inimeste vastastikuse tegevuse kaudu üksteise ja oma keskkonnaga, s.o. tekstide dialoogi kaudu. Seega on ese väärtuslik iseseisva uurimisobjektina funktsioneerivas kultuurisüsteemis.

Rahvakunsti uurimise puhul on olulisel kohal etnoesteeetika probleemid (ornamendi püsivuse ja selle kunstilise mõjuvuse seos; esteetiliste ja usundiliste taotluste põimumine motiivitikus).

Eesti rangipuude esmase kogumise ja hindamise kriteeriumiks oli nende kunstiline väärtus. 1926. a. ilmunud R. Indreko artikli "Rangipuud ERMi kogudes" näol on tegemist esemekeskse lähenemise silmapaistva näitega. Siin on esemete vormianalüüs ja tüpologia nende oletatavate levikuteede ja arenguastmete, s.t. põhiliselt difusionistlik-evolutsionistliku skeemi teenistuses. H. Üprus on oma klassikalistes eesti rahvakunsti käsitlustes, kus pannakse rõhku kunstiliste vormide ja motiivide ajaloolisele päritolule, toonud esile rangipuude skulptuursete harjuste vormi lähedust 12.-13. saj. ehete ning keskaegse raidkunsti motiividega, samuti puudutanud erandlikku viinapuuväädimotiivi. Mitmed A. Viirese uurimused käsitlevad tehnilise ja keeleajaloolise analüüsi abil hobuserakendi ja selle osade



tüüpe, nende ajalist ja ruumilist levikut ning arengut. Eesmärgiks on olnud Baltikumi kui Ida-Lääne kontaktalalt pärineva materjali kaudu valgustada seoseid Euroopa kultuuriruumis.

Senises kirjanduses on vähene Eesti rangipuude ornamendi (kunsti-)ajalooline analüüs, samuti on lähemalt valgustamata motiivide päritolu ja kasutamise semantilised tagamaad. Funktsionaalse analüüsi võimalusi piirab vastava materjali nappus ja hajutatatus.

Oma dekoratiivsusega olid rangipuud talupojakeskkonnas kahtlemata uhkus- ja esindustarbe teenistuses. Samas oli rangipuudel, eeskätt tingituna nende otsesest kokkupuutest hobuse kehaga, ka kõrgendatud maagiline "tundlikkus". Nii eesti kui naabermaade karjandusmaagias kantakse (*pars pro toto* printsiibil) hobusega seostatud omadused ja võimed üle rangidele. Erilise jõu allikaks oli hobuse pea; samavõrd olid rangipuude dekoratiivsetest motiividest tugevaima tähendusjõuga loomapäid kujutavad harjused. Pulmade ajal, samuti kirikusse ja laadale sõidul oli olemas ka kõrgeenenud vajadus kurja silma vms. vastu kindlustuda. Kaitse-tõrjemaagilist otstarvet täitsid nii loomapäised rangipuude harjused kui vanemal ajal neid katnud metsloomanahad. Rahvakunstis on maagiliste motiividega reeglina ornamenteeritud "avausi", mille kaudu negatiivsed jõud võisid inimeseni tungida. Hobupeale rangipuudel on analoogiaks kogu Euroopas tuntud komme asetada hobuse pealuu või pea kujutis elamule, unkalaudadele, aiapostidele, majapidamishoone ukse kohale.

Rahvausundilise taustaga loomapea rangipuudel kõrvuti sakraalkunstist pärit sümbolsete motiividega on näide rahvakunsti sünkretistlikust iseloomust.

#### ESTONIAN HORSE COLLARS - RESEARCH OBJECTS AND SOURCE MATERIAL Anu Kannike

The contemporary study of artifacts is based on a complex concept of culture according to which artifacts are not merely secondary "products of culture" reflecting certain ideas, norms and meanings, but an aspect of culture as well. Whereas arti-

facts were considered to be valuable sources for historical reconstructions in earlier ethnology, contemporary research concentrates on their semiotic content, the world of individual and collective experience related to artifacts.

An artifact can be studied as a text coded in a certain way. Both its form and meaning are at the service of communicative function. When the code system of a text consists of different layers, interpreting one meaning does not guarantee the understanding of another. The semantics of an artifact's ornament stands in a more dynamic relation with its historical context than its form. Therefore the latter may not provide trustworthy information on the semantic content. Another significant feature of cultural texts is their potential capability of generating new meanings. New meanings of artifacts are constantly created in the process of people's mutual activities, i.e. through the dialogue of different texts.

Accordingly, artifacts are valuable as independent research objects in a functioning cultural system.

The primary criterion for collecting and appreciating Estonian horse collars was their artistic value. The article "Horse collars in the Estonian National Museum" by R. Indreko (published in 1926) is an outstanding example of an object-centred study. The form analysis and typology here serve as a reconstruction of their ways of distribution and stages of development, i.e. a diffusionist-evolutionist scheme.

In her classical studies on Estonian folk art where the emphasis is laid on the historical origin of artistic forms and motives, H. Üprus has brought out the similarities between the forms of animal-shaped endings of horse collars and the 12th-13th century decorations, as well as the medieval stone carvings. An exceptional motif of vine branch has also been touched upon.

A number of investigations by A. Viires deal with the types of harness and its details. Through technical and historical-linguistic analysis their temporary and spatial development and distribution has been studied. The aim has been to examine the Baltic material in a wider European context.

So far little attention has been paid to the (art-)historical analysis of ornament, the origin and the semantic content

of the motives on Estonian horse collars. The shortage of adequate material scattered in different sources also restricts the possibilities of functional analysis.

Due to their decorative appearance festive horse collars were undoubtedly at the service of their owners' pride and prestige. At the same time horse collars were characterized by enhanced magical "sensitivity", first of all due to their direct contact with the body of a horse. In Estonia as well as in its neighbouring countries, the characteristic features and abilities connected with a horse are transferred to horse collars according to the "pars pro toto" principle.

Special power was concealed in the head of a horse; accordingly the power of animal-shaped endings was the strongest among decorative motives on horse collars. At a wedding, on the way to church or town there existed a necessity to secure against the evil eye. The animal-shaped endings of horse collars as well as the fur that covered them in earlier times were at the service of defensive-preventive magic.

As a rule, "openings" through which evil forces could reach man were usually decorated with magical motives in folk art. In tradition of horse-shaped endings in horse collars is analogical to the European tradition of putting a horse's skull or its image into a dwelling-house, to gable-boards, to fences, above the doors of cattle-sheds, etc.

The parallel existence of animal-shaped motives rooted in folk religion and the symbolic motives that were introduced on horse collars by sacral art, are an example of the syncretic character of folk art.

## TARTU TOOMHÄRRADE PÄRITOLU

Tõnis Lukas

Kõige laiemalt jaguneb päritolu geograafiliseks, sotsiaalseks ja rahvuslikuks. Kaks esimest olid keskaja Euroopas küllalt olulised. Juhtrolli pärast mitmesugustes struktuurides võistlesid tihti erinevad maiskonnad ning ka paljudes Saksamaa ja Prantsusmaa piiskopkondades muutus paikkonna vaimulike jaoks oluliseks hoida initsiatiivi ametikohtade täitmise ja kohaliku vara jagamise üle endi kätes. Samuti peeti tähtsaks isikute sotsiaalset kuuluvust, kuigi selle kajastamine ajalooürikutes ei olnud nii valdav, kui keskaja ühiskonda "kastiühiskonnaks" pidava üldise arvamuse järgi paista võiks.

Et kirikuadministratsioon oli ühtlustanud nii asjaajamise keele kui kõik hariduse tasandid, ei olnud ühiskonna neil astemetel, kus tegutses bürokraatia, kombeks ära märkida inimeste rahvust. Seepärast puudub ka Tartu vaimulike hulgas dokumentaalne alus rahvuste eraldamiseks peaaegu täiesti. Pealegi oli Vana-Liivimaa tähtsates euroopalikes institutsioonides (ordu, piiskopkonnad, linnade magistraadid) valdav enamus sakslaste käes. Ja kui sellele tasandile võiski jõuda maarahva esindajaid, siis rääkisid nad avalikkuse ees saksa keelt ja väljaspool kodust ringi peeti neid ikkagi sakslasteks.

Toomkapiitlit võib vaadelda vaimulikkonna teatud mudelina, sest selle liikmeskond oli võrdlemisi suletud, komplekteerimise põhimõtted suhteliselt muutumatud ja kapiitli kanooniseeritud ülesehitus ning toimimine küllaltki konservatiivsed. Tartu piiskopkonna toomkapiitli eksisteerimise aastatest (1224–1558) on teada 256 toomherra nimed - suhteliselt suur arv, kui arvestada, et Tartu kapiitel oli tõenäoliselt põhilise osa oma olemasolust suletud liikmeskonnaga (*capitulum clausarum*) ning et paljudel teistel läbi uuritud kapiitlitel, näiteks Konstanzi, Brixeni, Speyeri, Laoni jt. puhul, oli koosseisu suurusjärk võrreldav.

Enamuse toomhärade kohta on lisaks nende nimele teada vähemalt mõnedki isikuloolised andmed. See võimaldab nende propograafilise analüüsi puhul teha üldistusi nii kogu toomkapiitli isikkoosseisu kui ka Vana-Liivimaa vaimulikkonna koh-

ta laiemalt. Arvestades Tartu piiskopkonna kesksed osa Vana-Liivimaa ühiskonnas, saab näiteks siinse toomkapiitli vaimulike päritolu uurimise tulemusi üldistada sisserännanute ja siin sündinute arvulisele vahekorrale, samuti linnakodanike ja aadli osakaalu suhtele.

Genealoogilist informatsiooni leidub perekonnanimes, ürikutes sisalduvates viidetes sugulastele. Mõnevõrra on sellist teavet Vatikani paavstide arhiivi supliigiregistris ja erinevate ülikoolide matrikliraamatutes.

256 toomhärat jagunevad oma teadaoleva ametisse asumise aja järgi nelja perioodi vahel:

I aastatel 1224–1344 – 44 toomhärat (neist 17 prelaati)

II aastatel 1345–1440 – 123 toomhärat (20 prelaati)

III aastatel 1441–1524 – 61 toomhärat (16 prelaati)

IV aastatel 1525–1558 – 28 toomhärat (6 prelaati)

Geograafilise päritolu määramiseks võib rakendada erinevaid meetodeid. Allpool toodud statistika puhul on lisaks ürikutest teada olevatele päritolukohtadele arvestatud ka konkreetset nime kandva suguvõsa asupaika. Siiski saab Vana-Liivimaa tingimustes perekonnanime järgi päritolukohta määrata suurema tõenäosusega vaid 14. sajandi II pooleni. Sellest ajast alates oli enamus mujalt sisse rännanud suguvõsades siin juurdunud, jäädes elama kindlasse linna või mõne maahärta valdustesse. Kuid alati oli võimalik kusagil paikseks jäänud suguvõsa liikme erandlik ilmumine mõnes teises kohas. Paljud suuremad suguvõsad hargnesid ja laienesid üle diötseeside piiride. Sellistel puhkudel nõuab statistika tegemine eraldi genealoogilisi lisauuringuid. Peab leppima ka sellega, et keskaegsete vaimulike päritolu määramisel on raske välja selekteerida üheselt võrreldavat lähteinformatsiooni. Töödeldud andmete hulgas võib esineda päritolukoht sünnikohana (omakorda erinevused: mõni asula, suur diötsees või isegi hoopis laiem piirkond), ülikooli suundumise paigana või isiku suguvõsa tavapärase elupiirkonnana.

Tabelites 1, 2 ja 3 tuleks pöörata tähelepanu sellele, et juba 14. sajandi keskpaigaks oli päritolult liivimaalaste osakaal Tartu toomhärade hulgas tõusnud pooleni. Et nende suhtarv püsib kogu andmeterohke 14. sajandi II poole ja 15. sajandi stabiilsena 70% peal, on võimalik väita, et Tartu piiskop-

konna poliitika määravaks jõuks oli Vana-Liivimaa enda vaimulikud. Ka piiskopid olid samal perioodil pärit põhiliselt Tartu stiftist. Nagu üldiselt kogu katoliiklikkus maailmas pidas ka sinne vaimulikud väga oluliseks tähtsamate ametikohtade täitmist kohalike isikutega, et kiriku varasid kasutaksid sinsete suguvõsade liikmed. See, et välismaalasi oli toomhärrede hulgas pidevalt ligi 30%, oli tingitud üheaegselt nii vaimulike liikuvusest katoliiklikkus maailmas kui ka paavstide pühdest tähta ise osa vabanenud kanoonikukohtadest. Viimased juhu nimetati formaalselt kapitiili liikmeks selliseid kuurias tuntud isikuid, kes ise ei pruukinud mitte kunagi oma jalga siia Rooma jaoks kaugesse maanurka tõsta.

Alltoodud tabelites on arvestatud ainult neid toomhärreid, kelle päritolu on olnud mõnel viisil võimalik määrata. Selliseid on kokku 170 ehk 66,4% üldarvust. Statistikas ei ole tehtud vahet siin tegelikult resideerinud ja hoopis kusagil mujal ametis olnud toomhärrede vahel. Sulgudes on antud vastava päritoluga toomhärrede hulk teadaoleva päritoluga toomhärrede arvust protsentides.

Sotsiaalse päritolu kohta käivat informatsiooni on ürikutes küllalt vähe - kokku 51 juhul. Kuigi saksa ekspansioon 13. sajandi alguses leidis sealse kõrgeadli toetuse, sattusid Vana-Liivimale teadaolevalt vaid üksikud sellest kihist pärit suguvõsade liikmed. Ministeriaalipäritolu on toomhärredest olnud ainult esimese Tartu piiskopi Hermann ja kuulsa piiskop Alberti vend praost Rotmarus de Bekeshovede. Ülejäänud toomhärred jagunevad lihtsalt kas linnakodanike (jälle ilma kõrgekihi ehk patritsiaadita) või rüütlite ehk vasallide poegadeks. Viimaseid on nimetatud ka *militari genere*, *nobilis* või *dominus*. Slinkohal ei ole nende vahel aga mingit eraldi arvestust peetud.

Üldine tendents paistab olevat kodanike rolli suurenemisele, kuid siiski võrdlemisi vähesel määral. Samas näitab aadli osatähtsuse suuremine toomkapitiili koosseisus usupuhaatuse järgsetel aastatel, et aadel jäi katoliiku institutsioonidele suhteliselt truuks, samal ajal kui linnakodanike hulgas saavutas protestantism suuremat populaarsust.

Katoliiku kirik ei teinud vaimulikuks saamisel takistusi otseselt rahvuse pärast. Siiski võis toomkapitiilisse jõudmine

olla maarahva hulgast pärit meeste seas väga juhuslik. Vahest kõige kaugemale jõudnud eestlasena tuleb kõne alla Rostocki ülikoolis õppinud ja 1520. aastatel Saare-Lääne piiskopkonna skolastikuks tõusnud endine Tartu kleeerik Johann Pulck, keda on ühes Taani Riigiarhiivi ürikus nimetatud "her Johann und dudiescke (mittesaksa - T. L.) Pulck". Intrigeerivalt mõjuvad Tartu kapitaalisse jõudnud hilisema Tallinna piiskopi Arnouldus Anebati ja hilisema Tartu piiskopi Bartholomeus Savijerwe nimed. Nimekujude hulgast eestipäraseid otsides saaksime välja kirjutada ju teisigi Tartu toomhärراسid, aga ilma lisaandmeteta ei tohi neil puhkudel mingeid tähtsamaid järeldusi tegema hakata.

Tabel 1. Vana-liivimaalet pärit toomhärrede jaotumine ja osakaal.

E R S T I A L A

Päritoluanandmetega toomhärreid		Tartu		Tartu linn		Hartu- Viru		Tallinn		Saare- Lääne		Kokku
I per.	20	1	(5.0%)	1	(5.0%)	3	(15.0%)	5	(25.0%)	5	(25.0%)	5
II per.	75	14	(18.7%)	8	(10.7%)	4	(5.3%)	7	(9.3%)	1	(1.3%)	34 (45.3%)
III per.	51	8	(15.7%)	9	(17.6%)	6	(11.8%)	3	(12.5%)	2	(8.3%)	23 (45.1%)
IV per.	24	5	(20.8%)	4	(16.7%)	3	(12.5%)	2	(8.3%)	14	(58.3%)	14 (58.3%)
Kokku	170	28	(16.5%)	21	(12.4%)	5	(2.9%)	19	(11.2%)	3	(1.8%)	76 (44.7%)

U L E R A A N D V A N A - L I I V I M A A

Riia diotsees		Riia		Kuramaa		Kokku		Vana- Liivimaa hidiselt		KOKKU TOOM- HÄRRADEST	
2	(10.0%)	3	(15.0%)	5	(25.0%)	10	(50.0%)	10	(50.0%)	10	(50.0%)
9	(12.0%)	6	(8.0%)	15	(20.0%)	4	(5.3%)	53	(70.7%)	53	(70.7%)
2	(3.9%)	4	(7.8%)	1	(2.0%)	7	(13.7%)	6	(11.8%)	36	(70.6%)
3	(12.5%)	1	(4.2%)	4	(16.7%)	3	(12.5%)	21	(87.5%)	21	(87.5%)
16	(9.4%)	14	(8.2%)	1	(0.6%)	31	(18.2%)	13	(7.6%)	120	(70.6%)



**Tabel 2. Väljastpoolt Vana-Liivimaa pärinevad toomhärрад Tartu toomkapiitlis**

	I periood	II periood	III periood	IV periood	Kokku
<b>Teadaolev päritolu</b>	20	75	51	24	170
<b>IDA-PREISIMAA</b>					
Kulmland	1 5.0%	2 2.7%	1 2.0%		4 2.4%
Ermland	1 5.0%	5 6.7%	1 2.0%	1 4.2%	8 4.7%
Samland			1 2.0%		1 0.6%
<b>Kokku Ida-Preisimaalt</b>	<b>2 10.0%</b>	<b>7 9.3%</b>	<b>3 5.9%</b>	<b>1 4.2%</b>	<b>13 7.6%</b>
<b>SAKSAMAA PÕHIALAD</b>					
<b>Põhja-Saksa</b>					
Breemeri diötsees	1 5.0%	2 2.7%	1 2.0%		4 2.4%
LÜÜbek	3 15.0%	2 2.7%			5 2.9%
Danzigi piirkond			4 7.8%		4 2.4%
<b>Kokku Põhja-Saksast</b>	<b>4 20.0%</b>	<b>4 5.3%</b>	<b>5 9.8%</b>		<b>13 7.6%</b>
<b>Reini-Vestfaalimaa</b>					
Reinimaa	1 5.0%		2 3.9%		3 1.8%
Vestfaalimaa		3 4.0%	2 3.9%	1 4.2%	6 3.5%
Üldiselt		1 1.3%			1 0.6%
<b>Kokku Reini-Vestfaalimaalt</b>	<b>1 5.0%</b>	<b>4 5.3%</b>	<b>4 7.8%</b>	<b>1 4.2%</b>	<b>10 5.9%</b>
<b>MUUD SAKSA PÕHIALAD</b>					
<b>Saksimaa</b>					
Magdeburgi diötsees		1 1.3%	1 2.0%		2 1.2%
Erfurt				1 4.2%	1 0.6%
Meissen		1 1.3%			1 0.6%
Üldiselt		2 2.7%			2 1.2%
<b>Kokku Saksimaalt</b>		<b>4 5.3%</b>	<b>1 2.0%</b>	<b>1 4.2%</b>	<b>6 3.5%</b>
<b>Hannoveri diötsees</b>					
Nürnberg	2 10.0%	2 2.7%			4 2.4%
			1 2.0%		1 0.6%
<b>Kokku muudelt Saksa põhialadelt</b>	<b>2 10.0%</b>	<b>6 8.0%</b>	<b>2 3.9%</b>	<b>1 4.2%</b>	<b>11 6.5%</b>
<b>Kokku Saksa aladelt</b>	<b>7 35.0%</b>	<b>14 18.7%</b>	<b>11 21.6%</b>	<b>2 8.3%</b>	<b>34 20.0%</b>
<b>OLEJÄÄNUD</b>					
Taani	1 5.0%				1 0.6%
Madalmaad			1 2.0%		1 0.6%
Tšehhimaad		1 1.3%			1 0.6%
<b>Kokku Olejäänud aladelt</b>	<b>1 5.0%</b>	<b>1 1.3%</b>	<b>1 2.0%</b>		<b>3 1.8%</b>
<b>KOKKU (OSAKAAL KÕIGIST PÄRITOLUANDMETEGA TOOMHÄRRADEST)</b>	<b>10 50.0%</b>	<b>22 29.3%</b>	<b>15 29.4%</b>	<b>3 12.5%</b>	<b>50 29.4%</b>

**Tabel 3. Tartu toomhärade sotsiaalne päritolu**

periood ja sotsiaalne päritolu	Vana- Liivimaalt			Mujalt			Kokku		
	toom- härra- sid	protsent teada- olevaist	teada selle pärit- oluga	toom- härra- sid	protsent teada- olevaist	teada selle pärit- oluga	toom- härra- sid	protsent teada- olevaist	teada pärit- olu- andme- tega
1224-1344			10			10			20
aadli	4	40.0%		4	40.0%		8	40.0%	
kodaniku	6	60.0%		4	40.0%		10	50.0%	
1345-1440			53			22			75
aadli	30	56.6%		3	13.6%		33	44.0%	
kodaniku	22	41.5%		8	36.4%		30	40.0%	
1441-1524			36			15			51
aadli	12	33.3%		4	26.7%		16	31.4%	
kodaniku	19	52.8%		8	53.3%		27	52.9%	
1525-1558			21			3			24
aadli	13	61.9%					13	54.2%	
kodaniku	6	28.6%		2	66.7%		8	33.3%	
			120			50			170
Kokku aadli	59	49.2%		11	22.0%		70	41.2%	
Kokku koda- niku	53	44.2%		22	44.0%		75	44.1%	
Kõik kokku	112	93.3%		33	66.0%		145	85.3%	

## SOCIAL ORIGIN OF TARTU CANONS

Tõnis Lukas

Generally speaking, one's background is considered from geographical, social and national aspects. The two first aspects were regarded as fairly essential in Europe of the Middle Ages. Different manors often fought for the leading role in various organisations and several German and French dioceses it became important for the local clergymen to have the initiative for filling official posts and distributing local property. A person's social status was likewise considered of importance although in historical records this fact was not predominantly reflected as might be thought, considering the received opinion according to which medieval society is regarded as a caste society.

As the church administration had unified both the official language and all levels of education, it was not customary to record a person's nationality at those levels of society where bureaucracy was rampant. This is why the clergymen had almost no documentary evidence to distinguish between different nationalities. Besides, most of the major institutions of European origin in Old Livonia (i.e. the Order, Diocese, municipal authorities) were in the possession of Germans. If any representatives of Estonians (non-Germans) were able to attain so high posts, they spoke German in public, and outside the family circle they were still looked upon as Germans.

The Cathedral Chapter may be regarded as a certain model for the clergy because its membership represented a comparatively exclusive claustral body and the admission principles were rather rigorously fixed, while the canonized structure of the body an functioning were rather conservative. We have the names of 256 canons from the existence of Cathedral Chapter of the Tartu diocese (1224--1558) and this is relatively large number, considering the fact that the Tartu Cathedral Chapter must have functioned for the most part of its existence as an exclusive body (*capitulum clausuratum*) and that is the case of many other investigate cathedral chapters such

as Konstanz, Brixen, Speyer, Laon and others the size of the staff was comparable.

In case of most canons, we have, besides their names, at least some personal data about them. This makes it possible, when carrying out prosopographical analysis, to make generalisations concerning both the entire staff in the cathedral chapter and the clergy of Old Livonia more broadly. Taking into account the central part of the Tartu diocese in Old Livonia society, the results obtained in studying the background of the clergymen of the cathedral chapter here can be generalised on the basis of numerical relationships between the immigrants and people born locally, and likewise on the basis of numerical relationships between the role of townspeople and the noblemen.

Genealogical information can be found in family names and in references to relative recorded in historical documents. In some measure such information is available in the supplication files of the archives of Vatican popes and in the matriculation rolls of various universities.

Those 256 canons are classified as belonging to four periods, according to the known time of ordination:

- I 1224-1344 - 44 canons (17 prelates)
- II 1345-1440 - 123 canons (20 prelates)
- III 1441-1524 - 61 canons (16 prelates)
- IV 1525-1558 - 28 canons (6 prelates)

For the establishment of geographical origin different methods can be employed. As for statistics mentioned below, the residence of the family kin bearing a concrete name has been considered in addition to information obtained from historical records about the known places of origin. Yet in conditions existing in Old Livonia the place of origin can be established on the basis of a family name with greater probability only up to the second half of the 14th century. From then the most of the families who had arrived from elsewhere had become rooted here, settling down in a certain town or on the lands of some reigning sovereign. But it was always possible that as an exception a number of some family had settled down in some other place. Several of larger families branched off and diverged and spread over the boundaries of

the diocese. In such cases statistical analysis requires additional genealogical studies done separately. We have to be content with the fact that in establishing the background of medieval clergymen it is difficult to single out primary information that is uniquely comparable in all cases. It may happen that among the processed data the place of origin may figure as the place of the birth (and there emerge differences: some settlement, a large diocese or even a more extensive area), the place at which a person arrived to start his university studies or the traditional living place for the person's family.

In Tables 1, 2 and 3 attention should be paid to the fact that already by the middle of the 14th century the role of Livonians among the Tartu canons had increased by 50%. As this percentage reaches a stable figure of 70 during the second half of the 14th century and in the 15th century, a period of abundant data, we can firmly say that the clergy of Old Livonia itself played an important role in the Tartu diocese. The bishops likewise came for the most part from the Tartu Chapter. As was customary in the entire Catholic world, the local clergy here attached great importance to filling major incumbencies with local clergymen so that the members of the families here could have use of church property. The fact that the number of foreigners among the canons steadily kept around 30% was due both the extensive migration of the clergymen in the Catholic world and the Pope's endeavour to get some of the vacancies for himself. In the latter case there was formal admission to the chapter of persons known in the curia who never had had the need to set foot in such a remote corner of the world, and never stirred out of Rome.

In tables below we have included only those canons whose descent it was possible to identify somehow. There were altogether 170 of them, accounting for 66.4% of the total number. We have not distinguished between the canons who actually resided here and had their offices somewhere else. In brackets the number of canons of respective descent has been presented in percentage of the number of canons known (supposed) origin.

There is rather little information recorded about social origin - in 51 cases altogether. Although German expansion at

the beginning of the 13th century found support from the nobility there, as is known only few of the members of the noble families happened to come to Old Livonia. Dean Rotmarus de Bekeshovede was the only one of the ministerial descent among the canons. He was brother of the first Tartu bishop Hermann and of the famous bishop Albert. The remaining canons simply belong either to those who were sons of townspeople (again without nobility or patriciate) or of the knights or vassals. The latter have also been called *military genere, nobilis* or *dominus*. On this occasion no separate account has been kept to distinguish between them.

A general trend seems to be an increase in the role of the townspeople but this is still relatively small. At the same time the growing power of the nobility in the Cathedral Chapter in the years after the Reformation shows that the noblemen remained faithful to the Catholic institutions while among the townspeople protestantism gained in popularity.

The Catholic church did not prevent anybody from becoming a clergyman because of his nationality. Still admission to the cathedral chapter could be rather occasional for men of Estonian origin. Maybe worthy of mentioning here is a former Tartu clergyman Johann Pulck, who studied at Rostock university and in the 1520s worked as scholastic at the Saare-Lääne diocese. In one of the records of the Danish State Archives he has been referred to as "her Johann undudescke (non-German - T. L.) Pullck". The names of the later Tallinn bishop Arnoldus Anebat and the later Tartu bishop Bartholomeus Savijerwe, who were admitted to the Tartu stift, sound intriguing. If we searched for names of Estonian origin among names of such kind, we might point out other Tartu canons as well but in the absence of additional data we must not draw any substantial conclusions on such occasions.

**Table 1. The distribution and percentage of canons of Old Livonian origin.**

**E S T O N I A N T E R R I T O R Y**

	Canons with data of origin	Tartu diocese	Tartu	Harju-Virudistr.	Tallinn	Saare-Lääne distr.	Altogether
I period	20	1 (5.0%)		1 (5.0%)	3 (15.0%)		5 (25.0%)
II period	75	14 (18.7%)	8 (10.7%)	4 (5.3%)	7 (9.3%)	1 (1.3%)	34 (45.3%)
III period	51	8 (15.7%)	9 (17.6%)		6 (11.8%)		23 (45.1%)
IV period	24	5 (20.8%)	4 (16.7%)		3 (12.5%)	2 (8.3%)	14 (58.3%)
Altogether	170	28 (16.5%)	21 (12.4%)	5 (2.9%)	19 (11.2%)	3 (1.8%)	76 (44.7%)

**THE REST OF O L D L I V O N I A**

Ria diocese	Riga	Curonia	Altogether	Old Livonia in general	ALTOGETHER (% OF DOME LORDS)
2 (10.0%)	3 (15.0%)		5 (25.0%)		10 (50.0%)
9 (12.0%)	6 (8.0%)		15 (20.0%)	4 (5.3%)	53 (70.7%)
2 (3.9%)	4 (7.8%)	1 (2.0%)	7 (13.7%)	6 (11.8%)	36 (70.6%)
3 (12.5%)	1 (4.2%)		4 (16.7%)	3 (12.5%)	21 (87.5%)
16 (9.4%)	14 (8.2%)	1 (0.6%)	31 (18.2%)	13 (7.6%)	120 (70.6%)

**Table 2. Canons of the Tartu Cathedral Chapter who came outside Old Livonia**

	I period	II period	III period	IV period	Altogether
origin known	20	75	51	24	170
<b>EAST PRUSSIA</b>					
Kulmland	1 5.0%	2 2.7%	1 2.0%		4 2.4%
Ermland	1 5.0%	5 6.7%	1 2.0%	1 4.2%	8 4.7%
Samland			1 2.0%		1 0.6%
Altogether from East Prussia	2 10.0%	7 9.3%	3 5.9%	1 4.2%	13 7.6%
<b>BASIC GERMAN TERRITORIES</b>					
<b>North Germany</b>					
Bremen diocese	1 5.0%	2 2.7%	1 2.0%		4 2.4%
Lübeck	3 15.0%	2 2.7%			5 2.9%
Danzig district			4 7.8%		4 2.4%
Altogether from North Germany	4 20.0%	4 5.3%	5 9.8%		13 7.6%
<b>Rhine-Westphalia</b>					
Rhineland	1 5.0%		2 3.9%		3 1.8%
Westphalia		3 4.0%	2 3.9%	1 4.2%	6 3.5%
In general		1 1.3%			1 0.6%
Altogether from Rhine-Westphalia	1 5.0%	4 5.3%	4 7.8%	1 4.2%	10 5.9%
<b>OTHER GERMAN TERRITORIES</b>					
<b>Saxonia</b>					
Magdeburg diocese		1 1.3%	1 2.0%		2 1.2%
Erfurt				1 4.2%	1 0.6%
Meissen		1 1.3%			1 0.6%
In general		2 2.7%			2 1.2%
Altogether from Saxonia		4 5.3%	1 2.0%	1 4.2%	6 3.5%
<b>Hannover diocese</b>					
Hannover diocese	2 10.0%	2 2.7%			4 2.4%
Nürnberg			1 2.0%		1 0.6%
Altogether from other German territories	2 10.0%	6 8.0%	2 3.9%	1 4.2%	11 6.5%
<b>Altogether from basic German territories</b>					
Altogether from basic German territories	7 35.0%	14 18.7%	11 21.6%	2 8.3%	34 20.0%
<b>FROM ELSEWHERE</b>					
Denmark	1 5.0%				1 0.6%
Netherlands			1 2.0%		1 0.6%
Czechia		1 1.3%			1 0.6%
Altogether from elsewhere	1 5.0%	1 1.3%	1 2.0%		3 1.8%
<b>ALTOGETHER (IN PERCENTAGE OF THE CANONS OF KNOWN ORIGIN)</b>	<b>10 50.0%</b>	<b>22 29.3%</b>	<b>15 29.4%</b>	<b>3 12.5%</b>	<b>50 29.4%</b>



**Table 3. The social origin of Tartu canons**

period  social origin	Old Livonia			Elsewhere			Altogether		
	dome lords	percentage of those known	known of this origin	dome lords	percentage of those known	known of this origin	dome lords	percentage of those known	origin known
1224-1344			10			10			20
noble origin	4	40.0%		4	40.0%		8	40.0%	
townspeople	6	60.0%		4	40.0%		10	50.0%	
1345-1440			53			22			75
noble origin	30	56.6%		3	13.6%		33	44.0%	
townspeople	22	41.5%		8	36.4%		30	40.0%	
1441-1524			36			15			51
noble origin	12	33.3%		4	26.7%		16	31.4%	
townspeople	19	52.8%		8	53.3%		27	52.9%	
1525-1558			21			3			24
noble origin	13	61.9%					13	54.2%	
townspeople	6	28.6%		2	66.7%		8	33.3%	
			120			50			170
Altogether of noble origin	59	49.2%		11	22.0%		70	41.2%	
Altogether of townspeople origin	53	44.2%		22	44.0%		75	44.1%	
Altogether	112	93.3%		33	66.0%		145	85.3%	

## HÖBEEHTEDE SETU PULMAKOMBESTIKUS

Mare Piho

Käesolev kirjeldus annab lühiülevaate hõbeehete\* esinemisest setu pulmakombestikus ja nendega seotud uskumustest. Uurimus põhineb aastatel 1976–1992 Setumaal ja Siberis autori poolt kogutud materjalidel.

Setu pulm oli kahe suguvõsa liitumine, kus kõige olulisemaks oli mõrsja lahkumine oma suguvõsast ja tema vastuvõtt mehe suguvõsasse. Tõdegem, et selleks valmistuti aastaid. Eri-lisi, ainult pulmadeks ostetavaid hõbeeheteid setudel polnud. Kõik, mis kingiti tütarlapsele enne pulmi ning oli seotud üleminekuga ühest vanusegrupist teise, kuulus hiljem pulma- ehk piduehete komplekti.

Kosimine oli setudel vanasti mitmeastmeline. Osa astmeid eeldas teatavate hõbeehete kinkimist: näiteks nn. öise kosimise ajal kinkis peigmees hõberahasid, siidräti, pastlad ning tähtsaimana - suure sõle. Viimane anti mõrsja kätte alles siis, kui peigmehe ristiema oli seda teatud aja hoidnud rinnal oma sõle peal ning sellega (vastavalt sigitusmaagia rituaalile) *karanud* ehk hüpanud.

Laulatuse ja pulma vahele jäi tavaliselt mitu nädalat. Sel ajal käis mõrsja oma suguvõsa pulma kutsumas, kaasas *poodruskid*, kes kõik olid hõbeehetega ehitud. Mõrsja võis ainsa ehtena kanda suurt sõlge. Pulmakutse esitati lauluvormis, rituaalsete kumardustega, mille ajal mõrsja puudutas vasaku käega sõlge, mida võib samuti pidada rituaalseks toiminguks. Setude arusama järgi on vasak käsi (setu keeles *kuri käsi*) mehe käsi.

Setu pulm oli kahepoolne, esimene päev mõrsja isakodus, teine peigmehe pool. Pulmalised kandsid rohkeid hõbeeheteid. Pulmaeheteid laenati, paljud neist "rändasid" pulmast pulma.

Ka mehed kandsid ehteid: väikesi sõlgi, sõrmuseid ning üliharva ühte kõrvarõngast.

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\*Valdav enamus setu metallehteid ongi hõbedast. Kuid tänu valge metalli kultusele tähistatakse setu kultuuris sõnadega *hõppõ*, *hõppõkroon* (s.o. hõbeehetel) kõiki hõbedast ja hõbedasarnastest metallidest ehteid.

Pulma esimesel päeval olid mõrsjal kaelas helisevate ripatsitega (üks neist pardikujuline) hõbekeed. Palju oli sõrmuseid ja käevõrusid. Kogu komplekt võis sõltuvalt jõukusest kaaluda 3–5 kg. Ainuke ehe, mida mõrsjal polnud õigust kanda pulma esimesel päeval, oli suur sõlg.

Päeva lõppedes võeti mõrsjal kaelast kõik ehted ja toodi välja kosjaskäimisest saadik peidus olnud peigmehe kingitus – suur sõlg. Seejärel asetati mõrsja ehted ja kingitud suur sõlg läbisegi lambavillaga suurde sõela ning kaeti linase rätikuga.

Samal õhtul viidi eheteta "puhas", "valge" ja "vaba" mõrsja peigmehe koju. Mõrsja ristiema tõi sinna hõbeehetega sõela ja andis peigmehe emale.

Pärast esimest pulmaööd tegi meheema noorikule abielunaise soengu ja vahetas peakatte. Nüüd kinnitati nooriku rinnale suur sõlg ja kaela pandi eriilmeliste helisevate ripatsitega hõbekeed. Toiming oli salajane, "peidetud" pulmaliste eest erilise linaga. Mõnel pool tehti seda aidas.

Seejärel kinkis noorik küla lastele sõrmuseid, visates neid üle õla selja taha. Neid peeti õnnetoovateks. Sõrmus "kingiti" ahjule ja sõrmuse koos vööga ohverdas noorik kaevule. Saunaskäimisel jõi meheema rituaalset viina pitsist, mille põhjas oli hõberaha või hõbeketike. Need esemed sai meheema endale. Noorik pidi ka läbi abielusõrmuse lehma lüpsma, sõnades sealjuures: "*Piim - perrele, või - võõrastõlõ, soe suuhtõ, havvõ hambih*".

Setu pulmas oli tähtsaimaks ehteks suur sõlg. Sellega märgiti nooriku astumist fertiilsesse ikka, neiu põlvest abielunaise seisusesse. Kahe suguvõsa liitumist sümboliseeris suure sõle kinnitamine nooriku rinnale.

Setu folklooris esineb sõlg paadina, millega sõuda üle vee. Semantilisel on vesi piiriks eri maailmade vahel. Sõit sõlega üle vee sümboliseeris üleminekut tüdrukupõlvest abielupõlve.

Sõlele omistati ka armastust ja sigivust soodustavat toimet. Lastetu naine magas sõlg rinnal. Täpselt samuti toimis naine, püüdes tagasi võita abikaasa armastust. Sigivusmaagiaga seostub sõle hoidmine kosimise ajal peigmehe ristiema sõlel (rinnal).

Läbi sõle kallatud veega joodeti koduloomi, paludes nende juurdekasvu.

Huvitavaid on graveeringud setu sõjgedel, kus kõrvuti kuue- ja kaheksanurksete tähtedega esinevad rombid ja kaldristid. Neid võib seletada vanade õnnetoovate jm. maagiliste mäkkidena. Erilist huvi pakub kahepäine linn, mida uurijad on üksmeelselt pidanud Vene tsaari vapikotkaks. Setud ise nii ei arva. Setu naiste seletuste järgi on see "haruldane" ja "imepärase" võimeteiga *katõ pääga linn*. Setu meeste selgituste kohaselt on see linn, kelle üks pea vaatab Eesti, teine Vene poole. Seega siis geopolitiline tõlgendus. Väljastatud ei ole ka muud seletused.

Teatavasti esineb paljudes vanades kultuurides kahepäiste röövlindude kujutisi. Taolise bilateraalse mudeliga tähistati üleloomulikke olendeid, kellel oli otsene seos suguvõsade genealoogiaga (Segal 1972: 359-363). Oletatakse, et kahepäised linnud ühendasid mehe ja naise alget. Paljudel rahvasteel oli kull sigivusjumal (Šternberg 1936). Setude *katõ pääga linnu* motiivil on seega vasteid lähemate soome-ugri, Siberi jt. rahvaste juures.

Läbi aegade on säilinud sõle poliüfunktsionaalsus ja keeruline semantika ning tähtis roll setu pulmas. Seda võimendati eheite panemisega sõela sisse, mis on lähemeresoomlastel tuntud naise sümbolina (Patrakka 1991: 169-171) ja maagilise esemena.

Teine setu hõbeehetes esinev linn - part - seostub mitmete soome-ugri, samojeedi ja indo-euroopa kultuuridega. Teda peeti üheks maailma loomisel osalenud linnuks (Napolskih 1990: 5-17).

Pulma teisel päeval toimunud rituaalse lehmaliüpsmisega kaasnev loits lõppes sõnadega *harrõ hambhine*. Setu noorim hõbedane abielusõrmus osaleb siin väga vanas sigitumaagilises rituaalis, sest nii ava (eeskätt ümarava) kui ka hauגי kultus oli laialdaselt levinud soome-ugri jt. rahvaste pulmakombestikks.

Setu hõbeehetele on omane erilimeliste helisevate ripatsite rohkus. Usk helisevate esemete maagilisse jõusse esines saamiidel. Sellele tingis heli maagiline tajumine nende poolt (Ablova jt. 1989: 181). Paljudel maailma rahvastele peletati helidega pahasid vaime (Frazier 1923). Selles kontekstis vääriks rohkem tähelepanu setu meeste ütlus "*Seto naist inne kuuldt, siis näet*".

Rohkete hõbehetega on setud end kaitsnud kurja silma eest, mida eriti kardeti pulmas. Mõlemad, nii kurja silma kartus kui ka ehetega kaitsmine, on üldtuntud nähtused paljudes kultuurides (Seligmann 1935: 42–47).

Eraldi tähelepanu väärib setu mõrsja lahkumine vanemate kodust hõbeheteta. Setu mõrsjal on oma suguvõsas eriline seisund, tema käes on nn. *verrev luits* ("eesõigus", "kaitse", "valik"). Arvatakse, et lahkudes hõbeheteta, kaotas mõrsja oma suguvõsa kaitsevaimude toetuse. Seetõttu oli mõrsja kodust lahkudes kuni uude suguvõsasse vastuvõtuni kaitsetu. Kartusega, et mõrsjaga, s.t. "võõra" ehk "uustulnukaga" võivad kaasa tulla tema suguvõsa kaitsevaimud (kes võivad seda teha hõbehetes) ning kahjustada uut suguvõsa, võiski olla antud juhul seotud hõbehetete kandmise keeld.

Eeltoodust nähtub, et traditsioonilisel ajal oleks setu pulm ilma hõbeheteta olnud võimatu.

#### SILVER ORNAMENTS IN SETU NUPTIAL RITES

Mare Piho

The present description gives a short overview of the use of the silver ornament in Setu\*\* nuptial rites and of beliefs associated with them. The investigation is based on materials collected by the author in Petserimaa and in Siberia in the years 1976–1992.

The Setu wedding was the uniting of two families (kins) where the most important part was the bride's leaving her own kin and her reception into her husband's family (kin). To tell the truth, preparations for this event took years. The Setu people did not have special ornaments bought only for wedding occasions. All things that girl was presented with before the

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\*\* (The Setus – orthodox Estonians in South-East Estonia.) Most of Setu ornaments are made of silver. Due to the cult of white metal, the metal is represented in Setu culture by the words 'hõppõ, hõppõkroon' (silver, silver crown) i.e. silver adornments; these words designate all silver and silver-like metal ornaments.

wedding at different times of her life were to be part of her wedding and festive ornaments.

In olden times the Setu courtship consisted of many stages. Part of them was meant for making presents of silver ornaments: thus, for instance, during the so-called night-wooing the suitor presented the bride with sweets and silver rings. At other times the suitor made presents of silver coins, silk kerchiefs, pastels (Estonian soft, heelless shoes of leather worn by peasants) and the most important present was a big circular brooch (*sõlg*). The latter was given to the bride only after the bridegroom's godmother had worn it on her breast ever her own brooch for some time and (according to the rite of fertility magic) had *karanu* or jumped while bearing it.

Usually several weeks passed before the marriage and the wedding feast took place. During this interval the bride went round, visiting her relatives and inviting them to her wedding. She was accompanied by her girlfriends (*podrusks*) who were likewise adorned with silver ornaments. The bride was allowed to wear only a big circular brooch. The invitations were presented in the form of singsong which was accompanied by ritual bows, and at the same time the bride touched her brooch with her left hand. This could be regarded as a rite, too, because according to Setu conceptions the left hand (*kuri käsi*) is the hand of the husband.

The Setu wedding feast was celebrated both under the bride's paternal roof and in the bridegroom's home. The wedding guests were richly adorned with silver ornaments. The wedding ornaments were usually loaned, many of them 'travelled' from one wedding to another.

Men likewise adorned themselves with silver ornaments: they wore small brooches, rings and on rare occasions one ear-ring as well.

On the first day of the wedding the bride was wearing a silver necklace with pendants (one of them in the shape of a duck), lots of rings and bracelets. Depending on her wealth the weight of the whole set may have been 3-5 kilograms. The only ornament the bride had no right to wear on her first wedding day was the large circular brooch.

At the end of the day all the bride's ornaments were removed and the bridegroom's present - the large circular brooch - that had been hidden since courtship time was brought out. Then all the bride's ornaments and the large circular brooch, all jumbled up with sheep's wool, were put in a sieve and covered with a linen cloth.

The evening the 'clean, white and free' bride, stripped of ornaments, was taken to the bridegroom's home. The bride's godmother brought along the sieve with silver ornaments and gave it to the mother-in-law.

After the first nuptial night the mother-in-law dressed the young wife's hair the way a married woman was to wear it and changed her headgear as well. Now the big circular brooch was fastened to the young wife's breast and a silver necklace with different kinds of tinkling pendants was hung round her neck. This was a secret act, 'hidden' from the wedding guests' eyes by a special linen cloth. In some places the act was carried out in the storehouse.

Then the young wife presented the village children with rings, tossing them over her shoulder. These rings were considered to bring luck. A ring was also presented to the stove and another ring, together with a belt, was sacrificed to the well. While taking a sauna bath, the mother-in-law drank ritual vodka from a glass into which had been dropped either a silver coin or a silver chainlet. These things were meant for the mother-in-law. Another rite for the young wife was to milk a cow so that the milk ran through the wedding ring. At the same time she was to utter the words: 'milk for the family, butter for the guests, into the wolf's mouth, between the pike's teeth' (*piim - perrele, vői - vōōrastōlō, soe suuhtō, havvō hambihē*).

At the Setu wedding the most important ornament was the big circular brooch. It marked the young wife's having reached the fertile age, from maidenhood to a married woman's status. The fastening of the big circular brooch to the young wife's breast symbolized the union of two families (kins).

In Setu folklore the brooch is represented as a boat in which to sail across water. Semantically water is the border

between different worlds. Crossing a water body in a boat meant transition from girlhood to a married status.

The Setus also attributed to the brooch an action which fostered love and fertility. A childless woman slept with a brooch on her breast. A woman who strived to gain back her husband's love acted in the same way. One part of fertility magic is likewise the custom of wearing one's brooch of the bridegroom's godmother, both fastened to one's breast during the wooing time.

When people were praying for the growth of their cattle, they gave their domestic animals water poured through the brooch.

The engravings on the Setu brooch are of great interest - along with hexagonal and octagonal stars there occur likewise rhombs and slanting crosses. Those signs can be regarded as old signs of luck and magic. Of special interest is a two-headed bird which the researchers unanimously have thought to represent the heraldic eagle of Russian tsars. But the Setus are not of this opinion themselves. The Setu women explain that this is a 'rare' two-headed bird (*katõ pããga lind*) who possesses 'magic' power. The Setu men explain that this is a bird whose one head looks toward Estonia and the other one towards Russia. So they give a geopolitical explanation. Other interpretations are not ruled out either.

As we know, several ancient cultures have images of two-headed predatory birds. Such a bilateral model was to designate supernatural beings (Segal 1972: 359-363). It is assumed that two-headed birds linked together the beginnings of man and woman. With many peoples the stood for fertility God (Šternberg 1936). The two-headed Setu motif has thus analogues with closer Finno-Ugric, Siberian and other peoples.

Throughout ages the brooch has preserved its multi-purpose role and complicated semantics in the Setu wedding ceremonies. This important role was amplified by placing the ornaments in a sieve which was known as the symbol of woman and was regarded as a magic object by the Balto-Finns (Patrakka 1991: 169-171).

The figure of the other bird that occurs in the Setu silver ornaments (that of the duck) is associated with several Finno-



Ugric, Samoyedic and Indo-European cultures. The duck was considered to be one of the birds that were involved in the creation of the world (Napolskih 1990: 5-17).

The incantations that accompanied the ritual cow milking on the second day of the wedding were concluded with the words 'havvõ hambihe' (between the pike's teeth). The youngest Setu silver ring is involved here in an ancient ritual of fertility magic for both the cult of an opening (especially a round opening) and that of the pike was widely used in the wedding rituals of the Finno-Ugric and other peoples.

The Setu silver ornaments are characterised by an abundance of their specific tinkling pendants. The Lapps believed in the magic powers of tinkling objects. This was due to their magic perception of the sound (Ablova 1989: 181). Many peoples of the world used the sound to frighten off the evil spirits (Frazer, 1923). In this connection it would be worthwhile paying more attention to the saying used by the Setu men: "The Setu woman is first heard and then seen (*setu naist inne kuulõt, siis näet*)."

By using a wealth of silver ornaments the Setus have protected themselves against the evil eye, something they especially dreaded at a wedding day. Both the dreaded of the evil eye and protection against it were well-known phenomena in many cultures (Seligmann 1935: 42-47).

Of special interest is the Setu bride's departure from her parental home without silver ornaments. In her family the Setu bride has a special status, she possesses the so-called '*verrev luits*' (privilege, protection, choice). It is thought that when she left the home without her silver ornaments she lost the support of her family's guardian spirits. Therefore the bride was unprotected during the period from departure from her home to reception by the new family (kin). Perhaps the fear that together with the bride, i.e. 'the stranger' or 'newcomer' the guardian spirits of her kin might also arrive at the new home (hidden in the silver ornaments) and cause harm to the new kin was the reason why the bride was forbidden to wear her ornaments.

The abovesaid shows that at the traditional time the Setu wedding ceremony have been inconceivable and impossible without the silver ornaments.

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VORMSI USULIIKUMISED 1870. AASTATEST KUNI EESTI-  
ROOTSLASTE VÄLJARÄNDAMISENI  
Jaanus Plaata

Läänemaa maakond on kuni tänase päevani silma paistnud oma erilise vastuvõtlikkusega mitmesugustele usuliikumistele ja usulahkudele. Eriline osa Läänemaa usuliikumiste tekkes ja levikus on seejuures olnud Noarootsi ja Vormsi kihelkonna eestirootslastel, kelle misjonitöö Läänemaa eestlaste seas on paljuski lagundanud kahe rahvuse vahel eksisteerinud keelelikultuurilist barjääri. Samas on eriti vormsilased oma teatava geograafilise ja keelelise isoleerituse tõttu säilitanud silmapaistva eripära ka usuelus.

Eestirootslaste tõsisema kristianiseerumise algusest võib rääkida seoses vennastekoguduse liikumise levikuga Eestis 18. sajandil. Saksa hernhuutlase J. Marraschi Hiiumaal elamise perioodil (1751-1766) lähendas rootsi ja eesti keele ära õppinud Marrasch ühise usu alusel rootslasi eestlastele ja tegi äratustööd ka Vormsil ning Noarootsis, kus ärganud rootslastel olid ilmselt ka oma palvemajad. Peale Marraschi lahkumist Saaremaale Vormsi vennasteliikumine ilmselt rauges.

19. sajandi Vormsil elati kuni 1870. aastateni loidu ja vähikäiku tegevad vaimuelu, mida iseloomustas koolide puudumine, luteri kiriku pastorite rahvakaugus, vormsilaste õigusliku ning majandusliku olukorra halvenemine ja suhteline moraaliitus. Taolises olukorras tuleks näha ka üht peapõhjust, miks eestirootslased lootust, tröösti ja eneseväärikustunnet pakkuva rahvapärase usuliikumisega nii hoogsalt kaasa läksid.

Eestirootslaste ja kogu Läänemaa suurim usuliikumine - Läänemaa ärkamine - puhkes peale seda, kui Rootsi Evangeelne Isa-maaselts (Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen, edasp. EF) saatis 1873. a. Läänemaale kaks misjonäri, kellest T. E. Thorén asus kooliõpetaja ja misjonärina tööle Noarootsi ja L. J. Österblom Vormsi kihelkonda. Misjonäride tegevuse tõttu tekkis peaaegu ühel ajal mõlema kihelkonna eestirootslaste seas usuline ärkamisliikumine, mis levis 1870. aastate lõpul - 1880. aastate algul kõikidesse Läänemaa kihelkondadesse, naabermaakondadesse ning kaugemalegi.

Kohaliku murde omandanud ja koolielu suure vaevaga käima saanud, hakkas Österblom Vormsi saare omaniku O. v. Stackelbergi loal palvetunde pidama, hoolimata Vormsi pastor Nordgreni ja kohaliku "nägiija" vastutegutsemisest. Tuliste manitsuskõnedega võitles Österblom rahva kõlblusetuse ja uskmata vastu ning peagi hakati endi patust aduma, pörgupiinu kartma ja misjonäri juhatusel hingeõnnistuse poole püüdlema.

1876. a. "ärkasid" ja said "päästetud" esimesed vormsilased, kelle äkiline õndsakssaamine avaldas rahvale suurt mõju. Usuliikumise levides hakkasid "ärغانud" ka ise pidama palvetunde, kus paluti pörgu hirmus vahel terve öö patte andeks ja saadi lõpuks Püha Vaimu läbi armu. Pääsemist tervitati rõõmuhüpete ja juubeldamisega, mida esialgu hämmeldunud Österblom peagi Jumala imeteoks pidama hakkas.

Üha laienevasse liikumisse sigines rohkelt ka kohalikke lugejaid ja prohveteid, kes näinud nägemusi, söönud taevamannat, õhutanud rahvast ühel saarel raudpuuris vaevlevat Jeesust vabastama jne. Mitmed taolised lugejad ja prohvetid said ka Österblomi võistlejateks, juhtides erinevaid sekte.

"Vormsi usule" ärkamine toimus 1870. aastate teisel ja 1880. aastate esimesel poolel üle kogu saare. Koos "ärkamise" levikuga kadusid saarelt pea täielikult joomine ja kõrtsid, suitsetamine ja muudki patud. Patuseks luges Österblom ka rahvalaule, -tantse ja -rõivaid. Tänu Österblomi pingutustele loodi kolm kooli, levis lugemis- ja kirjaoskus, ka arusaam hügieenist ja tervishoiust.

Esitatu oli eelkõige Österblomi enda ning lahusulistest ja rootslastest autorite nägemus Vormsi "ärkamisest". Seevastu luteri kiriku esindajad suhtusid liikumisse ja selle algatajasse väga vaenulikult, sest Läänemaa usuliikujaist esimesena hakkasid luteri kirikust lahku lööma just Vormsi "ärغانud".

Juba 1877. a. hakanud osa Vormsi "ärغانuid" isekeskis armulaua sakramenti pidama ja 1880. a. hakati kirikust lahku lööma, sest "ärغانud" ei saavat enam olla koguduses, kus leidub patuseid inimesi. Eestimaa luteri kiriku juhi Schultzi aruande järgi ütelnud saare 12 külast tervelt üheteistkümne "ärغانud" oma pastorist lahti ja korraldasid ise armulauda, ristimist, laulatust ja matmist. 1881. a. kiriklik visitatsioon näitas,

et tegu on ekstaatilise liikumisega, mille fanaatilised esindajad ei soovinud midagi kuulda naasmisest kirikusse, mida pühapäeviti külastanud vaid 5-10 vormsilast. Visiteerijad väitsid, et just Vormsilt levisid taolised kombed nagu hüppamine, tantsimine, naermine ja käteplaksutamine palvetundides ka Mandri-Läänemaale.

Luteri kiriku esindajad kirjutasid 1880.-1881. a. mitu süüdistuskirja EFi eestseisjale ja Eestimaa kubernerile, süüdistades Österblomi kirikulahus ja luteri kirikule vaenulikus tegevuses, Antikristuse ja Waldenströmi õpetuse levitamises ning rahva ülesässitamises ilmalike seaduste vastu ning paludes misjonär ära kutsuda või maalt välja saata. Ometi see ei õnnestunud, kuna EF ei pidanud oma misjonäri tagasikutsumist vajalikuks ning kuberner kartis vormsilaste rahutusi. Peavalu valmistasid luteri kiriku esindajatele ka Vormsi uueusuliste misjonärid, kes tegutsesid Noarootsi kihelkonnas, Hiiumaal ja kaugemalgi.

1884. a. juulis teatas Schultz kirikust lahkunute arvuks Vormsil 300, järgnesid Noarootsi ja Kullamaa kihelkonnad 50 lahkusuliselega (1881. a. rahvaloenduse andmeil elas Vormsil 2060 inimest, kellest rootslasi oli 1825 e. 88,6%).

Neist 24 moodustasid 1884. a. Vormsi baptistikoguduse, mis aga ei suutnud pikka aega võistelda Vormsi usuliikumise priikogodusliku vooluga, mida esindas mitu erinevat sekti. 1939. a. oli Vormsi baptistikoguduses 90 liiget.

Eriti omapäraseks läks saare usuelu peale seda, kui majanduslike soodustuste lootuses ja Riia õigeusu piiskopi organiseerimisel astus 1886. a. 10.-15. septembril 514 vormsilast õigeusku. Jumalateenistuste pidamiseks üüriti kiiresti üks hurtsik ja koguduse preestriks sai venelane Orlov, kes oma vähese riigirootsi keele oskusega vormsilastele arusaadav polnud. Alanud venestuse tingimustes said õigeusu kiriku ja Eestimaa kubermangu juhid lahti ka õigeusu vaenlaseks loetud Österblomist, kes 1887. a. märtsis saadeti Rootsi tagasi. Ei aidanud ka 800 allkirjaga vormsilaste palvekiri Österblomi kaitseks. Seegi abinõu ei hoidnud aga ära 1887. a. alanud vormsilaste äralangemist õigeusust.

Paljud õigeusklikud külastasid ka lahkusuliste palvetunde ja osa tunnistas end avalikult sektandiks. Ametlikult võisid

vormsilased õigeusust lahkuda alles pärast 1905. a. 1922. aastaks oli saarel õigeusklikke vaid 3%, osa neist aga oli saanud Vormsi murraku omandanud preester Vaaraski truudeks jüngriteks ja ei tunnistanud Eesti apostellikku õigeusku.

1887.-1889. a. saarel läbiviidud juurdlsused heidavad valgust ka Vormsi priilaste e. nn. hüppajate tegevusele. Österblomi õpetuse järgijaid süüdistati kiriklike kombetalitluste mittetunnistamises, mis viinud sektante ka "metsikute abieludeni" jm. pattudeni, kuna jumalalastel kehtinud omad seadused. Samas mõndi, et Österblom ise juhtis vaid ühte saare neljast sektist, mis olnud luteri kiriku ja ülejäänud kolme äärmiselt müstilise sekti vahepeal. Need kolm sekti olnud baptistid, ekstaatilised hüppajad, kelle Österblom olevat 1883. a. paiku hüljanud, ja nn. armulauakogudus, mille liikmed ka oma peredele või koguni iseendale armulauda jaganud. Vormsil valitsenud täielik usuvabadus, lahusulised olnud veendunud, et mingil valitsusvõimul pole õigust keelata nende palvetunde, sest ainsaks loaandjaks olnud neile Kristus. Kõikides Vormsi külates olnud oma sektantlikud õpetajad ja kogu saarel valitsenud tohutu huvi usuküsimuste vastu.

Saarel keelati koolmeistrite Hammermanni ja Alkvisti, samuti baptistide ja priilaste (hüppajate) palvetunnid ning avalikult vastuhakanute vastu korraldati juurdlus. Ometi ei õnnestunud võimudel usuliikumise lõpetamine kuidagi. 1894. a. algas Vormsil jälle suurem ärkamine, mis tõi kaasa ka kohtuskäigud. 1895. a. aprillis trahviti 11 Vormsi lugejat ebaseaduslike palvetundide pidamise eest ja kooskäimise kohad kästi sulgeda. 24 sektandil keelati aga pühapäevakoolide pidamine. Erilist mõju polnud ka neil abinõudel.

Alles 1926. a. registreeriti ametlikult Vormsi Kristlik Priikogudus, mis jäi truuks oma elavale vaimulaadile. 1932. a. registreeriti ka Vormsi nelipühilaste kogudus. Vormsi rootslaste lahusukogudustele tegi enam-vähem lõpu Teise maailmasõja aegne eestirootslaste massiline väljarändamine.

RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN VORMSI FROM THE 1870 TO EMIGRATION OF  
ESTONIAN SWEDES DURING WORLD WAR II

Jaanus Plaat

Western Estonia (Läänemaa county) has figured prominently with its ready susceptibility to various religious movements and sects even up to the present time. Estonian Swedes of the Noarootsi and Vormsi parishes have played a special role in initiating and spreading the religious movements in Läänemaa (Western Estonia). Their missionary work among Western Estonians has helped break down the linguistic-cultural barriers between the two peoples - Swedes and Estonians. At the same time, especially the inhabitants of Vormsi, they have (due to their certain geographical and linguistic isolation) preserved a conspicuous peculiarity in their religious life.

We may talk about the beginning of a more serious Christianization among the Estonian Swedes in connection with the spread of the United Brethren Movement in Estonia in the 18th century. While living in Hiiumaa (1751-1766), J. Marrash, a German Herrnhuter, who could speak both Swedish and Estonian, was able to draw the Swedes nearer to the Estonians thanks to their common religion. He also carried out a lot of religious propaganda by preaching in the parishes of Vormsi and Noarootsi, where the awakened Swedes must obviously have had their houses of prayer as well. After Marrash left for Saaremaa, the Vormsi Brethren Movement must have died out gradually.

In the 19th century the Vormsi inhabitants were leading an inert and declining intellectual life: there were no schools, the Lutheran ministers held aloof from the local people, the inhabitants were experiencing worsening legal and economics conditions and moral degradation. These circumstances should be regarded as the main reasons why Estonian Swede so fervidly joined the popular religious movement which offered them hope, solace and a sense of self-esteem.

The most extensive religious movement among the Estonian Swedes an in the whole country of Läänemaa - the Awakening of Läänemaa - occurred after the year 1873 when the Swedish Evangelic Fatherland Society (Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen, EF later on) sent two missionaries to West Estonia (Läänemaa).

T. E. Thorén started working as teacher and missionary in the Noarrootsi parish, and L. J. Österblom took up the same work in the Vormsi parish. Thanks to the work of these two men a religious awakening began to spread among the Estonian Swedes in those parishes and later on to the neighbouring counties and even further afield.

L. J. Österblom, who had learned to local dialect and with great difficulty had got some school life started, now (with permission from the owner of the Vormsi island O. v. Stackelberg) began to conduct prayer meetings despite opposition from the Lutheran parson Nordgern and a local 'seer'. With his vehement admonition speeches L. J. Österblom called on people to turn against immorality and ungodliness (wickedness), and soon people came realize how sinful they were, and terrified of torments of hell, they began to strive for a better life and salvation of their souls with the help of their missionary.

In 1876 the first Vormsi inhabitants experienced religious awakening and were 'saved'. Their sudden beatification had a deep effect on the other habitants. As the religious movement spread, the awakened persons themselves started preaching, and often people became so seized with fear of hell that they asked for forgiveness of their sins all night through, and at last the Holy Ghost granted them forgiveness and mercy. After salvation people shouted and jumped for joy and their missionary, who at first was quite perplexed at the phenomenon, soon began to regard it as a divine miracle.

Ever more local readers began to join the fast spreading movement, there also arose prophets who asserted they had seen revelations, had eaten manna from heaven, had incited people to set free Jesus Christ who had been languishing in an iron cage on an island, etc. Several of such 'readers' and prophets became Österblom's rivals and were at the head of various religious sects.

A revival of 'Vormsi religion' occurred in the later half of the 1870s and at the beginning of the 1880s. The movement swept the whole island. As the awakening spread, the island was soon almost completely free of drinking and pubs, smoking and other vices. Österblom even went so far that he declared folk songs, folk dances and national costumes immoral. But due



of his efforts three schools were set up, people learned to read and write and appreciate the importance of hygiene and good health.

The abovesaid shows first of all Österblom's personal vision and also the vision of Swedish sectarian authors concerning religious awakening in Vormsi. The attitude of the Lutheran pastors toward the movement and its initiators, on the other hand, was extremely hostile since the Vormsi converted were the first

to secede from the Lutheran church.

Already in 1877 some awakened Vormsi sectarians were said to have begun holding the Holy Communion among themselves, and in 1880 secession from the Lutheran church gained momentum because the converted could not be members of a congregation whose members were immoral and wicked. According to the head of the Estonian Lutheran Church, Schultz, the converted of 11 of the 12 island churches had renounced their parson and started holding communion, baptism, wedding ceremonies and funeral services themselves. A church visitation in 1881 showed that this was an ecstatic movement whose fanatic members would not even hear of returning to the Lutheran church whose services were attended on Sundays only by 5-10 Vormsi inhabitants. The visitators claimed that it was from Vormsi that such customs as jumping, dancing, laughing and clapping at the prayer meetings had spread to continental West Estonia.

In the years 1880-1881 the representatives of the Lutheran church wrote several indictments to the patron of EF and to the governor of Estonia wherein they accused Österblom of sectarianism and hostile activities towards the Lutheran church, spreading the teachings of the Antichrist and Waldenström and inciting people against secular laws. They requested that the missionary should be recalled or sent out of the country. Yet their request was not granted as EF did not think it necessary to recall its missionary and the governor feared there might be unrest among the Vormsi people. The representatives of the Lutheran church had yet another headache in the form of missionaries who preached the new religion and were very active in the Noarootsi parish, in Hiiumaa and beyond.

In July, 1884, Schultz released figures about those who had seceded from the Lutheran church: 300 people in Vormsi, the Noarootsi and Kullamaa parishes following with 50 sectarians each (according to the 1881 census there were 2060 inhabitants in Vormsi, the Swedes accounted for 88.6 per cent of the population).

Of this figure 24 Swedes set up their own Baptist congregation in Vormsi in 1884, but their congregation was not able to compete with the Vormsi Free Congregation Movement that was represented here by several different sects. In 1939 the Vormsi Baptist Congregation had 90 members.

Religious life on the island acquired a specially peculiar form when within a period from September 10-15, 1886, hoping for economic advantages and with the encouragement from the Riga Orthodox bishop, 514 Vormsi inhabitants accepted the Greek Orthodox faith. For the purpose of holding services a ramshackle house was rented and a Russian priest Orlov began conducting prayer meetings. But owing to his poor knowledge of the language Estonian Swedes he was not able to make himself understood by them. In conditions of intense Russification that had just begun the heads of the Russian Orthodox Church and Estonian guberniya got easily rid of their supposed enemy Österblom, who was sent back to Sweden in March, 1887. Although 800 Vormsi inhabitants signed a petition to defend Österblom, their application was dismissed. But yet those measures could not stop the process of secession of the Vormsi inhabitants from the Orthodox church. The secession had started in 1887.

Lots of orthodox believers also attended the prayer meetings of the sectarians and part of them publicly declared themselves sectarian. Officially the Vormsi sectarians could secede from the Orthodox faith only after the year 1905. By the year 1922, the island orthodox believers accounted for only 3 per cent of the whole population and part of them had renounced the Greek Orthodox Faith and became loyal disciples of Vaarask, a priest who had learned the Vormsi dialect.

In the years 1887-1889, investigations were conducted on the island, and these investigations also shed light on the activities of the Vormsi Free Congregation members, the so-

called 'jumpers'. The followers of Österblom's teaching were accused of disavowing church rituals; the disavowal led to the so-called 'wild marriages' and other vices since the children of God had acknowledged only their own laws. At the same time it was admitted that Österblom himself had only headed one of the four island sects, a sect that had belonged somewhere in the middle of the Lutheran church and the three remaining, extremely mystic sects. Those three sects are been Baptist ecstatic jumpers whom Österblom was said to have abandoned by 1883. The three sects were also referred to as the so-called Communion congregation whose members has held Communion for their families or even for themselves singly. There has been complete religious freedom in Vormsi, the sectarians being convinced that the authorities had no right to prohibit their prayer meetings because the only parson who could give them permission to conduct services was Jesus Christ. All the Vormsi villages were said to have had their own sectarian ministers and the whole island population had a keen interest in matters of religion.

Soon the local teachers Hammermann and Alkvist, and likewise the Baptist and Free Congregation preachers were forbidden to conduct prayer meetings and judicial inquiries were started against those who dared to carry on their activities. Yet the authorities did not succeed in stopping the religious movement no matter what measures they applied. In 1894, there again occurred a large-scale religious revival which brought in its wake new lawsuits. In April, 1895, 11 Vormsi readers were fined for having conducted illegal prayer meetings and all gathering places were ordered to be closed down. 24 sectarians were forbidden to conduct Sunday school activities. Those measures had actually no remarkable results.

It was only in 1926 that in Vormsi Christian Free Congregation was officially registered. This congregation remained true its lively spiritual mentality. In 1932 the Vormsi Pentecostal Congregation was also officially registered. During World War II massive emigration of Estonian Swedes from Vormsi put an to the existence of the Swedish sectarian congregations on the island.

## MUUSEUMIESE ETNOLOOGIA UURIMISALLIKANA

Heiki Pärdi

Esemeid on etnoloogia alati pidanud nii oluliseks osaks oma uurimisobjektist - kultuurist - kui ka tähtsaks allikaks kultuuri kohta informatsiooni saamisel. Seega on eseme osa uurimistöös nõ. kahepalgeline ja sellepärast keeruline. Uurimistöö edenemisele aitas palju kaasa esemete koondamine muuseumidesse, sest see muutis esemed teadlastele kergesti kättesaadavaks. Eesti etnoloogiat ("etnograafiat") on eriti tugevalt mõjutanud eelkõige Eesti Rahva Muuseumi suured esemekogud ning esemed on moodustanud tema tegevuse keskme. Samal ajal on hämmastav, et esemeid kui selliseid pole üldse käsitletud, sealhulgas ka allikakriitiliselt mitte.

Ese ehk asi on "Eesti kirjakeele seletussõnaraamatu" järgi igasugune konkreetne materiaalne objekt, enamasti tarbeese - olme või tööga seotud vahend, riist või toode. Lühidalt öeldes oleks "muuseumiese" siis ese, mida muuseumis säilitatakse. Muuseumiese mõiste sisaldab peale eseme enda veel teatavat kaasinformatsiooni, mis eristabki teda lihtsalt "vanast", "huvitavast" või "vääruslikust" asjast - antikvaariast. Teoreetiliselt tähendab eseme muutmise muuseumiesemeks, et väljarebituna elavast kultuurist ei ole ta enam selle osa, vaid dokument selle kohta, mis "oli". Selles mõttes on muuseumiesemete uurimine peaaegu sama mis ajalooallikate käsitlemine. Põhierinevused seisnevad eseme kui allika interpreteerimises. Erinevalt muudest ajalooallikatest (kujutavad ja sõnalised) ei ole esemed loodud spetsiaalselt informatsiooni, teadmiste ja tundmuste väljendamiseks, säilitamiseks ning edastamiseks, lühidalt - kommunikatsiooniks. Ese ei ole samamoodi "loetav" kui muud infoallikad, aga see ei tähenda, et ese sisaldab ainult seda, mida me vahetult näeme - füüsilisi omadusi (vorm, materjal, suurus, värv, kaal), ehitust ning praktilist otstarvet ja kasutamist (rõivas ei ole ainult keha katmiseks, maja ei ole ainult kaitseks külma, kuuma jms. eest, auto ei ole ainult liiklusvahend). Esemed on sellised või teistsugused, sest nad tähendavad veel midagi, mis ei tulene nende otsesest otstarbest. Esemete kaudu väljendavad inimesed oma mõtteid, arusaamu, suhtumisi, tundmusi jmt., see tähendab, et esemel on ka

sümboolne tähendus. Juhul kui kultuuri uurimisel ei taheta piirduda ainult "nähtavaga", vaid püütakse jõuda selle sügavamate kihtideni, tuleb esemeid uurimisallikana kasutades neist välja lugeda ka seda, mida neis vahetult ei ole.

Eeltoodu pole sugugi ainult teoreetilise tähtsusega, vaid sellest sõltub suuresti muuseumiesemete väärtus allikana. Eseme muuseumisse toomisega loome me tegelikult ise allikdokumendi, mis saab vastata ainult neile küsimustele, mida osati esitada kogumisel/vastuvõtul. Olemasolevad muuseumi esemekogud on loodud võrdlev-ajaloolise meetodi mõjuväljas ning esemed on olnud väärtuslik allikas kultuuri "nähtuste" erinevuse ja sarnasuse, tekkeloolise päritolu ja arengu uurimisel. Esemetega kaasnev teave sisaldab peamiselt andmeid aja, koha ja otstarbe kohta, eseme inimliku aspekti, tema tähenduse jäädvustamist ei peetud oluliseks. Seetõttu sisaldavad muuseumikogud küll väga palju asju, kuid väga vähe inimese kohta, kelle mõistmine on etnoloogia eesmärk.

Puhtalt allikakriitilisest seisukohast on väga tähtis see, millised esemed ja miks muuseumisse on jõudnud. 1. Suur roll on juhusel, sest sellest sõltub, mis üldse säilib minevikust. 2. Eseme mõõdud määravad tihti küllalt otsustavalt, mis mahub või ei mahu muuseumisse. 3. Oma valiku teeb ka eseme andja/loovutaja. 4. Palju sõltub muuseumi rahalistest võimalustest ja 5. muuseumi traditsioonist (koguda seda, mida varem oli kogutud). 6. Kõige tähtsam valikutegur on ühiskonnas (kaasa arvatud muuseumitöötajate seas) valitsev kujutelmade, hinnangute ja ajaloonägemuse kogum, mis väärtustab esemeid muuseumi jaoks.

Teine väga oluline probleem on eseme kui elava kultuuri osa muuseumiesemeks muutmise protsess ise. Suurel määral kattub see välitööde-probleemiga laiemas mõttes. Meil on siin seni nähtud ainult nõ. puhttehnilisi külgi.

Kolmandaks, muuseumieseme usaldatavus allikana. See on tihedalt seotud eelmise punktiga. See ei puuduta mitte niivõrd eseme enda ehtsust, vaid kaasteabe kvaliteeti.

Uurimistöõ seisukohalt on päris oluline ka allikate süstematiseerimine, sest sellest sõltub nende kättesaadavus, mis omakorda mõjustab saadavaid tulemusi.

Museumiese vaadelduna ükskõik missugusest aspektis on palju problemaatilisem nähtus, kui Eesti etnoloogid on seni üldiselt arvanud. Kindlasti aitaks kultuuri uurimist edasi viia ka see, kui me käsitleksime eset senisest avaramalt.

## MUSEUM OBJECT AS A SOURCE IN ETHNOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Heiki Pärdi

Ethnology has considered objects to be an essential part of its research object (culture) as well as an important source providing information on culture. Hence objects occupy a "double-faced" and therefore complicated place in ethnological investigation.

The creating of museum collections contributed a great deal to the advancement of respective research, as this made objects easily available for scientists. The great collections of the Estonian National Museum have exerted an especially strong influence on Estonian ethnology ("ethnography") and, as a whole, it has primarily been object-centred. At the same time it is surprising that the theoretical aspect in the study of the objects has not been touched upon, neither have they been analyzed from the source-critical point of view.

According to the "Eesti kirjakeele seletussõnaraamat" (Estonian Literary Language Defining Dictionary) the word *ese* or *asi* ("thing") signifies any material object, mostly a commodity - an implement or product connected with everyday life or work. So, a "museum object" is an object that is preserved in a museum. Besides the object itself the concept 'museum object' also includes certain additional information that distinguishes it from a simply "old", "interesting" or "valuable", i.e. antiquarian object.

From the theoretical aspect a museum object is not a part of living or functioning culture, but a document on what "was in the past". In this context the study of museum objects is almost analogical to the study of historical records. The main differences consist in interpreting objects as sources. Unlike

other historical sources (literary and figurative), objects are not specially created to express certain knowledge or feelings, to preserve and forward information, i.e. for communication.

One cannot "read" an object similarly to other sources of information, but this does not mean that an object only comprises what we can directly observe - physical characters (form, material, size, colour, weight), construction, practical purpose and ways of use. Clothing does not only cover one's body, a house does not only shield from cold and hot weather, a car is not only a vehicle. Various objects in this way or other also signify something that cannot be directly derived from their primary purpose. Through objects people express their thoughts, ideas, attitudes, feelings etc., i.e. objects are also characterized by a symbolic meaning. If one does not want to restrict oneself to the "visible" only, but aims to reach its deeper layers, one must, by using objects as sources for research, also interpret their indirect context.

What was said above is not only of theoretical significance, but the value of museum objects as sources is greatly dependent on this standpoint, too. Taking an object to a museum, we ourselves in fact, create a document that is able to provide answers to such questions only that were set at collecting/reception.

The material that museum collections contain nowadays, was collected under the influence of comparative-historical method. Then objects were considered to be valuable sources for the investigation of differences, similarities, origin and development of cultural phenomena. Therefore, information about objects provides data mainly on time, place and purpose; the "human" aspect, the fixing of their meaning was considered fairly unimportant. So, museum collections contain a great amount of things but offer relatively little information on the human aspect, the understanding of which is one of the aims of contemporary ethnology.

From the purely source-critical point of view it is extremely important what kind of objects and why have reached the museum. Hereby: 1) chance play a great role as this often determines what is preserved altogether; 2) often the measures

of an object play a decisive role (some objects "fit in" and others do not; 3) the owner/donor of the object makes his choice; 4) much depends on the museum's financial resources and 5) museum tradition (to collect what had been collected earlier); 6) the most important principle of selection is a complex of images, evaluations and historical concepts dominating in a given society (incl. museum workers), that appraises certain objects for the museum.

Another very important problem is the process of turning an object as a part of living culture into a museum object. To a great extent this coincides with the problems of fieldwork in its broader sense. Up to now only purely technical aspects have been dealt with.

A third problem is the reliability of museum objects as sources. This does not only concern the authenticity of the object itself, but also the quality of additional information.

For the investigation aspect, the systematization of sources is also quite important, as this provides their availability that also influences the results achieved.

Studying the different aspects, we find that a museum object is a much more problematic phenomenon than Estonian ethnologists have considered it to be so far. Considering the role of objects in culture in a wider perspective would contribute to the study of culture in general.



## RAUDTEEKLUBIST EESTI RAHVA MUUSEUMI NÄITUSEMAJAKS

(Püsinäituse üldkava põhimõtted)

Vaike Reemann

"Muuseum - see on elav organism."

Roy Strong

Elava organismi normaalseks talitluseks peavad kõik olulised funktsioonid olema rahuldatud. Peaülesannetena on Eesti Rahva Muuseumi põhikirjas märgitud kogumine, säilitamine, uurimine ja populariseerimine.

Paraku on ERM viimase veerandsaja aasta jooksul olnud peamiselt kogumise ja säilitamisega, teatavate mõõndustega võib öelda, et ka uurimisega tegelev asutus. Populariseerimine ehk levitamine on viimase aja museoloogiapoleemikas sageli asendatud laiemasulise mõistega 'kommunikatsioon' ehk 'suhtlemine'. See funktsioon on ERMil olnud tugevalt pärsitud. Keskmiselt on aastas 5-6 näitust statsionaaris (110 m<sup>2</sup>). Kümnekond aastat tagasi demonstreeriti esemeid gruppidele sageli lausa hoidlas. Lisaks peetakse aastas umbes 400 loengut ja antakse konsultatsioone, kus peamiseks vahendiks on ikka olnud originaalse. Selline olukord ei ole normaalne.

Kuigi on tekkinud lootus, et ehitatakse muuseumi kõiki vajadusi rahuldav hoone, on leitud võimalus ka ajutiseks lahenduseks. 4. jaanuaril 1993. a. anti ERMile üle muuseumi läheduses, seega üsna kesklinnas, paiknev maja, mille kahe korruse ja keldri üldpind on 1720 m<sup>2</sup>. Tartu linnas ja ümbruskonnas teatava spetsiifilise mainega Raudteeklubi ümberfunktsioneerimine näitusemajaks on seotud mitmete probleemidega. Ometi võimaldab see muuseumil üle hulga aja koostada ja esitada püsinäitust, mitmekesistada publikuga suhtlemise vorme ning vähendada esemekogude koormust.

Esimesele korrusele planeeritud püsinäitus (500 m<sup>2</sup>), info-ruum (video, slaidide ja loodetavasti ka arvuti kasutamiseks), kauplus (väljaannete ja käsitööesemete müügiks) ja kohvik. Teisel korrusel paikneb kolm ruumi ajutiste näituste jaoks (250 m<sup>2</sup>), konsultatsiooniruum ja lektorium (150 m<sup>2</sup>, võimalusega filme näidata). Lisaks on töö- ja olmeruumid. Püsiväljapanek peab looma eesti kultuurist teatava tervikpildi, mil-

lele saaks toetuda mõnda kitsast ainevalda või nähtust sügavuti käsitlevad ajutised näitused. Audiovisuaalsetele programmidele, loengutele jms. üritustele annaks see samuti tausta ja konteksti.

Kogu näitusemaja maine loomisel on väga tähtis roll püsinäitusel. Paraku puudub praegusel kollektiivil vastava töökogemus. Ainsa püsiekspositsioonina ERMi ajalooos saab käsitleda Raadi lossis 1927. aastaks valminud väljapanekut 31 ruumis. (Sõja ajal esemed evakueeriti, hoone hävis.) See oli tüpoloogilis-paikkondliku printsiibiga esemeväljapanek, millest tänaseni mäletatakse "setu taret" ja kultuuriloolisi saale. Toetudes toleaegsele ajaloolis-geograafilisele uurimismeetodile etnoloogias ning Põhjamaade saavutustele museoloogias, oli jõutud tulemuseni, mida rahvusvaheliseltki kõrgelt hinnati.

50 aasta jooksul on muutunud nii etnoloogia kui ka museoloogia metoodika. Seda tuleb arvestada ka praegu koostatava näituse puhul. Lähtuda tuleb mitmetest Eesti ühiskonna ajaloo ilmnevatest eripäradest. Sajandeid eksisteerisid paralleelselt eestlaste talupoeglik ja "võõraste" (lihtsustatult baltisaksa) linlikku mentaliteeti kandev kultuur. Uuenduste vahendaja linnast külla oli enamasti mõis. Oma rahvusest kõrgkihi puudumine on eesti kultuuri väga oluliselt mõjutanud, muutes selle suhteliselt homogeenseks. Alles 1860.-1870. aastate rahvuslik liikumine, mille üks juhtmõte oli hariduse edendamine, viis eestlastest haritlaskonna ja professionaalse kunsti tekkele. Samaaegsed olulised muutused majandusel põhjustasid Eesti ühiskonna tegeliku diferentseerumise. Sellest perioodist alates saab jälgida linliku mentaliteedi laialdast levikut eestlaste hulgas. Eeltoodut arvestades võib näituse sisulisel ülesehitusel pidada ilmselt otstarbekaks mentaliteedi-ajaloolist lähenemisviisi.

Ligi 3/4 ekspositsioonipinnast on planeeritud traditsioonilisele talupojakultuurile. Vaatajani püütakse tuua talu elamisviisi tervikpilti 19. sajandil. Hoonestust vahendavad talumakett ja interjöörid (rehealune, rehetuba, kamber, ait ja sepikoda), milles esitatakse loomulikke esemekooslusi, mis iseloomustavad vastavas ruumis toimunud tegevusi. Elatusaladest käsitletakse põllundust koos karjandusega, kalastust,

põgusalt küttimist ja mesindust. Kõik see lavastuslikus laadis esitatuna võiks publikus tekitada tunnetuse argielust. Kirjeldatu jätkuks on tähtpäevade aastaringi ja pulmakombestikku jälgiv väljapanek, mis vahendab talupoja vaimset ja loome maailma. Rõdul esitatakse talupojakultuuri paikkondlikke eripärasid, väikese pinna tõttu vaid põgusalt markeerides ka setu, Peipsi-vene ja eestirootsi osakultuure. Selle lõigu esituslaad on kiretult teaduslik.

Eraldi ruumis (150 m<sup>2</sup>), mida üsna tinglikult võiks nimetada "Mõjud ja muutused", on plaanis analüüsivas vormis tuua vaatajani baltisaksa linna- ja mõisakultuuri, esitades eriti ilmekaid näiteid laenudest talupojakultuuris. 2/3 ülalnimetatud ruumist jääks eestlaste elulaadis 19. sajandi lõpus ja 20. sajandil toimunud muutuste käsitlemiseks.

Ekspositsiooni väike pind võimaldab mitmeid ilminguid vaid väga põgusalt esitada. Et suurendada informatiivsust, on planeeritud eri alalõikude juurde infolehed, mis annavad vastava teema kohta ülevaate. Andmed esemete kohta ja muu täpsem teave oleks hea sisestada arvutisse (eriti ERMi TÜ õppebaasina silmas pidades).

Kokkuvõtteks:

1. ERMi kommunikatsioonifunktsioon on olnud aastakümneid pärsitud.
2. Näitusemaja annab ajutise võimaluse erinevateks suhtlemisvormideks publikuga.
3. Püsinäituse eesmärk on luua eesti kultuurist tervikpilt, markeerides ka mõningaid osakultuure.
4. Info esitatakse näitusel mitmes vormis ja tasandil.
5. Varieeritud laadis kaasaegse kujundusega väljapanek annab võimaluse haarata erineva vastuvõtlikkusega publikugruppe.

A CLUB FOR RAILWAY WORKERS IS TURNED INTO AN EXHIBITION HOUSE  
FOR THE ESTONIAN NATIONAL MUSEUM.

Vaike Reemann

For the normal functioning of a living organism all its essential needs should be satisfied. The rules of the Estonian National Museum state that the main tasks of the museum are collecting, preserving, investigating and popularising its treasures.

During the last twenty-five years, unfortunately, the Estonian National Museum has been dealing with collecting and preservation, to some extent also with investigation. Popularisation or dissemination has been, due to the recent museology polemics, replaced by a more comprehensive concept - communication or association with people. This function with us has been persistently inhibited. On average 5-6 yearly exhibitions, stationary, in an area of 110m<sup>2</sup>. Some tens of years ago the objects were demonstrated to the visitors in groups in the depository itself. In addition, about 400 lectures were held a year, plus consultations. And the main visual aid here was always the original museum piece. Such a situation cannot be considered normal.

Although there is some hope that a building capable of meeting all the needs of the museum will be built in future, now a temporary solution has been found. On January 4, 1993, the Estonian National Museum has given a building in its vicinity, centrally located in the town. This is a two-storey building, the total area of the two floors and the basement is 1,700 m<sup>2</sup>. But there are lots of problems in connection with transforming the function of the club for railway workers, a club which in the town of Tartu and in its vicinity has acquired a certain image. And still, this fact makes it possible for the museum, after a number of years, to put together and exhibit a permanent display, to be able to vary its relations with the visiting public and diminish the load on its collections.

The ground floor is planned for a permanent exhibition (500 m<sup>2</sup>), an information room (videos, slides and we hope also the use of a computer), a shop (for the sale of editions and

handicraft items), and a café. The first floor has three rooms for temporary exhibitions (250m<sup>2</sup>), a consultation room and a lecture room (150m<sup>2</sup>, with a possibility for showing films as well). In addition there are also workrooms and other facilities. Providing that a permanent exhibition will give a complete picture of Estonian culture, temporary exhibitions which deal some narrower subject or delve deeper into some phenomenon could refer to this permanent exhibition. This permanent exhibition would likewise serve as a background for audio-visual programmes, lectures, etc. and other events.

The permanent exhibition plays a primary role in creating the image of the showhouse as a whole. Unfortunately, the present museum staff lack the experience required for such kind of work. The only permanent exposition in the history of the Estonian National Museum was the exposition presented in 31 rooms of the Raadi castle in 1927. (During the Second World War the museum pieces were evacuated and the building perished.) This was an exhibition arranged to the typological-local principle, and of this exhibition people have memories of the "Setu tare" (an old-fashioned Setu farmhouse) and of the halls reflecting Estonian culture. As the museum employed contemporary historic-geographical research methods, in ethnology and the achievements of Nordic Museum, results were obtained that found high appraisal abroad.

In the course of fifty years both the methods of ethnology and museology have changed. This fact ought to be taken into consideration in putting together the present exposition. The history of Estonian society has several peculiarities. For centuries there were existed side by side the peasant Estonian culture and the 'foreign' (Baltic-German) culture of town mentality. It was mostly the manorial estate that introduced innovations from towns to villages. The lack of the national élité has influenced Estonian national culture in the sense that it remained relatively homogeneous. It was only in the 1860s and 1870s that the national movement the leading principle of which was to foster education brought about the emergence of the Estonian intellectuals and professional art. At the same time essential changes in our economic life led to the actual differentiation of Estonian society. Since that

period it is possible to observe the development of town mentality in Estonians. Considering the abovesaid, it could be expedient to employ the mentality-historical approach in designing the composition of the exposition.

Almost three-fourths of the exposition area is meant for displaying the Estonian peasant culture. We try to give the visitors a complete picture of the peasant way of life in the 19th century. The buildings on the site are represented by a farm model and the interiors of rooms (a large room for threshing grain, a room used for kiln-drying grain, a small living room, a storehouse, a smithy) in which groups of objects characteristic of activities carried out in these rooms are presented. As for sources of living, agriculture is dealt with together with stock-raising, fishing is also dwelt upon, a brief survey of hunting and beekeeping is also given. All these aspects of peasant life, presented in scenic sequence, should give the visiting public an idea of peasant everyday life. The above described is followed by a display which portrays all-the-year-round notable days and wedding rites. This display is based on festive folk costumes, objects of folk art and 19th-century pieces of graphic art and represents the peasant's spiritual and creative world. The display on the balcony describes local peculiarities of peasant culture. Due to limited space, it gives a fleeting glimpse of the Setu, Russian (on Lake Peipsi) and Estonian Swedish cultures that have their share in shaping out national culture. The manner of this representation is dispassionately scientific and dry.

In a separate room (150m<sup>2</sup>), which provisionally might be designated as 'influences and changes' we are going to set up a display reflecting the Baltic-German town and manor culture. Here we want to give especially vivid examples of borrowings into peasant culture. Two-thirds of this room would be devoted to Estonian way of life at the end of the 19th century and the changes at the turn of the century and in the 20th century.

As the exposition area is very limited, several phenomena can be dealt with only very superficially. In order to increase the amount of information we are going to provide special subdivisions with information bulletins or brochures which present an overview of a respective subject. Data about

objects and other more detailed information should be recorded in computers (especially in regard to the fact that Estonian National Museum serves as a base for training future ethnologists and other museum workers).

Summing up:

I. The communicative function of the Estonian National Museum has been inhibited for tens of years.

II. The new exposition will give only temporary possibility for different forms of public intercourse.

III. The aim of the permanent exhibition is to create a complete picture of Estonian culture, thereby pointing out some other cultures that have their share in shaping Estonian culture.

IV. Information about Estonian culture is presented in various forms and at various levels.

V. The display, presented in a variety of ways and in modern design, makes it possible to appeal to and grip the attention of groups of visitors of different tastes and receptivity.

## HANTIDE TRADITSIOONILISED ELAMUD KAASAJAL

Edgar Saar

Hantide elamuid on 20. saj. algul uurinud U. T. Sirelius ja sajandi keskel Z. P. Sokolova. Käesolev ettekanne tugineb põhiliselt autori välitöödele aastatest 1974–1989.

Hantide traditsioonilised asulad olid väikesed, tavaliselt 2–6 peret. Hantidel oli mitu asulat: kevadised, suvised, sügisesed ja talvised. Sõltuvalt aastaajast asusid nad elama ühest asulast teise.

Hantide traditsioonilised elamud on püstkojad, neljakandilised hütid, maakojad ja ristpalkelamud.

Püstkoda on hantide ürgne elamu. Püstkoja sõrestik ehitatakse koonusekujuliselt asetatud lattidest. Latid tehakse kuu- se-, kase- ja pajupuust. Kaks või kolm latti on ülaosast rihma või nõõriga kokku seotud, ülejäänud asetatakse lahtiselt nende peale. Varem kaeti püstkoja sõrestik suvel kasetohust, talvel põhjapõdranahast kattega. Ka tänapäeval kasutatakse neid katteid, kuigi rohkem tarvitatakse present. Kasetohtkatte valmistamisel keedetakse kasetohtu katlas, siis muutub see elasteks. Kasetohu ribad õmmeldakse niidiga katteks kokku. Püstkoja tippu ei kaeta, sealt tuleb valgus sisse ja läheb suits välja. Püstkojal on laudadest põrand. Keskosas põrandat ei ole, seal on lõkkekoht või raudplekist ahi.

Kahel pool on magamisasemed. Magatakse põhjapõdranahkadel, mille all on heintest matid ning nende all puuksad või puupulkadest sõrestik. Ukseava vastaskülje ääres hoitakse toiduaineid ja tarbevara.

Püstkojas istutakse magamisasemetel, puupakkudel või üksikutel järidel. Süüakse mõnekümne sentimeetri kõrguselt laualt.

Peale püstkodade on suvisteks karkasselamuteks veel neljakandilised hütid, millel on 1–2 viiluga või kaarekujuliselt kumer katus. Hüti karkass on valmistatud lattidest, mis varem kaeti kasetohust või nulukoorest kattega, aga tänapäeval kasutatakse ka musta kilet, millega kaetakse naftatorusid. Tänapäeval on neljakandilisi hütte väga vähe.

Talvisteks elamuteks on sajandeid olnud maakojad, mis olid poolest kuni poolteise meetri sügavuseni maa sees. Maakoja palkidest ja lattidest ehitatud tüvipüramiidikujuline karkass



kaeti pealt kasetohuga, millele pandi mättad ja muld. Maakojal oli muldpõrand, väike uks, jäätükist aken ning kaminataoline ahi puupulkadest ja savist valmistatud korstnaga.

Maakojad olid vähesel määral kasutusel veel 20. saj. algul, Vahhi jõe ääres veel kuni Teise maailmasõjani. Tänapäeval esineb neid mahajäetult mõnes kõrvalises paigas.

Traditsioonilised ristpalkelamud on mõnel pool veel kasutusel. Nende seinad on palkidest, katused kaheviilulised. Katuse roovlatid kaetakse algul kisklaudadega, mille peale asetatakse kaetoht ning sellele palgid, latid või plangud. Telkkatusega ristpalkelamu on tänapäeval haruldus. Ühte sellist elamut olen näinud Kazõmi jõe ääres.

Tänapäeval elab enamik hante külades, kus majad on ehitatud tüüpprojekti järgi. Kõige enamkasutatavam on maja, mis koosneb esikust, köögist ja toast, aga palju on ka ühetoalisi elamuid. Nendes majades on laudpõrandad ja tellistest ahjud, katused on kas laudadest või eterniidist. Viimastel aastakümnetel on ehitatud ka suuremaid, mitmekorterilisi maju.

Traditsioonilise elamu juures on üks või mitu aita. Aidad on kas maa peal või sammastel ning on ehitatud palkidest või laudadest. Ka tüüpprojektide järgi ehitatud majade juures esineb sammasaitu.

Kokkuvõtteks võib öelda, et traditsioonilistest elamutest kasutatakse kõige enam püstkoda, vähem ristpalkelamut. Püstkodasid esineb rohkem põhja-, algelisi ristpalkelamuid idahantidel. Neljakandilisi hütte kasutatakse väga vähe ning maakojad on ka kasutuselt kadunud.

## THE TRADITIONAL DWELLING HOUSES OF THE KHANTS NOWADAYS

Edgar Saar

The dwellings of the Khants (Ostyaks) have been investigated by U. T. Sirelius at the beginning of the 20th century and by Z. P. Sokolova in the middle of the 20th century. The present report is based mainly on the field work of the author, carried out in the years 1974-1989.

The traditional dwellings and settlements of the Khants were small, usually they included 2-6 families. They had several dwellings - to be lived in in spring, summer, autumn and winter. Depending on the season, they moved from one dwelling into another.

The traditional dwellings of the Khants are conical tents rectangular huts, earth huts and crossbeam cottages or log cabins.

The conical tent is an ancient dwelling of the Khants. Its framework is built of conically erected poles. These are either spruce, birch or willow poles. Two or three poles are bound together at the top by a leather strap or string, the rest of the poles are placed loosely on them without any fixation. In earlier times the framework was covered with birch bark in summer and with reindeer skins in winter. Such kind of covers are also used at present, but in addition lots of tarpaulin has come into use as well. In preparing a birch bark cover, birch bark is boiled in a cauldron until it becomes soft and pliable. Birch bark strips are then sewn together with catgut to form a cover. The top of the conical tent remains uncovered, it is by this opening that light can come in and smokes go out. The floor of the conical tent is made of boards. In the middle there is no board floor, this part is meant for a fire or an iron stove.

In the conical tent there are sleeping places on both sides. People sleep on reindeer skins under which have been placed grass mats which lie on twigs or grates of sticks. On the opposite site of the doorway they keep their foodstuffs and tools and tackle.

For sitting in the conical tents the Khants make us of either sleeping places, wooden blocks or small low stools.

Meals are taken at tables of a low height (some tens of centimetres).

In addition to conical tents there are also rectangular huts for use in summer. These huts have roofs with one or two gables, they may also have an arch-shaped roof resting on a frame of curved rods. The framework of the hut is made of poles which in earlier times were covered with birch bark or sliver fir bark but nowadays they also use a black plastic cover, the kind that is used for covering oil pipes. Very few rectangular huts are in use at the present time.

For centuries earth huts served as winter dwellings. They were built in pits dug in the ground to a depth of a half or one and a half meters. Then framework of the earth hut was built of logs and poles, it had the shape of a truncated pyramid that was covered with birch bark and then with sod and earth. The earth hut had a floor of beaten earth, a small door, a window of ice and fireplace-like stove with chimney, made of sticks and clay.

At the beginning of the 20th century earth huts were in use to a small extent, near the River Vakh they could be found up to the period before World War II. At the present time abandoned earth huts occur only in a few out-of-the-way places.

Traditional log cabins are still in use in some places. Their walls are made of logs, the roofs have two gables. The roof battens are first covered with boards split off from logs. These boards are covered with birch bark, and then on top are placed logs, poles or planks. A four-gabled crossbeam log cabin is a rarity in our days, I have seen one such dwelling near the River Kazym.

At the present time most of Khants live in village where the houses have been built according to a standard design. Most widely used is the type of dwelling which includes a small anteroom, a kitchen and a living-room, but there are also a lot of one-room dwellings. In these dwellings there are board floors and brick stoves, the roofs have been made either of boards or of asbestos cement. During the last decades big-ger, multi-apartment houses have been built as well.

A traditional dwelling house usually has one or several storehouses. The storehouses are either on the ground or stand

on piles of logs or boards. Pile storehouses can also be found near the dwellings built according to a standard design.

To sum up, we can say that of the traditional dwellings most widespread are conical tents, log cabins are met less often. Conical tents are more widespread in the regions inhabited by the northern Khants, primitive log cabins are found in the regions inhabited by the eastern Khants. Rectangular huts are very rarely used, and earth huts have fallen into disuse.

## N. VENE RAHVUSAUTONOOMIAD JA SOOMEUGRI

### RAHVASTE ARENG

Heno Sarv

Vene impeeriumi asemele I maailmasõja järel kujunenud Nõukogude Venemaa seisis terve rea sisemiste probleemide ees, mis vajasid lahendamist. Tollase juhtkonna seisukohalt tulid loomulikult kõik probleemid lahendada revolutsiooniliselt, s.t. iga küsimuse lahenduseks leida midagi enneolematut. See enneolematu pidi aga siiski töötama ühtemoodi kogu ulatuslikul Venemaal, hoolimata selle sisemistest erinevustest, kuivõrd kommunistlik maailmakäsitus eitas igasugust individualismi.

Rahvusprobleemide lahendamiseks moodustati juba 1917. a. Rahvasasjade Rahvakomissariaat (Narkomnac), mille juhiks kinnitati Jossif Stalin. Hilisemate N. Vene ajaloolaste hinnangul ei olnud Stalini roll Narkomnaci konkreetse töö korraldamisel kuigi oluline, jooksvat tööd korraldas komissariaadi aparaat (vt. Makarova 1987). Aprillis 1924 Narkomnac likvideeriti seoses N. Liidu Kesktäitevkomitee Rahvuste Nõukogu moodustamisega.

Rahvusprobleemide lahkamiseks ning Vene föderatsiooni koosseisus autonoomsete piirkondade moodustamiseks toimusid aastail 1918–1921 paljudel Venemaa rahvastel ülevenemaalised kongressid, näiteks udmurtidel I Ülevenemaaline Kongress 1918. a. juunis Jelabugas, II Ülevenemaaline Kongress 1919. a. septembris, 1920. a. juunis toimus ülevenemaaline kommunistide-udmurtide kongress (Popov 1972: 6–7); 1921. a. jaanuaris toimus Ust-Sõssolskis I komi parteikongress (Makarova 1987: 108); 1921. a. juunis toimus Samaaras I ülevenemaaline mordva rahvusest kommunistide kongress (Bukin 1990: 27). Sellistel kongressidel olid rahvusprobleemid arutusel vägagi laias ulatuses. Nii näiteks on teada, et komi kongressil oli kõne all ka täielik enesemääramine ning rahvuslike relvajõudude moodustamine. Kuid nagu näeme eeltoodud daatumeistki, olid juba 1920. aastaks kogu rahvast haaravad rahvuslik-poliitilised liikumised muudetud vaid parteisiseseks diskussiooniks, nende kongresside materjalid olid kuni viimaste aastateni suletud parteiarhiividesse ning laiemale üldsusele kättesaadavad vaid hilisemate autorite refereeringute kaudu. Seega olid seitsme-

kümne aasta jooksul kogu Venemaa rahvusliku liikumise igasugused ilmingud nii minevikus kui kaasajal NLKP täieliku kontrolli all.

Tänapäevasisituatsioon Venemaa rahvaste elus on mõnevõrra sarnane situatsiooniga 1918.-1920. aastail: taas on rahvuslikud liikumised vabanenud NLKP "juhtivast ja suunavast" mõjust ning taas üritatakse pika aja jooksul kujunenud probleemistikule lahendust leida rahvaste ülevenemaalistel kongressidel.

Mis sundis 1920. aastal võtma rahvuslike liikumiste ilmingud partei kontrolli alla? Üheks põhjuseks võisid olla noorte rahvuslike liikumiste sisemised vastuolud, lahendamatud erimeelsused rahvusliidrite vahel rahvuspoliitilise ülesehitustöö küsimuses, mida ei suudetud loodetud kiirusega lahendada. Seda kinnitab Venemaa suurima soomeugri rahva - mordvalaste riikluse kujunemise käik. 1924. aastaks olid uuringud mordva autonoomiaala moodustamise kohta praktiliselt seiskunud. Neid alustati uuesti VK(b)P orgbüroo initsiatiivil, kusjuures ikka esitati mordvalaste asuala rahvusstruktuuri eripära kohta peaaegu ebareaalne tingimus: leida kompaktne territoorium, kus mordvalaste osatähtsus oleks üle 50% (Bukin 1990: 38). Teatavasti hiljem ei olnud see tingimus sugugi oluline Juudi AO moodustamisel ega ka Kasahhi ja Karjala-Soome NSV eksisteerimisel.

1920-ndail aastail eksisteerinud rahvuskülanõukogudel ja rahvusrajoonidel ei olnud ühtset poliitilist staatust: kui mõnel pool oli rahvuskülanõukogus asjaajamine rangelt põlisrahvakeelne, siis teisel loeti rahvusrajoonideks kõiki rajooni, kus oli mittevõene asulaid - ilma et sellest tulenuks mingeid poliitilisi või seadusandlikke erijooni (vt. näit. Srednjaja Volga: 7). Viimast tüüpi oli ka 1928.-1930. a. Kesk-Volga krai koosseisus olnud Mordva ringkond (Bukin 1977: 76). Formaalne mordva rahvusautonoomia hakkas kujunema alles 1930. a. Mordva Autonoomse Oblasti moodustamisega.

II maailmasõja eelõhtuks olid Venemaal põhijoontes välja kujunenud nüüdisaegne administratiivjaotus ja rahvusautonoomiad. Need erinesid oluliselt revolutsioonieelse Venemaa administratiivjaotusest. Huvitav on seejuures märkida, et Venemaa poolt vallutatud rahvaste, näiteks tatarlaste ja baš-

kiiride, autonoomiaalade keskusteks said endised kubermangukeskused Kaasan ja Ufaa; ilma suuremate sõdadeta Venemaa koosseisu läinud rahvaste (viimaste hulka kuulus enamik soomeugri rahvaid) asualad jäid aga Tsaari-Venemaa administratiivjaotuses kubermangude äärealadele, kuivõrd polnud tunnivat vajadust nende alade intensiivseks koloniseerimiseks.

Nõukogude rahvusautonoomiate näol oli Venemaa endiste kubermangude äärealadel tekkinud terve rida uusi administratiivüksusi, millel puudus väljakujunenud tööstuslik keskus. Et uusi administratiivüksuste keskusi välja arendada, paigutati sinna sõja ajal läänepoolsetelt aladelt evakueeritud sõjatööstus ja vangilaagrid. Nii kujunesid soomeugri rahvaste põlisalad, Tsaari-Venemaa administratsiooni poolt omasoodu olla lastud kolkad, nõukogude ajal ühelt poolt Gulagi keskusteks (Dubravlag Mordvas, Permi laagrid permikomide ja udmurtide maal, Vorkuta laagrid komide maal, Labytnangi laagrid hantide ja neenetsite maal jne. (vt. Uibopuu 1984)), teiselt poolt strateegilise tööstuse keskusteks (Iževski relvatööstus Udmurtias, Arzamassi tuumaurimiskeskus Mordvas, eksploateeritavad naftamaardlad hantide maal, kivisöemaardlad komide maal jne.). Loomulikult kaasnes selliste radikaalsete majanduslike muudatustega vajadus värvata neile aladele juurde täiendavat tööjõudu, mille tagajärjel põlisrahvas jäi kiiresti oma autonoomiaalal vähemusrahvaks. Autonoomiaalade administratsioon, mis oli valitud kogu autonoomiaala elanikkonna poolt, esindas demokraatliku meelestatuse korral elanikkonna enamuse (s.t. mitte põlisrahva) huve; totalitaarse meelestatuse korral kõrgema administratiivkeskuse (s.t. samuti mitte põlisrahva) huve.

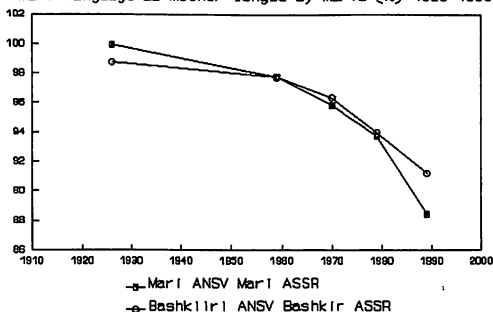
Seega, nii paradoksaalne kui see ka ei tundu, andis just nõukogude rahvusautonoomiate moodustamine otsustava tõe soomeugri rahvaste asualade aktiivsemaks koloniseerimiseks. Ilmekalt illustreerivad seda teesi maride venestumusköverad Mari ANSV-s ja Baškiiri ANSV-s. Teatavasti eraldusid 16.-18. sajandil Kaasani ja Vjatka kubermangu piirimaile asunud maride põhigrupist idamarid, kes asusid elama Permi ja Ufaa kubermangu piirimaile. 1920. a. moodustati maride põlisalal Mari Autonoomne Oblast, idamarid jäid aga endiselt Baškiiri ANSV ja Permi oblasti piirimaile. Diagramm näitab, et just sõjajärg-

seil aastail kahanes maride rahvuskeelsus autonoomiaalal määrgatavalt kiiremini kui Baškiirias. Mari-de etnolingvistiline situatsioon ei ole Venemaa soomeugri rahvaste seas erandlik: 1979. a. oli hantide rahvuskeelsus Handi-Mansi Autonoomses

Ringkonnas 64,8%, Jamali-Neenetsi Autonoomses Ringkonnas 90,1%; udmurtide rahvuskeelsus oli Udmurdi ANSV-s 82,3%, Tatarri ANSV-s 91,6%.

Milline võiks siis olla lahendus sellele paradoksaalsele situatsioonile? Eesti Vabariigi praegune justiitsminister K. Kama on välja pakkunud idee hallata rahvusterritooriume kahekojaliste parlamentidega, millest üks, vetoõiguslik, koosneks üksnes põlisrahva(ste) esindajaist. Põlisrahvaiks soovitasin 1992. a. detsembris Sõktõvkaris toimunud I ülemaailmsel soomeugri rahvaste kongressil lugeda rahvaid, kes on vastaval territooriumil püsivalt elanud vähemalt viimased 150 aastat.

Maride rahvuskeelsus (%) 1926-1989  
 Mari language as mother tongue by Maris (%) 1926-1989



## THE NATIONAL AUTONOMIES OF THE SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF FINNO-UGRIC PEOPLES

Heno Sarv

The Soviet Russia, which emerged in place of the Russian Empire following World War I, was facing a lot of problems which needed to be solved. According to the then leadership, all problems were naturally to be solved in a revolutionary way, i.e. for solving each separate problem something unprecedented had to be found. This unprecedented something was to work for the whole vast Russian territory regardless of its inner differences because the communist world outlook negated any kind of individualism.



To find a solution to nationality problems, the National Commissariat for National Affairs (Narkomnac) was set up already in 1917, with Yossif Stalin being appointed its head. According to the opinion of later historians dealing with Soviet Union's history, Stalin's role in organizing its work was not so significant (Makarova 1987) because it was the Commissariat's nucleus who run the current affairs of the organization. In April, 1924, the Narkomnac was liquidated in connection with the setting up of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union.

To discuss all kinds of nationality problems and to form autonomous regions within the framework of the Russian Federation, all-Russian congresses were held with the participation of several nationalities in Russia in the years 1918-1921. Thus, for instance, the Udmurts (Votyaks) participated in the all-Russian congress in June, 1918, in Yelabuga, and in the Second all-Russian congress in September, 1919. In June, 1920, the all-Russian congress of the Udmurt communists was organized (Popov 1972: 6-7). In January, 1921, the first Komi Party Congress was held in Ust-Syssolsk (Makarova 1987: 108). In June, 1921, the First all-Russian congress of Mordovian communists took place in Samara (Bukin 1990: 27). At such congresses the nationality problems were widely discussed. Thus, for example, it is known that at the Komi congress the problem of full self-determination and the formation of national armed forces were under discussion. But as we can see on the basis of the above data, by the year 1920 large-scale national-political movements had been changed into inner-party discussions and the congress materials were available for the wider public only in the form of abstracts written by later authors. Hence, we see that in the course of seventy years all kinds of manifestations of Russian national movement were under the control of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which has been disbanded by now.

The current situation concerning the life of peoples living in Russia is somewhat similar to that in the years 1918-1920. Again national movements have got free from the "guiding and directing" influence of the CPSU and again people are trying to find a solution to problems that have cropped up in the

course of a long period. They are trying to find a solution at the all-Russian congresses of Russian peoples.

What made the Party take the manifestations of national movements under its control in 1920? One reason could have been the inner contradictions between the young national movements, the unsolvable differences of opinions concerning the national-political reconstructions which could not be solved as quickly as had been hoped. This is confirmed by the course of development of the statehood of one of the biggest group of Russian Finno-Ugric peoples, the Mordovians. By the year 1924, the investigations concerning the formation of an autonomous Mordovian region had practically been stopped. The investigations were begun anew on the initiative of the Russian Communist (bolshevik) Party, but still an almost unfeasible condition in connection with the peculiarity of the nationality structure in the region was put forward: find a compact territory where the Mordovian population would form over 50% of the settlers (Bukin 1990: 38). As is well known, such a condition was not considered important when the question of forming a Jewish autonomy cropped up nor was it put forward when the existence of the Kazakhstan and the Karelian-Finnish Soviet Republics was discussed.

The existing national village soviets (nacionalny selsovet) and national regions (nacionalny okrug) did not have a unified political status: when in some places management of public business was done strictly in the language of the native people, in other places all regions comprising non-Russian settlements were considered to be national, but there were no political or legislative peculiarities to be recognized (Srednjaja Volga: 7). The Mordovian region (Mordovski okrug), which belonged to the Central Volga Territory (Sredne-Volzhski kray) in the years 1928-30 was of the same type (Bukin 1977: 76). The formal Mordovian National Autonomy began developing only in 1930 when the Mordovian Autonomous Region (Mordovski Nacionalny Oblast') was formed.

By the eve of World War II the modern administrative division and national autonomies had in main been formed. The administrative division was essentially different from that the pre-revolutionary one. Here it is interesting to note that the

centres of the autonomous regions of people conquered by Russia, for instance those of the Tatars and Bashkirs, became the former provinces (guberniya) Kasan and Ufa. The regions which had been integrated in Russia without any bigger wars (most Finno-Ugric peoples belong here) remained as border territories of the administrative division of Tsarist Russia, since there was no urgent need for their more intensive colonization.

In the form of Soviet national autonomies a lot of new administrative units have come into being in the border areas of the former Russian guberniyas, but those areas lacked their own fully developed industrial centre. For the purpose of developing the centres of new administrative units there, it was decided to set up prison camps and war industry centres which had been evacuated from the western regions of the Soviet Union. And thus the native regions of Finno-Ugric peoples that had been neglected areas in Tsarist Russia became now, on the one hand, the centres of Gulags (Dubravlag in Mor-dovia, Perm camps in the land of Perm Komis and Udmurts, Vorkuta camps in the land of Komis, Labytnangi camps in the land of Khants (Ostyaks) and Nenetz (Samoyedes) etc. (Uibopuu 1984)), on the other hand, they became centres of strategic industries (Izhevsk arms factory in the Udmurt region, the "Arzamas 16" Centre for Nuclear weapon Investigations in Mor-dovia, oil mines in the land of Khants, coal mines in the Komi region etc.). It was natural that those radical changes in economy brought along the need for recruiting new supplementary workmen here as well, and so it happened that the native people were soon a minority in their own autonomous region. The administrative bodies in those autonomous regions represented (in case of democratic political attitudes) the interests of the majority of the population (they were elected by the population of whole area) but not those of the native people; in case of totalitarian attitudes they represented the interests of the higher administrative centre (i. e. not those of the native people).

Hence, though it may seem so paradoxical, it was just the formation of Soviet national autonomies that gave a decisive impetus for the more active colonization of the areas settled

by Finno-Ugric peoples. This thesis is graphically illustrated by the curves of Russification of the Mari people in the Mari Autonomous Republic and in the Bashkir Autonomous Republic. As is known, in the 16th to 18th centuries the eastern Maris separated from the main group of Maris who were settled in the borderlands between the guberniyas of Kasan and Vyatka. The eastern Maris settled down in the borderlands between the guberniyas of Perm and Ufa. In 1920 the Mari Autonomous Region was formed in the main region of their settlement, but the eastern Maris remained still in the borderlands between the regions of Perm and Bashkir Autonomous Republic. The graph shows that especially in the postwar years the use of the national language of the Maris in their autonomous region decreases much faster than in the Bashkir region. The ethnolinguistic situation of the Maris is nothing exceptional among the Russian Finno-Ugric peoples: in 1979 the national language of the Ostyaks in the Khant-Mans Autonomous Region formed only 64.8%, in the Yamal-Neletz Autonomous Region 90.1%. The national language of the Udmurts in the Udmurt Autonomous Republic was 82.3% and in the Tatar Autonomous Republic 91.6%.

What kind of solution could be found to this paradoxical situation? Kaido Kama, the present Minister of Justice of Estonia has put forward an idea according to which the national territory should be governed by a two-chamber parliament of which one would be granted the right of veto and would consist only of the representatives of the native people(s). Among the native peoples I recommended to include the peoples who have lived permanently in their respective territories at least for the last 150 years. I made this recommendation at the First World Congress of Finno-Ugric Peoples which took place in Syktyvkar in December, 1992.

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## EESTI RAHVA MUUSEUM 1992. AASTAL

Toivo Sikka

Muuseumi struktuuris, koosseisus ja töös leidsid 1992. a. aset olulised muutused. ERMi nõukogu koosolekul 3. II valiti ERMi direktoriks järgmiseks viieks aastaks TÜ magistrand Tõnis Lukas. Aasta lõpus koosnes ERM järgmistest osakondadest ja üksustest: Eesti etnoloogia osakond, soome-ugri ja võrdleva etnoloogia osakond, arhiiv, infoosakond, konserveerimisosakond, levi- ja nõuandeosakond, filmistuudio, fotolabor, majandusosakond. Ühtekokku oli koosseisus 77 töötajat, neist 24 juhtivat ja teaduslikku töötajat.

### Majandus. Ehitus.

Majandustegevust mõjutas aasta algupoolel materjalide raske kättesaadavus, seejärel aga rahapuudus. Siiski ehitati fotostuudio ja sekretäri ruum, remonditi direktori kabinet ja raamatupidamise ruum ning tehti sanitaarremont filmistuudios.

Uus juhtkond pidas otstarbekaks leida enne põhihoone valmimist suurem pind ERMis säilitatava kultuuripärandi tutvustamiseks. Tartu Linnavalitsuse kultuuriosakonna toel alanud ettevõtmist kroonis edu: 10. IX anti tollase valitsusjuhi T. Vähi viseeritud akti alusel Raudteelaste Klubi hoone (J. Kuperjanovi 9) EV transpordi- ja sideministeeriumilt kultuuriministeeriumile ning 4. I 1993 kirjutati alla hoone ERMi bilanssi üleandmise aktile.

### Raadi.

Vaatamata taastatud müürile ja väravavahimajale, tuli nentida, et reaalselt ei oldud ERMi peahoone ehitamisele Raadil asutud. 16. VI toimunud Raadi-teemalisel koosolekul jõuti seisukohani, et uutes oludes (majanduslikus madalseisus) tuleb kulusid uuesti kaaluda. 7. VII kultuuriministeeriumis järgnenud koosolekul otsustati, et lisaks Raadi variandile tellib ERM eskiisiprojekti ühele linna poolt pakutavatest kruntidest.

### Näitused.

Kaaluka osa moodustasid raja taga eksponeeritud näitused, neist omakorda oli ulatuslikem "Eesti rahvakultuur" (koostas E. Astel) X Euroopa kultuuripäevadel Karlsruhe Saksamaal

(6.IV – 31.V, 1002 eksponaati). Välisnäitused olid veel "Eesti etnograafia" ESTO'92-1 New Yorgis/USA (3.–12. VII, 401 eset, koostas P. Õunapuu), "Eesti rahvarõivad" maailmanäitusel EXPO'92 Sevillas/Hispaania (90 eset, koostas E. Värv), "Eesti etnograafia" Sapporos/Jaapan (92 eset, koostas H. Pärdi). ERMis toimunud näitustest äratas külaliste huvi eriti "Talupere tubased tööd" (7.X – 6.XII, koostas V. Tuubel) – seda väljapanekut vaatas 2570 inimest (üldse oli 1992. a. 7550 külastajat). Külaliste seast olgu märgitud Rootsi kuninganna Silvia visiit 23. IV.

#### **Teadustöö.**

Pakiliste probleemide arutelu toimus 16. IV ühikoosolekul ÕESiga ("Eesti Rahva Muuseum - aegade side"). Kitsamalt arutati soome-ugri ja võrdleva etnoloogia osakonna küsimusi oktoobris. ERMi 34. teaduskonverents "Etnograafia ja folkloor" 14.–15. IV pakkus enam kui 100 osavõtjale kuulamiseks 17 ettekannet ERMi, Kirjandusmuuseumi ning KKI uurijatelt. Osavõturohked olid ka teaduspäevad "Gustav Ränk 90" (18. II), Harri Moora päev (2. II) ja eriti linapäev (24. III). Viimasel pidas põhiettekande ajalooteaduste kandidaat Vilve Kalits, kellele see jäi viimaseks avalikuks esinemiseks, sest 2. V läks ta Toonela teele.

Trükivalgust nägi vähe väljaandeid: teaduskonverentsi teesid "Etnograafia ja folkloor", brošüür "Eesti rahvakunst 19. sajandil", voldik "Juudi kultuuripärand Tartus" ja küsimusleht nr. 184 "Õlle tegemine ja tarvitamine". Rida artikleid ilmus küll väljaspool, samuti peeti mujal mitmeid ettekandeid (sh. ühissümposium Jyväskylä, seminar Veszprém'is jm.).

Kandidaaditööd teemal "Принципы комплектования этнографических коллекции и их обработки (на примере Эстонского национального музея)" kaitses Sankt-Peterburis 20. X teadur A. Peterson; sama pealkirja all ilmus ka autoreferaat.

#### **Toetused.**

Hulk esinemisi ja osavõtte konverentsidest, samuti õppereise sai teoks tänu välisabile (eeskätt Väliseesti Muinsuskaitse Seltsi osakondadele): Stockholmi muuseumidesse (H. Pärdi, T. Määrmann), Museovirasto'sse (A. Kannike,

T. Tael), Hämeenlinna Ajaloomuuseumi (I. Tirrul), Londoni Ülikooli suvekooli (Ü. Vahar).

Sihtotstarbelisid toetused lubasid ERMil muretseda väga vajalikku sisseseadet (sügavkülmkapp M. Mathieseni erafondi/Rootsi abil, konserveerimisvann VEMSi New Yorgi osakonna toel, professionaalne videokaamera Adelaide'i EMSi/Austraalia abil). Ka aastaraamatu 39. köite ja brošüüri "Eesti Rahva Muuseum" tarvis eraldas Avatud Eesti Fond stipendiumi.

#### **Lepingud.**

ERM sõlmis lepingu Vene Etnograafiamuuseumiga (St. Peterburg) teadustöö ja näituste vallas ja Kemerovo uurimiskeskusega soome-ugri rahvaste kaasaegse asustuse jm. väljaselgitamiseks ning kokkuleppe Tampere muuseumidega konserveatorite ja näituste vahetamiseks. Udmurdi Riikliku Koduloomuuseumiga sõlmitud leping näeb ette ühisekspeditsioone ja filmi "Põhjaudmurdid" lõpetamist 1993. a.

#### **Välitööd.**

Tulemuslikkuseelt jäid ekspeditsioonid tagasihoidlikeks. Uudsenähtimuse ühine kogumisretk Eestis - Jaapani Rahvusliku Etnoloogiamuuseumi (Osaka) töötaja Hiroshi Shoji kogus selle raames 458 eesti eset. Väljaspool Eestit käidi välitöödel Marimaal (T. Peedumäe, J. Treial), udmurtide juures (A. Karm), Soomes S. Pallo).

#### **Korrespondentide Võrk.**

Märgatav elavnemine kajastub ka kaastööliste arvu kasvus aasta jooksul 131-lt 204-ni. 34. etnograafilise teatmateriaali kogumise võistlusele laekus 66 autorilt 90 tööd (5251 lk.). I preemia said Martin Orgus töö "Assamalla küla eluolust sajandi algusest kolhooside moodustamiseni" ja Toivo Malling töö(de) "Kikepera IV-VI" eest.

#### **Kogude seis.**

1. I 1993 oli ERMis 107 601 eset, raamatukogus 23 005 väljaannet. Kogude üldseis oli 960 605 üksust.



## THE ESTONIAN NATIONAL MUSEUM IN 1992

Toivo Sikka

There were considerable changes in the structure, staff and work in 1992. At the council meeting of the Estonian National Museum on February 3, 1992, Tõnis Lukas, Tartu University postgraduate student, was elected head of the Estonian National Museum for the next five-year period. At the end of the year, the Estonian National Museum consisted of the following departments and units: Department of Estonian Ethnology, Department of Finno-Ugric and Comparative Ethnology, Archives, Information Department, Conservation Department, Communication and Education Department, Film Studio, Photo Laboratory, Administrative Department. The whole staff included 77 persons of whom 24 were administrative and scientific workers.

### Economic management. Construction

During the first half of the year economic activity was impeded by the fact that materials could be obtained with great difficulty and later on by lack of money. Nevertheless, it was possible to build a photo studio and a room for the secretary. The director's study was refurbished and the bookkeeping room as well, the film studio was sanitized.

The new management thought it expedient to find a more spacious building for acquainting the visiting public with Estonian cultural heritage preserved at the Estonian National Museum until the completion of the main building. The undertaking, supported by the culture department of the Tartu Municipality, proved successful: on September 10, according to an Act signed by the then leader of the government Tiit Vähi, the Club for Railway workers (9, Kuperjanov Street) was transferred from the Estonian Transport and Communications Ministry to the Ministry of Culture, and on January 4, 1993, an Act was signed which confirmed the transfer of the building to the Estonian National Museum.

### Raadi

Regardless of the fact that wall and the gatekeeper's lodge had been restored, it had to be stated that actually the construction of the main building of the Estonian National

Museum at Raadi had not begun. At a conference, arranged at the

Estonian National Museum on June 16, where the Raadi question come under discussion, it was decided that in the new situation (economic decline) the question of expenses had to be reconsidered. At the next meeting, which took place at the Ministry of Culture on July 7, it was decided that in addition to the Raadi variant, the Estonian National Museum would place an order for a rough draft for one of the building sites offered by the town council.

### **Expositions**

The major part here belongs to expositions arranged abroad, the most extensive being "Estonian National Culture" (put together by E. Astel) on the occasion of Days of Estonian Culture in Karlsruhe, Germany (from April 6 to May 31, 102 exhibits). Other exhibitions abroad included "Estonian Ethnography" at ESTO'92 in New York, USA (July 3-12, 401 objects, arranged by P. Õunapuu), "Estonian National Costumes at the World Fair EXPO'92, in Seville, Spain (90 objects, organised by E. Värvi), "Estonian Ethnography", Sapporo, Japan (92 objects, organised by H. Pärdi). Among the exhibitions organised at the Estonian National Museum "Indoor Activities of a Farm Household" (from October 7 to December 6, organised by V. Tuubel) aroused great interest among the visitors, the total number of visitors to that exhibition reached 2,570. (There were altogether 7,550 visitors to the exhibitions at the Estonian National Museum in 1992). Special mention should be made of the visit by the Swedish Queen Silvia on April 23, 1992.

### **Research Work**

Urgent problems were discussed at a conference organised jointly with the Estonian Learned Society ("the Estonian National Museum - the Link between Times"), on April 16, 1992. In October, questions concerning departments of Finno-Ugric and comparative ethnology were discussed on a smaller scale. The ENM 34th scientific conference "Ethnography and Folklore", April 14-15, presented 17 reports to over a hundred participants attending the conference. The reports were delivered by the researchers of the Estonian National Museum, the Es-

tonian Literary Museum and the Institute of Language and Literature. Conferences devoted to Science Days were also attended by lots of people: "Gustav Ränk - 90 years of birth" (February 18), Harri Moora Day (February 2) and especially Flax Day (March 24) on which the main report was delivered by Vilve Kalits (Cand. Hist.) for whom that conference was to be the last since on May 2 she already went to her final rest.

As for publications, few went to press: theses of the scientific conference "Ethnography and Folklore", a brochure "Estonian National Art in the 19th Century", a folder "Jewish Cultural Heritage in Tartu", and a questionnaire No. 184 "Beer Brewing and Consumption". Several articles were published outside the Estonian National Museum, and lots of reports were delivered in other places (including a joint symposium in Jyväskylä, a seminar in Veszprém, etc.).

#### **Candidate Dissertations**

Researcher A. Peterson defended his dissertation "Принципы комплектования этнографических коллекции и их обработки (на примере Эстонского национального музея)" in Sankt Petersburg on October 20. The abstract of his dissertation was published under the same title.

#### **Financial Aid**

Thanks to foreign aid it was possible to take part in and attend conferences for delivering reports, and organise field trips abroad (first of all to the departments of Estonian Heritage Societies): to Stockholm museums (H. Pärdi, T. Määrmann), Museovirasto - the National Board of Antiquities (A. Kannike, T. Tael), to the Hämeenlinna History Museum (I. Tirrul), to London University Summer School (Ü. Vahar).

Endowment Aid enabled the Estonian National Museum to procure some badly needed equipment (a deep freeze from the M. Mathiesen Private Foundation, Sweden; a conservation bath from the New York department of Estonian Heritage Society, a professional video camera from the Adelaide Estonian Heritage Society, Australia). The Open Estonia Foundation assigned a grant for the publication of the museum yearbook (volume 39), and a brochure "Estonian National Museum".

### **Contacts**

The Estonian National Museum concluded a contract with Russian Ethnographic Museum (St. Petersburg) on cooperation in the fields of research and exhibitions, and with the Kemerovo Research Centre for finding out the present settlement areas of the Finno-Ugric peoples and gathering information about other things as well. A contract concluded with the Udmurt State Museum of Local Lore contemplates organisation of joint expeditions and completion of the shooting of the film "Northern Udmurts (Votyaks)" in 1993.

### **Field Work**

The results of the expeditions were modest. A novel experience was a joint collection trip in Estonia - a worker from the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka (Japan) Hiroshi Shoji collected 458 objects.

Outside Estonia, field trips were also organised to the Mari region (T. Peedumäe, J. Treial), to the Udmurts (Votyaks) (A. Karm), and to Finland (S. Pallo).

### **The Network of Correspondents**

A remarkable revival is reflected in the number of contributors - an increase from 131 to 204 during the year. For the 34th competition, organised for collecting ethnographic reference material, 90 papers (a total of 5,251 pages) were sent in by 66 authors. Prizes were awarded to Martin Orgus for his paper "On Living Conditions in the Village of Assamalla from the Beginning of the 20th Century to Collectivisation", and to Toivo Malling for his paper(s) "Kikepera IV-VI".

### **The State of Collections**

On January 1, 1993, the collections of Estonian National Museum included 107,601 objects, the library contained 23,005 publications. The total amount of units in the collections was 960,605.

## RÕIVASTUSE UURIMINE

Ellen Värv

Rõivastus on kultuurinähtus, mis kajastab kultuuriajaloolisi protsesse. Temas peegelduvad kandjate erinevad maitsete ja püüdlused, väärtushinnangud, sotsiaalsed rollid jmt.

Seda teemat käsitlevad uurimused jagunesid peamiselt kahe teadusharu vahel: rahvariided kuulusid traditsiooniliselt rahvateaduse uurimisobjektide hulka ning kostüümiajalugu, mis uuris teiste ühiskonnakihtide rõivastust, kuulus kunstiajaloo alla.

Esti etnograafias on rahvarõivad rõivastuse uurimisel keskse koha säilitanud siiani (vt. lähemalt A. Viires "Eesti rahvarõivaste uurimise tulemusi ja probleeme" - "Akadeemia" 1990, 6), Euroopas on aga selle osas täheldatavad olulised muudatused. Järgneva ettekande eesmärk ongi tutvustada sealset suundumusi ja rõivastuse uurimisega seonduvaid probleeme ning teha sellest vajalikke järeldusi (toetatud on peamiselt G. Böthi, H. Ottenjanni ja B. Lönnqvisti töödele).

Alates 1984. a. töötavad Alam-Saksi Vabaõhumuseum Cloppenburgis ja Göttingeni Ülikooli etnoloogid ühisprojektiga "Ajalooline rõivastusuurimine Alam-Saksis", mille peaülesanne on välja selgitada, kas senine ajalooline rõivastusuurimus on põhijoontes üldse enam võimalik ja kui, siis milliste vahenditega ning millistel allikail baseerudes.

1985. a. toimus Cloppenburgis sümposium "Mode-Tracht-Regionale Identität". Sellega taheti rahvateaduslikule rõivastusuurimisele (Trachtenforschung) kätte näidata uued suunad ja jõuda arusaamisele, et *Trachtenforschung* on osa laiaulatuslikust rõivastuse uurimisest, *Kleidungsforshungist*.

1986. a. korraldati Lienzis kongress teemal "Kleidung-Mode-Tracht", kus kõneldi sellistest rõivastusega seotud probleemidest nagu rõivaste tootmine, rõivaste hooldus, rõivaste uuendamine jne.

1988. a. toimus Bregenzis W. Brückneri juhtimisel konverents "Rõivastusajalugu ja muuseumid". Siin otsiti uusi

moodsaid teid rõivastusuurimises, et neid museaalses tegevuses realiseerida.

1985. a. väitis Bo Lönnqvist, et rahvarõivas on muuseumist lähtuv illusioon. G. Böth püüab selgitada, kust pärineb vastandus "Mode - Tracht (Bauertracht)". 19. sajandil tekkinud rahvateadus tegeles pikka aega ainult vana talurahvakultuuriga ja rahvariiete (talurahvariiete) uurimine oli üks osa sellest. Tegelemine talupojakultuuriga sai alguse historitsismiliikumisest ja agraarromantilistest ning suurlinnaaenulikest vooludest 19. sajandi teisel poolel. Ühelt poolt idealiseeriti talupoega ja taluelu kui jäävuse, kõige aluse sümbolit, harmoonia ja kõlbluse kantsi, vastandades seda "moraalselt rikutud" linnale. Seejuures said rahvarõivad talupoegliku elulaadi väliseks sümboliks. Rahvariidemüüdi kujunemisele aitasid kaasa rahvateaduslikud muuseumid, mis kogusid vaid taluperes ise või külarätsepa tehtud rõivaid, muu jäeti tähelepanuta. Sama kehtis ka kogumismetoodika kohta - koguti peamiselt efektsemaid esemeid.

Helmut Ottenjann püüab kummutada romantilist kujutelma möödunud aegade talurahvast, kes kõik ise oma kätega tegi. Siia kuulub ka müüt "omavalmistatud rahvariietetest". Ottenjann väidab, et maakultuur on eelkõige mitte talurahva, vaid käsitöölise kultuur, sest eriti keskajast alates levis algul linnades, siis ka maal tööjaotuslik majandusviis ja sellest ajast alates pärineb kogu materiaalne kultuur professionaalsetelt käsitööliselt. Teisalt võib H. Ottenjanni arvetes mõiste "rahvarõivas" tekitada vildakat ajaloopilti, kui mahutada selle kandjate alla kogu maaelanikkond. Näitena toob ta Oldenburgi hertsogkonnas 1780. a. toimunud loenduse, mille põhjal 2761 registreeritud majapidamisest vaid 319 olid talupidajate omad.

Kaasaegses rõivastusuurimises on kaks põhilist küsimuseasetust: ühelt poolt rõivastus kui objekt (valmistamine, kandmine, funktsioon) - ese on uurimise keskmes; teisalt on objektiks rõivastusest tekkinud idee- ja väärtussüsteemid - esiplaanil on inimese suhe rõivastusega.

Vene uurija P. Bogatõrjov kasutas struktuuraal-funktsionaalset meetodit rahvariiete uurimisel Moraavias (1936-1937). Ta defineeris funktsiooni ja analüüsis funktsiooni muudatusi.

Bogatörjov tõi esile maagilisi, vanuselisi, sotsiaalseid, soolisi, religioosseid funktsioone. Seda suunda jätkas Bo Lönnqvist oma 1972. a. ilmunud raamatus "Dräkt och Mode i ett landsbygdssamhälle 1870-1920". Lisaks rõivastuse funktsionaalsele käsitlemisele, funktsioonimuutustele, vaatleb Lönnqvist moe mõju sellele, mida talurahvas üldse mõistis sõna 'mood' all ja kuidas suhtus sellesse. Moe teemat arendas ta teoreetiliselt edasi artiklis "Style Prototypes for Dress in a Social Perspective". Moe probleemide käsitlemisest rahvateaduses, selle mõiste mitmeti tõlgendamisest jms. annab ülevaate G. Böth'i "Die Mode und die Volkskunde".

#### Kokkuvõtteks:

A. Viires tõstatas paar aastat tagasi eesti etnograafilise rõivauurimise ees seisvad ülesanded ning poleks palju need veel kord lühidalt ära tuua:

- 1) uurimisobjektiks peab kujunema rõivastus üldisemalt, mitte ainult rahvarõivas;
- 2) tuleb uurida rõivastuse funktsionaalset külge ja rakendada semiootilist uurimismetoodikat.

Meilgi tuleks esemekeskse uurimise asemel asuda uurima inimese suhet rõivastusega, rõivastust kui märki, sümbolit jne. Uurimisobjektina pakub rõivastus uurijatele palju võimalusi, sest "Kleidung hat viele Realitäten - sie wird hergestellt, gehandelt, weitergegeben, geflicht, umfunktioniert, verbraucht" (G. Böth).

## RESEARCH INTO CLOTHING

Ellen Värv

Clothing as a cultural phenomenon reflects cultural-historical processes. It reflects the various and different tastes and striving, value judgements, social roles, etc. of wearers.

Investigations dealing with this subject were usually divided into two categories of research objects: traditionally folk or national costumes belonged to ethnology, and the his-

tory of the costume which dealt with the clothing of other social strata to field of art history.

In Estonian ethnography the folk costumes have maintained their central roles as a objects of research up to now (for more detailed information see A. Viires "The Results and Problems of Research into Estonian Folk Costumes" - "Akadeemia" 1990, No 6), but in Europe in this respect significant changes have been observed. The aim of the present report is to make people acquainted with those trends and problems connected with research into clothing and likewise draw necessary conclusions from this (I have based my research mainly on the works by G. Böth, H. Ottenjann and B. Lönnqvist).

Since 1984, the Low-Saxony Open Air Museum in Cloppenburg and the ethnologists at Göttingen university are working on a joint project "Historical Research into Clothing in Low-Saxony", the main aim of which is to find out whether the hitherto conducted historical study of clothing in the main is still possible, and if this is possible what means should be used and what sources should be employed.

In 1985 there was a symposium in Cloppenburg "Mode-Tracht-Regionale Identität". The aim of the symposium was to point out new trends to be used in the ethnographical study of clothing (Trachtenforschung) and realise that Trachtenforschung is part of an expensive research into clothing, Kleidungsforschung.

In 1986 a congress was organised in Lienz, the theme being "Kleidung-Mode-Tracht". At this congress such problems connected with clothing as manufacture, maintenance and renewal of clothes were discussed.

In 1988, a conference "The History of Clothing and Museums" was organised in Bregenz under the guidance of W. Brückner. At this conference they tried to find new ways and means for conducting research into clothing and possibilities for putting them into practice in museums.

In 1985 Bo Lönnqvist claimed that the folk costume is an illusion produced from the museum. G. Böth tries to explain the origin of contradistinction "Mode-Tracht (Bauertracht)". Ethnography, which came into being in the 19th century, dealt for a long time only with old peasant culture and research



into folk costumes (peasant folk costumes) was part of this research. The interest in peasant culture took its start from the movement of historicism and the agrarian-romantic and anti-metropolitan tendencies in the latter half of the 19th century. On the one hand, the peasant and farm life were idealised as the symbol of all that was permanent and basic, as the stronghold of harmony and morality. Thereby the folk costumes became the outward symbol of the peasant way of life. The origin of the myth "Folk Costumes" arose from ethnographical museums, which collected only clothes made in the peasant families or by village tailors and paid no attention to other things. The same is true of methods of collection - mainly articles that more appealed to the collectors were gathered.

Helmuth Ottenjann tries to refute the romantic conception of the peasants of the past times who made everything with their own hands. Here belongs likewise the myth about 'self-made folk costumes'. Ottenjann claims that the country culture is above all not the culture of peasants but that of the handicraftsmen, because especially from the Middle Ages on the kind of economic management which attached importance to the division of labour spread first in towns and then in the countryside and from that period the whole material culture is derived from professional craftsmen. On the other hand, in H. Ottenjann's opinion the concept 'folk costume' may create a distorted picture of history if the whole country population were included among the wearers of this costume. He gives as an example the 1780 census conducted in the Oldenburg dukedom according to which of the 2,761 households only 319 belonged to peasants.

Modern research into clothing poses the question from two main angles: first clothing as an object (production, wearing, function) - the object is in the centre of investigation; secondly idea and value systems derived from clothing become the object of research - thus man's relation with clothing is shifted into the foreground.

Russian researcher P. Bogatörjov employed the structural-functional method when investigating folk costumes in Moravia (1936-1937). He defined the function and analyzed changes in

the function. Bogatorjov pointed out the magic, age-related, social, sexual, and religious functions. This trend was continued by B. Lõnnqvist in his "Dräkt och Mode i ett landsbygdssammhälle 1870-1920", which was published in 1972. Besides dealing the function of clothing and change in the function he also studies the effect of fashion on what the peasants understood in the conception 'mode' and what was their attitude to it. The fashion theme was theoretically developed still further in his article "Styke Prototypes for Dress in a Social Perspective". An article by G. Bõth "Die Mode und die Volkskunde" gives an overview of how fashion problems are dealt with in ethnography and of various interpretations of the concept.

Summing up:

A couple of years ago A. Viires pointed out the tasks facing researchers dealing with investigating Estonian ethnographical clothing and I do not think it too much to present here again briefly the same tasks:

- 1) the object of research should be clothing in general, not only folk costumes;
- 2) the functional side of clothing should be investigated and the semiotic investigation method should be used.

In our case, instead of carrying out object-centred studies we should start studies on man's relation with clothing, studying clothing as a sign, a symbol, etc. As an object of research clothing offers researchers lots of possibilities because "Kleidung hat viele Realitäten - sie wird hergestellt, gehandelt, weitergegeben, geflicht, unfunktioniert, verbraucht" (G. Bõth).

Enamikus meie rahvapärase mööbli käsitlustes on toolide osa lõpus lakooniline lause - rannikualadel oli möödunud sajandi lõpust kasutusel ka kiiktool. Pikemalt pole sellel huvitava ajaloo ja omapärase konstruktsiooniga esemel peatunud. Ainsana on Hiiumaa kaheinimese-*kiigatool*e põhjalikult uurinud Helgi Põllo, kelle töö tulemusi pole laiemalt trükis avaldatud. (ERMi Aastaraamatu 40. köites on ilmumas artikkel "Laiastmelised kiiktoolid Hiiumaal".) ERM-i kogudes on kiiktoole, võrreldes muude istmetega, samuti vähe. Neljast esemest kaks on kuulunud eestlastele, kaks eestirootslastele; ka puuduvad kõik kiiktooli erivariandid. Eeltoodu on põhjuseks, miks tuleb selle teemaga meie rahvapäraste istmete ajaloo raames põhjalikumalt tutvuda.

Tegemist on Eesti taludes ainukese mööbliesemega, mille konstruktsioon ei lähtu mitte utilitaarsest eesmärgist, vaid mugavusest. Ameerikas on kiiktooli nimetatud ka puust narkootikumiks.

Europas oli kiiktool tuntud juba keskajal, Rootsis levis ta 17. sajandil, Soomes 18. sajandil ja Eestis 19. sajandi lõpukümneil, eeskätt tänu rannarootslastele ning omaaegsele tihedale läbikäimisele Soome randlastega. Iseloomulik mööbliese sajandialguse interjööri oli kiiktool vaid Hiiumaal ja Põhja-Eesti neemedel, rannikualadelt kaugemal ta ei kodunenud. Levikuala lokaalse iseloomu oluline põhjus oli elamutüüp. Randlaste rehest lahku ehitatud väikesed elumajad oma laudpõrandatega olid kiikumiseks sobivad. Ühe paralleelina võib siinkohal tuua jalashälli varasema kasutuselevõtu samades piirkondades.

Keskaegseid kiiktoole iseloomustasid raskepärased jalased, mis võisid tooli all olla ka ristipidi. Hilisematel pikkade ja peenemate jalastega kiiktoolidel on olnud eeskujuks Windsori tüüpi tool, millest kujunes kiiktool Ameerikas. Päritolu tõttu nimetatakse seda Bostoni tüüpi kiiktooliks.

Eestirootslaste kiiktoolid (Noarootsis *vakstul*, Vormsil *rusede*) olid suhteliselt püsiva vormiga, esindades Bostoni tüü-

pi. Seda tüüpi kiiktoole tehakse meil tänapäevalgi, mõningaid erinevusi on ainult jalgade ja käetugede postide arvus. Seevastu eestlased nii Hiiumaal kui ka Põhja-Eestis ei järginud kiiktooli valmistamisel nii kindlaid eeskujusid, tooli vorm oli väga varieeruv ja ühise nimetaja alla saab neid panna ainult tänu jalaste olemasolule.

Lisaks lihtsama ja tavapärasema vormiga kiiktoolidele on olnud ka mitmesuguseid huvitavaid erivorme, nagu Hiiumaa kahe- ja kolmeinimesekiiktoolid ja Põhja-Eesti neemedel kasutusel olnud kahekordsete jalastega kiiktoolid. Viimased olid põhiliselt Soomest toodud vabrikutöö, aga on teada ka kohalike meistrite poolt Soome eeskujul tehtud toole.

Nii nagu Soomes aitas ka meil kiiktooli levikule kaasa puutöökursuste korraldamine 1920.-1930. aastatel. Kui varasemad, meistrite tehtud toolid olid lihtsama vormiga, siis kursustel tehtud toolid olid tihti juba moodsama vormiga, lakitud ning polsterdatud istmelauaga.

Kui mujal Eestimaal, eriti linnades ja alevikes, oli käesoleva sajandi esimesel poolel interjööri kiiktool, siis oli see mugavust ja õdusust sümboliseeriv üleeuroopalikust linnakultuurist pärinev ese. Ka need kiiktoolid olid valdavalt kas Bostoni tüüpi, ainult kvaliteetsema viimistlusega käsitöö- või vabrikutoodang või Lääne-Euroopast pärinevat Thoneti tüüpi masstooted.

## THE HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF ESTONIAN TRADITIONAL SEATS.

### THE ROCKING-CHAIR.

Piret Õunapuu

Most papers dealing with our typically Estonian furniture usually end the part that concerns chairs with laconic sentence - in coastal areas the rocking chair also came into use at the end of the 19th century. There is no further mention of the object that actually has an interesting history and a peculiar construction. It is only Helgi Põllo alone who has thoroughly studied the Hiiumaa two-seat rocking-chair, but unfortunately the results of her research have not been made

available to the wider public (an article 'Broad-seat rocking-chairs in Hiiumaa' is forthcoming in the yearbook 40 of Estonian National Museum). In comparison with other seat, the collections of the Estonian National Museum likewise contain few rocking-chairs. Of four objects two have belonged to Estonians and two to Estonian Swedes; all other variants of the rocking-chair are absent as well. The above facts make it necessary for us to investigate this theme more thoroughly in the context of the history of our typically national seats.

Here we deal with only piece of furniture on Estonian farms that was not constructed for a utilitarian purpose but just for comfort. In America the rocking-chair has also been given the name 'wooden narcotic'.

In Europe the rocking-chair was known already in the Middle Ages. In Sweden it was taken into use in the 17th century, in Finland in the 18th century and in Estonia in the last of the 19th century, and this was first of all due to Estonian coastal Swedes and close social intercourse with the coastal Finns of that time. It was only in Hiiumaa and North Estonian headlands that the rocking-chair was a typical piece of furniture in the homes at the beginning of the 20th century. In the areas further from the coast the rocking-chair did not find acceptance in Estonian households. A weighty reason for such sporadic occurrence locally was the type of dwellings. The coastal inhabitants built their small dwelling houses separated from barns which were used for threshing grain, and thus their small board floor dwelling houses were well suited to rocking. An analogous example may be found in the earlier use of the rocking cradle in the same regions.

Medieval rocking-chairs were characterised by massive and ponderous rockers that could be placed crosswise as well. Rocking-chairs of more recent origin had longer and thinner rockers, they were patterned on the model of the Windsor chair type which developed into the rocker chair in America. This kind of chair, due to its origin, is called the Boston-type rocking-chair.

The rocking-chairs of Estonian Swedes (*vakstul* in Noarootsi, *rusede* in Vormsi) were of relatively stable design and repre-

sented the Boston type. Rocking-chairs of this type are made nowadays as well, there are some differences in the number of rockers and posts supporting the arm-rests. Estonians in Hiiumaa and North Estonia, however, did not follow so stable specimens in constructing their rocking-chairs, various designs were used and such rocking-chairs can be classified as belonging to one and the same category only thanks to the fact that they have rockers.

Besides rocking-chairs of simpler and commoner design, there have been intriguing and specific types as the Hiiumaa two- and three-seat rocking-chairs and double-rocker chairs that were used in North Estonia headlands. The latter were mainly constructed in Finnish factories, but local craftsmen have also known to have constructed rocking-chairs on Finnish models.

Like in Finland, carpentry courses contributed to the spread of the rocking-chair in Estonia as well. While the earlier masters made rocking-chairs of simple design, usually of birch with a spruce or pine seat, the chairs constructed on courses often were of a more modern design with a varnished and padded seat.

When elsewhere in Estonia, especially in towns and townships, the rocking-chair had established itself firmly in people's homes, it was an object symbolising comfort and cosiness, its origin dating back to European town culture. They were predominantly of the Boston type with only a more elaborate finish, either handcrafted or mass-produced Thonet type imported from Western Europe.