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Editorial

The *Pro Ethnologia 9* issue examines different phenomena of urban and rural lifestyles. The collection mostly involves reports held in the 40th annual conference of the Estonian National Museum called "On Rural and Urban Areas", held on 14–15 April 1999. In addition, the present issue also includes some other papers on relevant subjects.

The examination of folk culture emerged when learned people living in cities started to research rural lifestyle. In time the traditional peasant (or heathen) way of life is moving away from urban researchers, thus becoming more exotic and sacred for them. On the other hand, together with the present process of cultural changes, the emergence of the "global village" has been proposed. The "remote" peasant or heathen lifestyles are gradually losing their sacredness that would not ease the understanding of them. The gradual profaning of traditional cultures, however, has turned researchers to various aspects of the urban way of life.

The foundation of the Estonian National Museum on 14 April 1909 was also related to the aspect that researching the traditional peasant lifestyle by the first generation urban learned people in Estonia reached a new stage, assuming the qualities of scientific research. The ENM provided a systematically supplemented collection of material culture and written records. Also, the interest of Estonian ethnologists and folklore researchers in various aspects of the urban way of life has increased considerably within recent years.

The somewhat greater emphasis on urban phenomena at the present moment is very appropriate, as there are only a few papers on urban subjects published in Estonia so far. In this respect, this collection could be regarded as an initiator of possible research on urban anthropology and ethnology in the future. The papers published in

this issue can be seen as "deviations" from the authors' traditional research subjects.

Gábor Wilhelm from Hungarian Ethnographic Museum reports in his article "Living in a Flat: A House in Europe" on the international research project "A House in Europe". The project was carried out during the years 1994–1996, with the Netherlands, Germany and Hungary participating in it. The author analyses the reasons behind the project, as well as goals and achieved results. The present paper mostly includes materials of Budapest. The described experiment is very interesting, especially considering ethnological aspects, and might inspire researchers of other cultures to initiate similar projects examining urban way of life.

In her article "About the Study of Birth Customs in Towns and in the Country" Marika Mikkor discusses changes in birth customs of Estonians within the last 50 years. The article is noteworthy for it examines some shocking cultural phenomena for the first time in Estonian ethnology. The author's existential and intimate viewpoint reveals the curiosities of maternity hospitals in the Soviet period.

Mare Piho's article "Setu Silver Decorative Jewellery in the Context of Town Culture" is dedicated to the analysis of one of most distinctive characteristics of Setu women culture. Nowadays different aesthetic and semantic changes are underway in the world of Setu jewellery. The study of silver jewellery in towns is connected with the identity problems, collective memory and religious matters of town Setus.

Heiki Pärdi examines in his article "The Crumbling of the Estonian Peasant Time Concept" changes in the attitudes of Estonians to time during the 20th century. According to Pärdi, the modernisation of the time concept of Estonians has taken place only recently. This indicates that even today the "official" time concept based on the clock need not be predominant. The topic is a cultural phenomenon involving diverse aspects that this paper only starts to pursue.

Art Leete's article "Dramatic Urban Experience of the Khanties" is based on Tatyana Moldanova's, a Khanty ethnologist, accounts of the impact of urban culture on Khanty fishermen or hunters' state of mind, when they move from seasonal settled areas to large settlements. The paper examines briefly some changes in the traditional

worldview of Khanties. The approach is subjective, showing adaptability of the individual, as well as choices within the rapidly urbanising world.

In his article "Town and Country among Finno-Ugrians" Heno Sarv gives a thorough survey, considering both time and space aspects, of the ethnohistory of Finno-Ugrians living in an area around the river Volga. The author considers urban and rural cultures as a cultural-ecological symbiosis that has not effectively worked among Finno-Ugrians in the 20th century. The main reason for this, according to the author, was the predominantly town-oriented objectives of the Soviet power.

Stefan Bohman's article about the collection and analysing of autobiographical materials deals with aspects of collecting biographies of workers in the *Nordiska museet,* Sweden since the 1940s. The author analyses relations between facts and opinions in biographies, as well as people's preferences when telling or putting down one or another story from their past and the representative quality of biographies. According to the author, an important aspect is to consider the informants' attitude to the story, his relationship with the researcher, and the researcher's relation to the people who read the result.

Ilmari Vesterinen's article "Dependency Analysis as a Tool for the Study of Village Culture" is an account of dependency analysis as a tool for the study of the totality of a village culture. Dependency is the key conception underlying the analysis. The target is the relationships which exists between the village's various households. The main goal is to discover how the village functions, and how the interfamilial relationships – which are often not well understood, even by the principal actors themselves – between the households make up the village as a whole.

The ENM thanks the Estonian Cultural Endowment whose help has been essential for the carrying out of the 40th conference of the Estonian National Museum and for the publishing of this issue. We are grateful to our authors and reviewers who have contributed to this edition.

Art Leete

Living in a Flat: A House in Europe and Budapest

Gábor Wilhelm

The aim of this paper is to look at the main ideas, methods and problems of an international project, which was initiated under the title *A house in Europe* in 1994 and ended in 1996. I will then focus on the Hungarian part of it, discussing our interpretation of the project's goals and the themes we selected for our case studies in an apartment house in Budapest. While it is not my intention to provide a comprehensive survey of this kind of research, I will also try to put it into a more general framework of urban anthropology.

There is certainly no abundance of research and writing on the cities in Europe. European ethnologists have preferred to study marginal areas for a long while. Thus, the development of urban anthropology in the last 30 years has been slower in continental Europe than in the Americas (Kenny, Kertzer 1983: 5). Urban research in Europe, in the 1980s, has been reviewed by Sanjek (1990: 163–165) mentioning almost exclusively Scandinavian and Mediterranean investigations. Even in the 1990s, writings from urban ethnologists undertaking studies in continental European cities rarely occur. It is rather symptomatic that none of the urban ethnologists contributing to Kokot and Bommer (1991) researched *European* cities. The books on Frankfurt am Main (Greverus, Moser, Salein 1994) and Amsterdam (Deben, Heinemeijer, van der Vaart 1993) and not to mention van der Ree's case study (1991) are rather exceptional. From this point of view, the first international research programme on cities in Germany, the Netherlands and Hungary looked very promising.

The project *A house in Europe* was initiated, by the Community Museum (*Heimatmuseum*) of Neukölln in Berlin 1994, as an international research program. Its main goal was to search for similarities and dissimilarities in the ways in which the residents of one single house in several big cities in Europe live their lives. The partner institutions for this study were found, just as the houses themselves in each of the cities, almost by chance. Finally, after much negotiation, two museums and cities remained (besides Neukölln) that seemed ready to participate in the program (the Amsterdam Historical Museum and the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest). Although not mentioned explicitly among the initial aims of the research, this project could be interpreted at the same time as a social experiment with museums working in different economic, political and geographical contexts. As it turned out, the results of these studies reflected at least as much about the participating institutions as about peoples' way of life in the selected houses in the three European cities or the impact of common or even different histories of their lives. That means that with regard to the outcome of the sub-projects, the way in which researchers and museums could define the common goals of the study seemed to be equally important.

It is possible to interpret the project on more than one level. First of all, in each of the three cities, research had been carried out that belonged to the traditions of urban anthropology or urban sociology. In Budapest and in Hungary generally, this was one of the first empirical ethnological investigations of such a kind. Although in the 1980s, some theoretical studies were published in this field, and some ethnologists indeed completed fieldwork *in* cities, their main aims could not be easily put into the theoretical framework and methodology of urban anthropology. It can also be seen as an attempt to gain some knowledge of urban life in the European context. With this aim, the case studies in the three cities built only the initial steps as raw material for a subsequent comparison. In my view, this endeavour failed and must have failed mainly because of the unclear definition of the goal and initial conditions for the research. The project, on the other hand, may eventually tell something about methodological problems and maybe about solutions with regard to case studies of single urban houses. The three studies were also an

attempt to combine ethnographic research with a museum exhibition as a means of showing and interpreting scientific results.

The colleagues in Berlin as initiators proposed the main theme and also the basic frame for the study of the project. They chose the title of the project and also the house as the basic unit for research. On the other hand, for the choice of the house and the more concrete themes and methods, each of the participating institution could freely decide. During the actual research there were several meetings of all the ethnologists from the three cities. During these discussions it turned out that there existed a consensus concerning the common theoretical basis on which the more concrete investigations could have been built. But it also seemed that within this framework there were several different points of view among the investigators from the participating institutions.

The Community Museum in Neukölln developed its research theme and strategy in collaboration with colleagues and students from the Department of European Ethnology at the Humboldt University in Berlin. They chose a 100 year old house in the Neukölln district of Berlin. This was an apartment house with tenants residing there for a long period of time and people coming quite recently from different districts or from abroad. The researchers asked the tenants to take photographs of the house and their immediate environment, and after that they carried out interviews with them, trying to interpret those photographs and their mental pictures of the house. Part of the result of this study was shown in a much discussed exhibition at the Community Museum of Neukölln.

The Dutch team initiated two parallel studies. The first one concentrated on a relatively new apartment house in Amsterdam from the perspective of urban sociology. Many of the house's residents came from abroad. The research aimed to discover "collective memories" which the tenants developed of the house in which they lived. The other part of the project dealt with an older house that no longer existed. The research tried to use information from different – written and non-written – sources the reconstruct the house's outer and inner part and the picture its former residents kept of it in their memories. The results of this latter study were exhibited at the Amsterdam Historical Museum.

With regard to the Budapest team, we had to search for a house in Budapest, and similar to the partner institutions in Berlin and Amsterdam, we wished to investigate according to the general framework. This happened and should happen seemingly by chance, but in reality we had some features in our mind that the house should have. We wished to choose a house with at least some degree of typicality, a prototype of houses in Budapest. In this way, our choice reflected as much our stereotypes concerning houses and ideal frames for ethnological research as the typicality of them.

The focus on a single house soon caused some methodological troubles. Should we choose the house entirely randomly, and after that to begin to see how it fits in our picture of the city? Or should we rather seek after one that is stereotypic enough of Budapest – in our judgement at least? We made the latter choice as indeed all the other partners also did. We all agreed that an apartment house will be our real candidate because this type of house cannot be found in villages or small towns, and it is generally located in the centre of the city or on the edges of the centre.

According to our opinion, the house had to be an apartment house with at least 20 flats. Ideally, the media age of the tenants should not deviate too extremely from the standard one in Budapest. We were also eager to find a house in which the tenants' mobility was not extremely high. In its architecture, it had to be also typical of Budapest, and that in our case meant that it had to originate from the end of the 19th century. The house in Berlin was approximately of the same age as ours but not the house in Amsterdam. This had its roots in the different trends of urban development in Amsterdam. What we had finally chosen in Budapest showed all these traits just mentioned, but also some non-intended ones. It was located in the 8th district of Budapest, somewhere between downtown and the outskirts.

Nor was it clear at the beginning if we should treat the chosen house as the *focus* or the *locus* of the study. In the former case, we are looking at the house as a basic unit and are searching for its role or function in its wider environment or the meaning the residents form of it. In the latter case, however, we take the house only as an empiri-

cal frame of the research, in which we can single out quite different topics or case studies. Then it will be possible to ask after the more special relationship of these themes to the house itself.

We took the *focus* view because we were interested in the concept of "house" in the context of city life. In order to ask more concrete questions in this framework, we first needed to clarify a little what we understand under this term. For the research could take different directions according to the definition. We could conceptualise "house" as an administrative concept, in which case only the actual tenants of the house may be considered as objects of our research. On the other hand, if we begin to study a house as a cultural category then all the residents who have ever lived in this house, and are in some sense remembered, are parts of the house. And again if we choose a historic perspective we need not take into account even this latter feature.

Before we started our case study, we reflected over possible themes on which we wished to focus. During this activity, a big part of our background knowledge was mobilised. On the basis of this, we wanted to concentrate mainly on the mobility of the tenants, their structure during different time periods, and their preferences as reactions to specific historical events. Methodologically speaking, we wished to start with the biographies of the tenants and would like to try to explain their moves into and from the house or their stay in it by referring to actual political and economic circumstances.

It must have been clear at this point that, from a methodological point of view, the representativeness of this kind of research has elegantly been circumstepped by limiting it entirely to one single and limited case. But it also follows from this that any of these case studies must be put, at the same time, into a more complex frame of the city. In other words, if it is our main aim to tell something about city life on the basis of research of a house, we need to elaborate the type of the case to which it belongs. Otherwise, we will not be able to show the significance of our study with regard to the more general problem of urban life.

The same is true for the goal of any comparison among the three case studies undertaken in the three different European cities. Because no single problem or scientific topic was fixed at the beginning

of the research it could easily turn out that the chosen themes and the results gained at the end can be of quite different type of categories. At one extreme, two types of problems may lie so far from each other that a meaningful relation between them can only be found at a too high level of abstraction so that most of its significance will be lost. And again, to make things more complicated, by comparing the cases we are obliged to explain why we have chosen the context with the help of which we became able to set similarities between these single cases.

Taking into account all these considerations, we may wonder if the possible comparison of the three actual researches tell more about the cities themselves or rather about the background knowledge or research interests and methodological positions of the investigators and the embeddedness of these in the local circumstances – in other words, about the politics of social research (Hammersley 1995). To cite some more concrete examples: In what kind of context can be compared the situation of migrant tenants in Berlin and in Amsterdam on the one hand, and that of Gypsies living in the apartment house in Budapest on the other hand? Are we speaking about ethnic minorities or simply about temporality of living in the cities compared to the basic tenants? Do plot speculators in Berlin have any parallels in Amsterdam or Budapest? May it figure as a future trend of development in Budapest? How specific is privatisation in Budapest in recent years?

And not last: does the difference of the houses' ages in Amsterdam on one hand, and in Berlin and Budapest on the other hand, cause problems for a comparison? What is important in this respect is the question whether the recent similarities of research topics concerning the three cases (which do exist) are only of a rather superficial nature or can we easily abstract from the houses' radically different history. This question touches upon a more general anthropological problem: the need for a diacronic depth of interpretation. I am inclined to answer the question of whether historical differences can effect substantially the residents' pictures of the house and their interactions positively.

During our empirical study we mainly used interviews with the house's tenants and made observations of rather limited scope that were related to their interpersonal relationship. Beside this, in the preparation phase of the Budapest project we also planned to undertake fieldwork, that means a long term participant observation in the classical ethnographic sense of this word. In order to be able to do this, we tried to rent a flat in the house and live in it for a period of a year just as Whyte did it in "Cornerville" renting a room with an Italian family (Whyte 1943). The idea behind this was as follows. Gaining relevant ethnographic information in the context of a city may cause some obstacles for the investigators mainly because of the unfamiliar complexity of city research (Kenny, Kertzer 1983: 4) and the fact that most of the people's social interactions take place multilocally and in many cases behind closed doors. Without living in their close environment even the observation of the tenants' interactions in the public courtyard or on the corridors could only be done at random intervals and their duration would seldom overrun three or four hours.

Because our attempt to take part in the everyday life of the tenants through continuous participant observation failed since no grant was provided for the research and therefore we could not rent a flat, we were forced to choose themes. The information regarding this was also accessible through interviews and irregular observations. From this perspective, it should not be surprising that our topics centred on the knowledge systems people built up and used during their everyday interactions with events *outside* the house. Our actual circumstances and methodological framework did not allow a close and continuous rapport with a small number of tenants and that is why their interactions *inside* the house could not be analysed in depth. On the other hand, this move of the research interest to the tenants' outside relationships helped us to maintain a more holistic perspective of urban life. We focused on events that happened in their closer or wider environment in the city and asked about their reactions, opinions, and motivations. If we want to place this investigation into more general categories of research lines in urban anthropology, we can emphasise that it belongs to the small scale studies dealing with

residential units but it emphasises the urban context concerning the structure of city life and its impact on people's behaviour.

Apart from this, our entry into the house looked quite similar to any anthropological fieldwork in a rural or tribal context in one important respect. That means that we had formulated questions and collected written information about the house before the actual empirical study began but we were also curious about what the people found important concerning their daily life. After we became acquainted with the house's tenants and their problems, our team split into three groups, each of them focusing on different themes.

The first group was concerned with the role of the house in the tenants' belief system, thus concentrating on their concept of the house (Kőszegi, Szuhay 1996). This was interested in questions as to whether the tenants had created a biography of the house, which sources did they use for it, how homogenous the existing stories are, and how people try to combine the house's and their own biography. For the tenants had clearly developed a picture of the house using historical mosaics. The older persons activated and formed memories along five or six historical points of junction of the house (its building, the period between the First and the Second World War, the events during the Second World War, the 1950s years, and the present 10 years). Some of the house's historical events found their places in stories that were widely known in the house, even by newcomers. These stories helped to interpret actual events and situations.

The second group of our team studied the tenants' reactions to the changes in their immediate environment in the streets (Fejér 1996). Until the 1980s, this part of the 8th district of Budapest was relatively highly valued by middle class tenants. The greater part of the flats in the district's apartment houses had large living rooms, they were cheap, and the neighbourhood itself had the same high standards of security as could be found in most of the other districts. In the 1980s and 1990s, however, this latter condition began to change dramatically. Prostitution gained ground in the house's immediate vicinity and also in some of the houses. The criminality rate increased as a consequence of prostitution. In 1993, then, a double assassination occurred in the very house under investigation. So this group aimed to explain how the tenants managed to live in an increasingly inse-

cure and haphazard situation. This line of inquiry also showed strong links to the biographical research since the tenants had to insert the actual criminal events occurring in their vicinity and prostitution into their picture of the house.

The third research line concentrated on a decision situation the house's tenants had to face at the end of the 1990s (Wilhelm 1996a; 1996b). Until that time, namely, the apartment houses in Budapest were owned by the specific districts, and not by private persons. In order to change this not always happy situation the state initiated a privatisation process. The actual tenants of the apartment houses had the opportunity for a limited period of time to buy, or not to purchase, the flats in which they lived.

In order to make a decision (and if possible a good one) in this situation the residents had to form a model of the problem. They must have evaluated the current state of the house *and* that of their individual flats in it, to take into account all the possibilities open to them, and they had to formulate their main aims and preferences. In addition, they needed a more or less clear picture of the near future. It was evident for most of them that all the tenants together as a group could act much more efficiently than as single households (that is they faced the classical prisoner's dilemma). But after several attempts they finally failed to form such an interest group. This failure could partly be explained by the difference in age and in their interests, which came mainly from the value differences of their flats, and their unequal economic position. In this way, each of the households must have selected between the possibility of buying the flat or of remaining a tenant in the future, independently from each other. But of course, their decision was greatly effected by their belief about other tenants' decisions. The consequences of these decisions, which they had to take into account, were as follows. If they would become owners of their former flat then they had to finance all the costs of an eventual renovation of the house and also a lot of other smaller tasks. On the other hand, they would have the chance to sell it, if and when they wanted. But this situation can partly be altered if the buyers were to be the minority in the house. In that case, the district as the biggest owner can decide about the how and when of cost consuming activities concerning the house. If they did not wish to buy the flat,

on the other hand, they would pay, for a while, a relatively low rent, but they can not be sure if and when the local government want to sell the house to a private owner. In that case, they can by all means reckon with a drastic rise in the rent. The tenants of larger flats were in a much more risky situation in this respect as this was only to be expected, since the small flats' tenants could easily change their flats without losing too much by this. The large flats' tenants, on the other hand, could either own, at a low price, a flat of high value or they fall quickly into a money pump according to the general value of the house *and* of its immediate the environment. This, however, would occur only in the near future.

Behind all these considerations the tenants' willingness whether or not to leave the house *and* the neighbourhood could be detected as one of the most important factors. And this was very much dependent on the picture and the evaluation they formed of the house and its environment. In this respect, I found a high degree of optimism among the tenants. Just as in the case of the double assassination, they evidently tended to repress feelings of uncertainty and underrate evidence of criminality in the streets. They began to build an imaginative wall between their house and the outside world. That means that the value of the house in its whole historical context became overestimated and more and more important. The history of the house became a basis and measure for the interpretation of present and future events and circumstances. We must not overlook here that the sum of all these behaviours may very easily lead to a result just of this kind. If an increasing number of people begin to invest in the houses of this neighbourhood its evaluation will also be on the increase.

Shortly after we had finished the investigation about half of the tenants decided to buy their flats. And in many of the neighbouring houses the same happened.

Conclusion

With the project *A house in Europe* a rare but good case had been initiated partly for single studies in this urban subfield of social anthropology, partly for cooperation among urban ethnologists from different countries. It could have also provided a useful framework

for comparison of single case studies of urban communities. The failure in this latter respect can be attributed, in my view, to the rather loose definition and description of the main aims of the inquiry and the lack of an applicable general theoretical framework. With the help of this, similarities among the different cases could have been identified and interpreted. Nevertheless, the whole project will hopefully provide the basis for further efforts at comparison in Europe.

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Photograph 1. Marika Mikkor with her son Arne a month before the birth of her daughter. In Tõrvandi, May 1991. Photograph by Viktor Niitsoo.

Photograph 2. Marie, one day old, in Tartu Maternity Hospital in June 1991. Photograph by Marika Mikkor.

About the Study of Birth Customs in Towns and in the Country

Marika Mikkor

Current survey may be viewed as an ethnological reconnaissance. Being in touch with the birth customs of Caucasian Estonians[1], I became interested in what people say about it in Estonia. In the 1980s, I interviewed my relatives and acquaintances on this matter in Tallinn, Tartu and Rapla county and the inhabitants of Jõgeva town (EA 212; 213; 225). The data from 1990s has been collected mainly during informal conversations in Tartu, Tallinn and Central Finland. The origin of the interviewees, both socially and regionally, was diverse, from people who had lived in towns for several generations to those who had been living in towns for some decades. Country people had moved into towns and vice versa. Village traditions and evaluations had also influenced the descendants of the removed people. Relatives from the country and town made reciprocal observations when visiting each other. It is not possible to draw an exact line between country and town. Educationwise, the interviewees had studied in secondary schools, teacher training college, Tartu materninty hospital, medical school, village schools and at Tartu University. General human topic – birth – interests both the young and old, in the country and in town. What could be characteristic only of town culture? The short overview concentrates on the less depicted phenomena in literature about customs.

Traditional conceptions, connected with the expectation of a baby, are still viable among young and old country and town women. In the

[1] See Mikkor 1996; 1998a; 1999b.

1920s, it was said that even medical scientists did not think it to be impossible that child's birthmarks could be caused by a fright during pregnancy: *A fattened pig had been in the pen and a rat was also in the trough. Mother was giving food to the pig and she saw the rat and was frightened and she put her hand here and my brother has a tuft of hair here. And professor Miilender from the Tartu maternity hospital said that things like that can happen* (EA 225: 461–462 Tartu, Jõgeva). This was an example given by a midwife Linda Roodla trained at the Tartu maternity hospital, about her country home but marks of a fright were popular also among genteel town ladies (EA 212: 292–295 Tallinn).

Even small children discussed the marks of a fright between themselves in Tallinn in the 1960s–1970s: *Usually, the story goes about an insect. About a horsefly and she hits it. And afterwards it can be seen that it is exactly the same insect.* [---] *I usually know it only in connection with an insect. I know this from my childhood, children in the yard told this. The story was that it was exactly like a shape of a fly. And that it can be seen later what insect had bitten* (EA 212: 39–40). In Jõgeva, curious schoolchildren had even made an experiment on their pregnant fellow student: *There was a schoolteacher at Jõgeva school and he courted a schoolgirl from the 7th form of the primary school. And they knew that the girl was pregnant. Girls knew from their homes that when you throw something, then the baby will have a mark. And they took a cluster of berries from a bush and threw it into her face. And the baby was born and had a mark – berries* (EA 225: 427). However, in the 1980s, the Soviet state leader aroused national interest in Estonia and Ingermanland, in towns and in the country: *Just have a proper look, you can immediately see it on Gorbatshov, Gorbatshov has a mark on his forehead*, and hereby a certain paragraph from the Bible was quoted (EA 225: 426 Jõgeva). These beliefs were widely known also in other places (see Koivu 1962, Mikkor 1996 for example).

Several other warnings and suggestions were based on the magic of analogy. For example, beliefs about the so-called snake defects that were popular both in Estonia and among the neighbours in Finland and with Livonians (Grünthal 1924: 339; Pelkonen 1931: 91–92; Loorits 1932: 135), have survived until today. When a pregnant

woman was frightened when seeing a snake, the baby was born with sick eyes or it had a snake-shaped frightening mark somewhere on its skin, etc. (EA 225: 462, 502, 538 Jõgeva; EA 213: 254 Jõgeva; EA 212: 162 Raplamaa): *And then the skin will be like a snakeskin and the eyes will be spinning like the snake's. And it used to be like that in the past, but I don't know now, whether they destroy them or people don't take so much on themselves* (EA 225: 427 Jõgeva). In 1998, a secondary school student in Tartu, Aveliina, gave examples of snake defects about his younger brother.

Both country and town women had special preferences for food during their pregnancy. I will bring examples from Tallinn in the 1930s: *And then I felt terrible thirst. The director of the lemonade factory heard that I was terribly thirsty and sent two cases of lemonade to my house at once. Then the doctor said that I should not drink as much and gave me powder* (EA 212: 298). And from Tartu in the 1980s: *Riina, for instance, ate chalk. They went in the shop and bought chalk and then she ate a little of it every day. Somebody said that she could not sit at a lecture when the university teacher was using it to write on the blackboard, she had such an appetite for chalk. And afterwards, she did steal that chalk. This is explained by a deficiency of calcium. I sort of remember this from books that they nibble chalk. And the air in cellars is nice, damp* (EA 212: 42–43).

Clothing during pregnancy depended on fashion and financial possibilities. There is a description of festive clothing of a pregnant woman at a christening feast held by business people from Tallinn in the second half of the 1930s. The woman had a black velvet coat on, embroidered with silver brocade, and a long black French silk skirt, tapered below. On top, she wore a silver fox boa to hide her stomach. This had been a relatively typical festive clothing for a pregnant woman of the middle-class (EA 212: 291). However, Linda Roodla, a midwife from Jõgeva, when talking about the 1930s, said that a pregnant woman, in order to hide her condition, left home only under the cover of darkness: *The skirt was hanging loose, opened from here and with a cord, it was ordinary clothing.* [---] *In town, pregnant women wore broad coats. I went out only in the evening, I was ashamed. Naturally, people tried to hide this* (EA 225: 497).

In the 1950s–1960s, special dress fashions in Estonia were introduced by a fashion magazine *Nõukogude Naine* ('The Soviet Woman'). Some of the elderly women praised and the others criticised the modern fashions for pregnant females. It was mentioned that if earlier, people tried to hide their pregnancy, then, at the present day, it is a matter of pride: *In olden times, a young woman did not walk with her stomach upright. But now she comes and pushes everything apart with her stomach. Earlier, it used to be a matter of disgrace, it was intimate* (EA 225: 425–426 Jõgeva). Another report from Jõgeva says that earlier, it was tried to keep one's condition secret: *Well, generally it is definitely true that people did not want others to put their heads together and discuss the matter like it was in my mother's days – see, look, she is already fat. Those who had illegitimate children, tried to hide it at all costs* (EA 225: 410–411).

Baby clothes. In the 1960s–1970s, and also today, it was customary both in the country and towns, not to obtain everything necessary for the baby, but in Tallinn in the 1930s, the notion was the opposite: *Then the joy was so great, and you started making clothes immediately.* [---] *Was it common to be afraid that something could go wrong if everything was ready before the delivery? No, there was no such thought. Somebody said that let child be born first, there will be enough time later on. But this was pure carelessness* (EA 212: 299, 301). The daughter of the quoted person remembered that when her children were born in the 1960s, there was a practice of not obtaining for example, the pram or bath or a bed or a blanket for the baby; it was important not to have all the things ready. This fact was also acknowledged by other interviewees (EA 212: 29 Rapla, 41 Tartu, 210 Tallinn; EA 213: 256 Jõgeva; EA 225: 505, 548 Jõgeva). What was the reason for doing so? – *...well, you don't know, just in case. Why not follow the tradition if it does not cause any problems* (EA 212: 106 Tallinn). Until now, the gathering of all things is seen as a sign of bad luck, especially if there have been premature or other failed deliveries in the family or among acquaintances (e.g. EA 212: 211 Tallinn; EA 207: 233, 253 Abkhazia, Estoniya). Delaying the stowing of a baby's things is a commonly known custom, more conspicuous among southern and eastern nations with more conservative habits (Granqvist 1947: 99; Ivanova 1997: 146; Nosenko 1997:

493; Gantskaya 1997: 10). For instance, if one part of Caucasian Estonians said this practice to be that of the "blacks" or "Orientals", then, the other part of them considered it to be important to obey this (Mikkor 1999b: 141).

A peculiar phenomenon, both in town and country in the 1980s, was to overemphasise the colour of baby clothes. The tradition that pink for girls and blue for boys, was followed with a kind of religious consistency. I will state an example from Tallinn and Tartu of the 1980s: *But why should clothes not be ready beforehand? But you do not know what is the gender of the baby. Then, people obtain clothes that are yellow, green and white and have no definite colour; it is very seldom that somebody acquires pink and blue ones. Although some take it into their heads that the baby will definitely be of certain gender, they can be wrong afterwards. Then they made sure under the ultrasound that it was a boy and Riina called home and told them to start buying blue things... Then she was ashamed to go out with a baby, dressed in yellow because all other women in the house asked whether it was a boy or a girl, and she was terribly upset about this* (EA 212: 41–42). At the same time, elderly women did not emphasise the pink and blue colours to that extent (EA 225: 410 Jõgeva).

The role of midwives in the country. Until the 1940s–1950s, the difference in birth customs between country and town people was more prevalent as hospital deliveries were not so general. A doctor or a midwife from the town could be asked to come and assist a home delivery in the country. A midwife Linda Roodla from Jõgeva, who had studied in Tartu but was of rural origin, did not hide her imposing of medical viewpoints to "ignorant and dirty" village people: *First they always wanted to go to sauna, to heat the sauna. Stupid, undeveloped people. I objected to them. We started quarrelling at once* (EA 225: 464–465). The situation was conflicting from the beginning to the end, country women were also nagged at when tying the umbilical cord: *For this reason we had short boiled bits of clothes lines, I kept them in a separate jar.* [---] *Old women did this with a woollen cord, we had problems with this, too. Woollen balls were set ready to tie the navel. I told them that I was not going to knit a stocking, why were those woollen balls there* (EA 225: 467).

Former medical employees who had been practising obstetrics in the 1930s–1940s, said that their main task was to guarantee the composure of the deliverer and that childbirth had to proceed naturally (EA 225: 465). A former doctor's assistant Lucie Husso from Jõgeva, characterised modern interference in the childbirth process, "in the era of zips" , in the following manner: *Now, the cesarean section is the easiest. But it would be even more easy for a girl if she had a zip grafted in there right away; she would unfasten it and a baby boy would jump out and walk immediately. This has not fixed to a human being yet, but we have zips everywhere else* (EA 225: 433–434). And still more: *It is not painless, is definitely a painful procedure. But they relieve it now with injections. But according to the Bible it is that in pain must you deliver* your *children* (EA 225: 435).

Medical employees from towns also went to educate country people during their post-natal period. In Jõgeva, a midwife Roodla thought the rejection of the hanging cradle to be a special achievement: *And this hanging cradle, we had to fight against it a lot. But I got totally rid of it, so that in my department I destroyed the hanging cradle* (EA 225: 470–471). In the 1960s, soviet pediatrics regarded cradling as an harmful habit, causing inhibitional processes in the brain (Kaljuvee 1967: 297). The wish of village people to wrap the baby in used clothes seemed totally inappropriate to the midwife: *Well, totally undeveloped people used old shirts and sheets. But better people used everything new. It was supposed to be a sort of art when you used old things* (EA 225: 472). At one case, an old traditional explanation for using old clothes was remembered in Jõgeva, namely, that the child will not grow up to be a waster of clothes (EA 225: 511). This was a widely known belief (Nosenko 1997: 493; Mikkor 1999b: 142–143).

Hospital deliveries became general at the turn of the 1940s/1950s. In the 1930s, well-off town ladies or pregnant women with expectancy complications delivered in medical institutions. Basic assistance at a normal childbirth was supporting the woman morally, and the alleviation of pain by breathing rhythm: *During uterine contractions, I repeated Rosegger and the midwife narrated Maupassant to me. Then we laughed. When I had attacks of pain, then I screamed again. Then somebody said what was that, whether a*

madhouse or a maternity hospital, people were screaming and laughing. In the country, you just gave birth to the child, wrapped it in a piece of cloth and went to scythe. I do not understand, how can childbirth be so easy for some people (EA 212: 314 Tallinn). The quoted person who gave birth in a hospital in Tallinn in the 1930s, praised the amiable atmosphere there. After her successful delivery, she was asked what she would like to eat: *I want a glass of good wine, a cup of coffee and a sprat sandwich. And all this was brought in to the delivery room* (EA 212: 308–309). Later, during the soviet period, people discussed with amazement the hospital conditions in the "Estonian era" with their acquaintances and relatives. During soviet times, it was possible to get refreshments at a hospital only if there were acquaintances among the hospital staff (EA 212: 115 Tallinn).

It is characteristic of birth customs that they lose their traditional features in the maternity hospital. In the 1940s–1950s, hospital deliveries were made compulsory also for the population in the country. Women were obliged to register themselves at the local maternity or medical centre. "An individual chart of a pregnant woman" was kept there and all health parameters of the patient were recorded. Delivering a baby at home was not penalised, but those who actually managed it, were treated as if they were pariahs. Women were taken to hospital at any cost, even during their final phase of giving birth. And it happened that the child was sometimes delivered in an ambulance, a lift or a hospital corridor (EA 212: 30 Tallinn). It was forbidden to deliver a baby at home (EA 212: 113 Rapla). However, in Jõgeva, one informant spoke with admiration about a woman called Sitska who had given birth to all of her eleven children at home, and, by the way, in a cattle-shed, in the 1950s–1970s: *Midwives went to see her at home and were annoyed... She was such a plucky woman even those days, in old times, everybody used to be like that. Now, when you give birth at home, they come after you and take you to the hospital and you still have to spend your time there* (EA 225: 507 Jõgeva). Deliveries at home were more common in Saaremaa in the 1950s. In Mustjala, a woman had decided to give birth to her baby at the local borough hospital, as is right and proper. As it was the 7th of November, the anniversary of the October Revolution, all medical

staff attended the October demonstration and the woman delivered the baby alone, without any assistance. She gave birth to her next children, in 1953 and 1955, again at home.

In comparison, it should be mentioned that for example in the 1970s Europe, home deliveries were common in Holland, whereas our neighbours in Sweden and Finland, and also in the United States, it was considered normal to have hospital deliveries (Jordan 1978: 33, 48).

The subsequent soviet conveyer system in maternity hospitals was similar to the nature of American obstetrics (see Jordan 1978: 64), however, technical standards and the behavioural culture of the medical personnel were a lot worse. The deliverer was a passive patient in a hospital, deprived of the right to have a say; and, often, she did not even know, what exactly was done to her. In the hospital, the midwife (conductor of the delivery) acted according to the textbook of obstetrics, on the basis of the unitary medical system. Medicinal analgesia, which, according to today's theory could complicate the process of delivery and especially harm the baby, was in particular meant for healthy women who managed a normal childbirth (Bodyazhina 1975: 174–175).

In a similar manner, a number of artificial means of aid was used in the obstetrics of the United States of America in the 1970s (Jordan 1978: 69). Medicaments were meant for accelerating or slowing down the course of delivery and for alleviating pain. At the same time, for example in Holland, mechanical means of assistance were preferred and it was tried to alleviate pain with the help of breathing and relaxation techniques (Jordan 1978: 53).

The system worked towards making the woman more stressful also during the pre-natal period. It was compulsory to undergo enema, shaving and often even the perforation of the embryo sac and who knows what else. The person concerned was very often not informed about what she was injected with or what was done to her. Natural means of analgesia, such as massage, were totally excluded. Until the 1980s, it was forbidden to walk around during the preliminary stage of delivery, women had to suffer pain, lying in bed. Pregnant women were told that in the pre-natal stage, during uteral contractions, it was necessary to sustain strength for pushing out the

baby. That is why the deliverers were asked to lie calmly in their beds (Bodyazhina 1975: 173). However, it is common knowledge that walking did accelerate the delivery and alleviated pain. In European hospitals, walking was strongly recommended because of its favourable physical and psychological impact, whereas in hospitals in the USA, a woman could not walk around freely during the preliminary stage of delivery; she was kept in her delivery room and hospital bed (Jordan 1978: 49; Olds et al. 1980: 524).

In the 1990s, women were glued to their beds because of a *monitor*, measuring the heartbeat of the foetus. The deliverers were told that this apparatus is of vital importance for the baby[2]. Actually, collected data was needed by medical scientists for their post-graduate research. The situation was not any better on the delivery table during contractions. Women who have given birth during the 1970s–1980s, often remember how they were scolded brutally when giving birth: *"Was it not painful when you were conceiving the child!"; "Why did you not find yourself a smaller man!"* (Anita); *"Why are you screaming, nothing else but crap is coming out yet!"* (Kaja). Americans have recorded a lot milder instruction: "Oh, come on now, this doesn't hurt!" (Jordan 1978: 45). The brutality of soviet medical personnel could directly proceed from the then theory of obstetrics. There was a common viewpoint that delivery pains depended first and foremost on the type of nervous system and behaviour of the woman. Labile women and those who had a low threshold of pain were restless, "did not properly follow the orders of the obstetrician and interfered with the execution of childbirth", consequently, they themselves were the causers of their suffering. The

[2] Jordan has described the purely formal meaning for using the monitor. He brought a comparison with the usage of thermometers among Mayan midwives who could not even understand the reading. The meaning of the thermometer in this case is the same with that of the monitor. When the readings of the monitor were out of order, doctors did not rush to save the life of the foetus, instead, they were busy at the apparatus, trying to fix it. It was assumed that there was something wrong with the appliance (Jordan 1978: 58). However, comparative material can also be found close here, from Tartu. In 1998, an EEG apparatus in Maarjamõisa outpatient clinic showed that one of my acquaintances had a pre-infarct condition. The family doctor threw the paper, issued by the apparatus, in the bin, claiming that it cannot be possible and that there is probably something wrong with the apparatus.

emphasis was on the "proper behaviour" of the deliverer and on the importance of strictly following the orders of medical employees, which had to guarantee painless childbirth (Bulygina 1954: 12; Granat 1955: 11; Petrov-Maslakov, Gabelov 1958: 11, 25, 32; Velvovski 1963: 69, 80, 90, 91, 118 etc.; Bodyazhina 1975: 172). A woman was regarded to be incidental and even interfering in the process, and the current position of soviet medical science was seen to be exclusively competent.[3] All this explains why the women who talked about home deliveries, remember childbirth with tenderness, whereas hospital deliveries are remembered as the most awful and violent moments of their lives. If, during the soviet time, men discussed the unpleasant things that happened to them in the army, then the topic of conversation between women was the experienced humiliation in maternity hospitals. Some medical researchers have stressed that all the unpleasantness, experienced during childbirth, impacts future family planning, and, consequently, birth rate (Olds et al. 1980: 480, 511).

Those who had acquaintances among the hospital staff during the soviet period had substantially better conditions for childbirth. In Tartu, a schoolteacher Eve Kaljula told me that her three children were delivered in the maternity hospital by a midwife friend Lille Rikas in the 1983–1991. This guaranteed a totally different attitude, during the whole pre-natal period, the midwife attended her acquaintance, massaging and calming her down. By the birth of her last child in the summer of 1991, Lille Rikas, already retired, worked as a replacement during the summer vacation. But when the labour pains occurred, the workshift of the friendly midwife had just come to an end. When the deliverer heard about this, she was so frightened that her pain stopped and occurred again only in the evening when Lille Rikas came back to work. People also used their acquaintances for obtaining more efficient medicines (EA 212: 45 Tartu).

By the 1990s, there was less scolding in maternity hospitals. At the turn of the 1980s/1990s, my course-mate Eve Paavel, a history

[3] At the same time, obstetrics in the United States of America, explained, just on the contrary, that changes in the frame of mind of the deliverer are normal phenomena, which have to be regarded with delicacy. It was necessary to explain to the woman the possible "unpleasantness" that is concurrent with childbirth and that all this is in any way normal (Olds et al. 1980: 432, 435, 486, 511, 525).

teacher, distributed Sheila Kitzinger's handbook for deliverers among her acquaintances. At that time, the majority of medical employees with higher education, did not understand any other foreign languages apart from Russian and they had no knowledge about the development of obstetrics elsewhere in the world. S. Kitzinger's book had an essentially dissident impact on its readers. When one of my acquaintances who was in the pre-natal room of the Tartu maternity hospital in 1990, asked for back massage, then the gynecologist who had her nose in her papers at the table, replied – *Don't you see that I have a more important work here.* When the deliverer went down on her knees beside the bed, in order to relieve pain, the doctor snapped – *Why are you kneeling like that, it is disgusting to look at you like that, go straight back into your bed!* When the woman counter claimed that this was written in a handbook, she was rebuked – *what are you telling me, they don't teach different things elsewhere. Children are born from one and the same place everywhere.* And when finally, her contractions started, she was barked at: *Don't you see that both delivery tables are occupied at the moment!*

During the initial pains of the delivery, labour pains, the woman was in the pre-natal room; during contractions, when the coming of the baby was closer, she had to move into the delivery room, on the delivery table. If the table was occupied by another deliverer or if the women did not understand the right moment, an "accident" could happen. I remember a story of a woman, who "unintentionally" gave birth in the pre-natal room, asked the scolding gynaecologist – *Do I have to put the baby back or what?* (Viktor). This system of two separate delivery rooms was also characteristic of the United States of America. On the contrary, in Sweden, a woman was accommodated in a ward, similar to a sitting room, during her pre-natal period (Jordan 1978: 48). Similarly to other "medical routines", so did the system of two delivery rooms complicate the direct course of childbirth. The impact of such factors has been tested even on laboratory animals (Jordan 1978: 48).

Customs connected with **placenta** have been replaced by hospital folklore. If earlier, this had to be buried in a lonely place, then, different stories were told about the fate of placenta in a hospital. The more

conscious women thought that "something", e.g. gamma globulin, was made of placentas on the spot, or that they were even taken abroad[4]: *Placenta and blood is collected into big ampoules and all this goes to the institute of microbiology in Paldiski road. They use this for making some substances to be used somewhere* (EA 212: 33 Tallinn); *Piia and Jull told that placentas are collected together, put in a barrel and sent to America where they will use it for making an especially good medicine. But actually, it went to the French, and they made facial cream out of this, but it was a long time ago, according to the students of the medical faculty* (EA 212: 46 Tartu). There was a story going around the students of Tartu university that a lecturer had used placentas for rejuvenation: *This boy from my class told me that it contains a lot of some kind of hormones that keep you young. And a female doctor and teacher used this in a non-manufactured way. I don't know whether she did look especially young. I don't know, this could probably have a wrong effect on men* (EA 212: 46). In folk medicine, placentas have been used for treating several illnesses, both internally and externally[5]. For instance, it was rubbed on the faces of the mother and the baby (Pelkonen 1931: 222, 228; Filimonova 1997: 51), or all over the body of the child (Loorits 1932: 144; Gantskaya 1997: 11). Dried and powdered placenta was taken in with several illnesses, e.g. epilepsy (Pelkonen 1931: 228). Eating placenta was supposed to cure childlessness (Hovorka, Kronfeld 1909: 635), quite recently, it was still eaten in Mordvinia, in order to treat infertility, both cooked and dried (Mikkor 1998b: 57–58; 2000a). This custom is far from disappearing. Not a long time ago, I heard that my Finnish friend Teija who resides in Switzerland, ate her placenta together with her midwife in 1989, frying it as if it was liver. It was a home delivery, which was not very customary in Switzerland. The midwife who had suggested the idea of eating the placenta, was a researcher of birth customs and one of the best experts in her field in Switzerland. Teija did not dare to tell any of her acquaintances and even her own mother, who had usually been very close to

[4] According to the handbook of obstetrics, placentas were burnt or buried in medical institutions (Bodyazhina 1975: 168).

[5] See also Hovorka, Kronfeld 1909: 516; Granqvist 1947: 98; Kashuba, Martynova 1997: 66, 77; Mikkor 2000b).

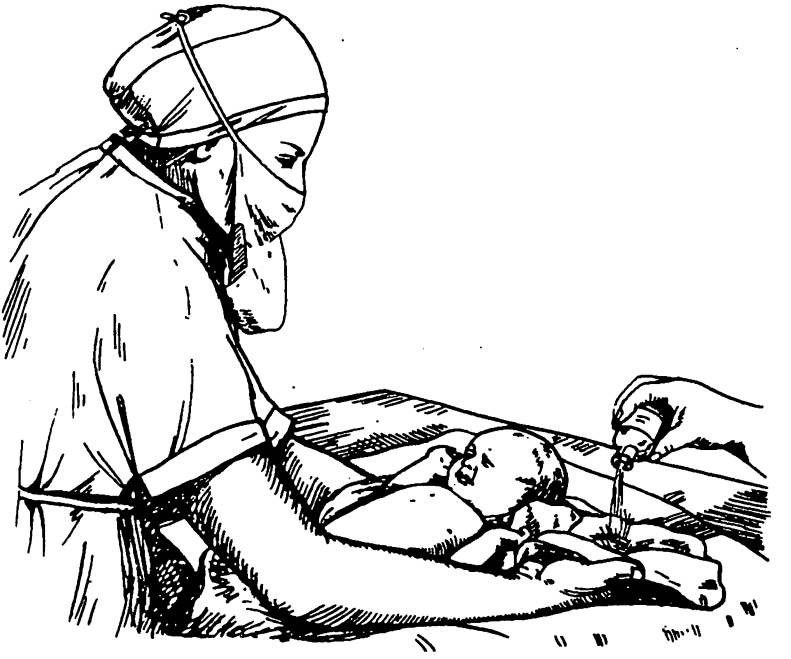
her, about what she had done. Consequently, similar ways of behaviour can exist elsewhere even today. These cases do not reach the researchers.

In a soviet maternity hospital, a woman was the property of the medical institution and she had no right to her placenta. Placentas of those who had given birth at home, were also taken to the hospital and it happened that misunderstandings cropped up in the ambulance. Not all the doctors were said to know what was placenta: *Well, nowadays they usually call the ambulance and in this case, the ambulance has to take it along to the hospital in order to have it checked, to make sure whether it is full and that there are no pieces left inside; if some bits are left inside, there will be bleedings.* [---] *Ambulances are indeed in trouble. Once it had happened that a doctor was asked whether the placenta was in the reception room. Then the ambulance doctor had asked what the hell was placenta* (EA 212–213 Tallinn).

Elderly people stated that in our days, people cannot treat placenta in a very polite manner: *Well, with older people – placenta and the first wash water of girls was put in the garden, in order to make sure that she would stay more at home. It was not allowed to leave placenta just like that. It was definitely the elderly people who did all this. Now, there is no habit like that any more, now everything goes to the dumping place and down the toilet* (EA 225: 433 Jõgeva). Very often, middle-aged women did not even know the name for placenta, not speaking about what was done with it. Village women or those who had grown up in the country, knew more about the calving of cows (EA 212: 20 Purku, 249 Vergi; EA 225: 414 Jõgeva). I noticed a similar phenomenon among Caucasian Estonians (Mikkor 1998a: 966). It is common today that the more immediate experience of people, concerning birth and death, is often connected with domestic animals.

Washing, swaddling and breast-feeding of the newborn. Whereas, in the case of placenta, women are continuously interested in what is done with it, then, the images, connected with the washing of the baby have lost their importance as a matter of course, and especially because the first washing took place in the hospital. To compare the old and the new ways of behaviour: *Well, it was poured*

somewhere where people could not trample on that water, whether under a bush on flowers. I don't know, older people say that if people walk on this water, then his/her fame disappears or something. Then, it was possible to do it the way we were taught. In a flat, it went down the toilet (EA 225: 542 Jõgevamaa). At one stage, in the 1950s to the 1970s, it was not allowed to wash newborn babies in medical institutions, and intermediate medical personnel were often even not interested in what kind of medical standpoints were behind this prohibition (EA 225: 471 Jõgeva): *In earlier days, it was put in the bath at once, now it is not so. Now it is done just like that, oil is rubbed.* [---] *I don't know why don't they wash them, who has told us about this, probably, such an arrangement was given* (EA 212: 214 Tallinn). In the Caucasus, in the village of Estoniya, an Estonian midwife Linda



Drawing 1. Due to the textbook, the newborn had to be rubbed with sterile oil. It was advised not to clean embryo ointment entirelly (Kaplan 1957: 252–253).

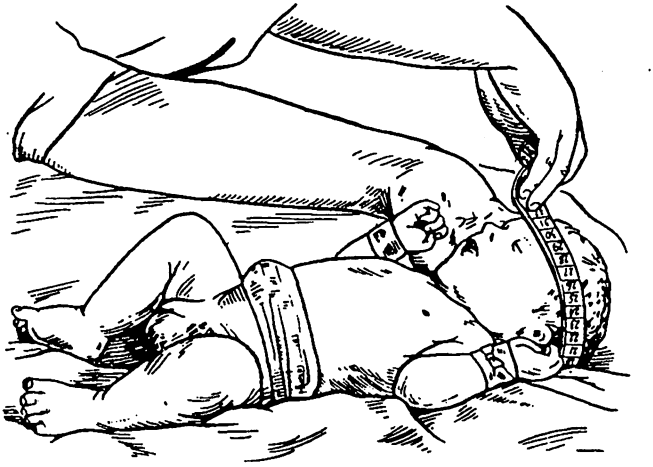
Knuut thought that this preserved the protective layer, covering the baby (Mikkor 1998a: 971–972). According to the textbook of obstetrics, there was a fear that when being washed, the child might catch an infection through the naval wound. Instead of washing, the baby was cleaned here and there with the solution of boric acid (Bodyazhina 1975: 194).

The women who gave birth in hospitals, often complained that they did not even know what was done there to their baby. It was not explained to the mothers, what kind of acts were carried out on their children. Between hospital walls, the baby was the property of the medical institution. A schoolteacher Eve Kaljula, who gave birth in the Tartu maternity hospital in 1983, remembered how she reached her hands towards her newborn child, at what the medical employee scolded – *Phew! Dirty hands!* Babies were kept separately in a nursery room, 20–30 of them together, and they were brought to their mothers only at definite feeding times. In the United States of America, too, mothers were separated from their babies, children could be looked at through the window of the nursery room. However, it was not typical of the obstetrics practised in European countries (Jordan 1978: 51–52).

There was no clarity as to what the babies were given to eat during their first days of life, as the mother's first milk was thought to be inappropriate for a newborn.[6] Even in the 1980s, it was not allowed in maternity hospitals to feed the baby with the mother's milk on its first day (EA 212: 19 Rapla; Mikkor 1999b: 151).[7] At the same time, there was no explanation to such demand, I quote a midwife Reet: *During the first day, the baby is not brought to the mother, it is on the second day only. I don't know why is it not permitted earlier. Some don't have milk in the breasts right away or the mother is too exhausted. It depends very much on the condition of a woman, but on the first day, the baby is never taken to her* (EA 212: 34 Tallinn). It

[6] Although mother's milk was regarded to be the only high quality food, it was made possible in the hospitals to feed the newborn for the first time only after 12 hours (Bodyzhina 1975: 198). Still, I know that even in 1989 in Tallinn, the baby was breastfed for the first time after 24 hours had elapsed.

[7] For example, in the United States of America in the 1980s, babies were routinely given distilled water, 4–6 hours after their birth, to evaluate the reflexes of sucking, swallowing, breathing etc. But these mothers who had specially requested to do so,



Drawings 2, 3. Routine activities with a newborn, measurements (Kaplan 1957: 252–253).

Drawing 4. As bacteria were treated like evil spirits, the mother had to be feasibly separated from her baby. Midwife teaching suckling (Kaplan 1957: 239).

was unknown to soviet medical employees that it is the sucking of the baby and mutual contact that contributes to the inducement of milk flow. So does sucking hormonally favour the recovering of the mother and the contraction of the uterus (see e.g. Olds et al. 1980: 510–511). Tentative prohibition of breastfeeding in hospitals enabled galactostasis and mastitis. The mother's milk was thought to be harmful for the baby's digestion: *We had it arranged like that, after*

could breastfeed their babies already on the delivery table (Olds et al. 1980: 510, 715, 724). In Great Britain suckling become more friendly for mothers and babies on the second half of the 1970s. In most British hospitals women did not have to ask permission to suckle on the delivery bed. In some hospitals the first feed baby received was still glucose water or sterile water (Kitzinger 1979: 62, 63).

six or twelve hours. It was not allowed to breastfeed before. They were given bitter camomile tea only, moistened their mouths. All this had to regulate the digestion of the baby" (EA 225: 473– Jõgeva). A woman who delivered her baby in a Tallinn private hospital in 1937, also stated that the baby was breastfed only 24 hours after the birth (EA 212: 314). Estonian medical staff believed in the harmfulness of breastmilk even in the 1990s. After the birth of my first child in 1990, a pediatrician came to my house during a compulsory visit and explained to me that breastmilk was purgative and that was why it was necessary to give glycoside water to the baby. It was also explained that milk is food for the baby, and besides, it needs to drink, pure water. A local nurse, who was also obliged to visit the homes with newborn babies, gave an arrangement to give "baby lunches" – soup, main course and dessert – to a three-month old child. All these good mothers, who loyally followed the orders of medical personnel, were amazed after a couple of months why could they not manage to breastfeed any more. At the same time, in Finland, it was taught that a baby can easily be only breastfed for up to 6 months (Kuusisto 1989: 66). In the 1950s–1960s, babies were breastfed in Estonian homes for a couple of months to half a year; "more simple-minded" people breastfed for a year and a half (EA 212: 122 Rapla, Tallinn).

Until the 1940s, there were different trends in what concerned swaddling, in some places, professional midwives gave orders to swaddle babies very tightly with a band (Mikkor 1999b: 147; EA 225: 416 Jõgeva). There is a contrary message for Tallinn in the second half of the 1930s: *My pediatrician was Harri Busch, who had studied child care in Vienna. A gauze was around the body so that the baby would not struggle itself out, but the legs had to be totally free* (EA 212: 317). In the second half of the 1940, during the soviet time, action proceeded according to unitary directives, prescribing that a newborn had to be tied as tightly as possible into a cocoon. At the same time, the usage of swaddling bands began to disappear gradually.[8] Medical employees checked swaddling even at people's

[8] According to an ethnologist Vaike Reemann, swaddling babies with a band in medical institutions, was maintained as a rudimentary phenomenon until the 1990s. She was scolded in the Tartu maternity hospital, in 1990, for not having a band to wrap up the baby, when she was going home from the hospital.

homes. Tight swaddling, still, without a band, was the requirement even in the 1960s (EA 212: 120 Raplamaa, Valli). The more orderly families did try to obey the instructions of medical employees.

Since the 1970s, it was suggested to swaddle more loosely at homes. A former nurse presumed that this idea began to spread in the Nordic states, following the example of Oriental countries, hoping to reduce the number of hip luxations. She thought it to be an oriental custom to swaddle as loosely as possible (EA 212: 121). However, it is known that, in some places, it is customary particularly among the eastern nations to swaddle babies especially tightly (Mikkor 1999b: 149; Hint 1996). In medical institutions, tight swaddling during the stay at a hospital, was maintained until the 1990s, this facilitated the work of the medical staff (EA 212: 33 Tallinn and Rapla, 47 Tartu and Tallinn). My son Arne (b. 1990) and daughter Marie (b. 1991), were also swaddled into a "squeezed" cocoon.[9] When I had unpicked my daughter's hand from the swaddling clothes, the nurse was displeased with me. In a maternity hospital, mothers could see their babies being naked, only when dressing them for going home. That is why it is relatively typical that, in the beginning, a new mother was quite unrelaxed with her baby. Many of them did not even dare to touch their children properly and, at first, bathing of the baby was the husband's duty.

The same phenomena was described by S. Kitzinger in Great Britain on the second half of the 1970s where the atmosphere in the hospital was not as complicated, but the authoritarian attitudes of the hospital staff and the lacking interaction between mother and her baby resulted in becoming estranged from her baby. The women complained often that they felt as if the baby was not their's in the hospital (Kitzinger 1979: 65, 66, 70, 71).

An old custom to bind a woman's stomach tightly after birth, so that it would become small again, was practised for a long time. It is not known, when, but medical employees prohibited the binding of the stomach. Women continued doing so in secret, either in a hospital or later at home (EA 212: 47 Tartu, 250 Vergi; EA 225: 417, 549

[9] However, Russian handbooks from 1962 and from 1975 recommended to leave the baby's hands free and head uncovered, starting from the 3rd–4th day of life, and to put it asleep in a sleeping bag (Zhelokhovtseva 1962; Bodyazhina 1975: 195).

Jõgeva): *Mothers did the binding themselves. When the doctor came, they quickly unbound it, in order not to be scolded* (EA 225: 512 Jõgeva). *Then they tied two long towels together, sewed them and tugged around the stomach, to make the muscles recover well, otherwise the stomach would remain very big. But nowadays they don't allow binding at all and everybody has to be the way they are. It is the fear of adhesions. But I had it bound with all my four children and there weren't any adhesions* (EA 212: 170 Raplamaa, Purku). One of my course mates, a history student, used stomach bandage in Tartu, in the 1980s, following the advice of her mother who worked in the maternity hospital. According to Engelmann, a renowned researcher of birth customs, bandaging the stomach was prevailingly disappearing among civilised nations already one hundred years ago, it had been still viable only among "savages" (1884: 32). Presumably, the instances of relevant custom among "cultured nations" have not been registered, this can hardly be an Estonian peculiarity. However, folk culture comprises of what people have written down, not the reality.

The preferred gender. It was traditional in older days, and especially in the country, that the first child was expected to be a boy, and in many regions, for example, in Raplamaa and Virumaa it is still the same today. Even in the 1980s, a man whose first child was a girl, was called a "snot" (EA 212: 255 Vergi): *The first one was expected to be a boy and when a girl was born, then it was said that the father is a snot. This is still the same today. When you are asked, who was born. This Kengi-guy who was in the same class with Toomas, it was like that with him, he went to the repair shop, and the men asked him. – It is the girl, don't you see that my nose is snotty. Milli also presented Riho with a handkerchief because his nose was snotty* (EA 212: 18 Purku). An elderly interviewee from Talinn though that this kind of teasing would have been unthinkable among his acquaintances and he found a humorous explanation as to why sons are preferred: *I definitely wanted the son to be the first, and the second to be the daughter. We were joking among ourselves that then the son's friends will be suitors. Men, still, wanted inheritors. But our mother had four boys already, she wanted a daughter very much. There was no joking. At that time, people were more tactful, even ordinary working families. Politeness was totally different* (EA 212: 303). In

Jõgeva, too, boys were preferred: *What a pleasure for a man when a boy is born. He would look as if he was ten years younger* (EA 225: 440). A married couple of medical students from Tallinn also had traditional expectations in the middle of the 1980s, and, due to the influence of the man's parents, the birth of a boy became a "question of life". Favouring sons is shown by a special male party organised in town for the occasion (EA 212: 50–51 Tartu and Tallinn). A son was regarded to be the continuer of the family and transmitter of the family name. Even in the recent past, it was typical in some places of Estonia, to prefer sons. However, some women wanted definitely to have a daughter: *Fathers used to want a son, mothers – a daughter. When it was already the second child, it didn't matter any more. I, indeed, wanted the first to be the daughter and I was even dreaming that I had a little girl and there was a big-big tree and she ran away from me, behind the tree. I was catching her from this side of the tree and the other side of the tree and finally I caught her. I even prepared the majority of things for a girl* (EA 213: 256).

Preference for boys has been marked mostly in connection with eastern and southern nations,[10] but it also appears in Europe (Sumtsov 1880: 70–71; Popov 1903: 325; Hovorka, Kronfeld 1909: 534; Belyayeva 1982: 54; Hämäläinen-Forslund 1988: 17–19; Gantskaya 1997: 8; Zelentshuk 1997: 126; Markova 1997: 104, 126). However, magical rituals that had to guarantee the birth of a boy, are widely known among many nations, also in connection with wedding customs. For example, a baby boy was put in the bride's

[10] In some nations, attitudes were expressed especially conspicuously. For example, among the Ossetian people, when a daughter was born, her father left the village for two months, etc. (Ptshelina 1937: 92). With the Georgians, the messenger who brought the news about the birth of a son, could be given a horse by the father. On the occasion of the birth of a son, guns were fired, the grandfather gifted money to the child. The father killed a ram and organised a party. The birth of a daughter was joyful only if there were already several sons in the family. When only daughters were born, it was regarded to be a great misfortune and the man could take a new wife (Solovyova 1987: 32). Abkhazians, too, organised a party on the occasion of a son's-birth (Tshursin 1956: 182). Among Mordvinians, the older generation still preferred the birth of a son until quite recently (*Sotsialistitcheski...* 1986: 169). Even today, the Azerbaijanians think it to be a misfortune if there is no son (Ptshelintseva 1987: 41). (See also Ivanova 1997: 144–145; 148–149, 151.)

lap. Sometimes it was considered important that the first child would be a boy (Pelkonen 1931: 104; Päss 1938: 557).

There were different apprehensions concerning the **visiting of a woman in childbed**, both in the country and in towns. Most probably, this traditional custom of taking food to the woman in childbed, lasted longer in rural areas. In Jõgeva in the 1920s, it was less customary to visit new mothers in the town than in the country: *At my time, it was so that it was not wanted that people could infect the baby with catarrh and. It was different in farmhouses. But I am a town inhabitant* (EA 225: 440). In the 1920s, a midwife from Jõgeva propagated the idea of not visiting women in childbed in the neighbourhood: *People did visit new mothers, they tend to do so now, too. I had to do a lot of talking against this* (EA 225: 477). Still, in the 1930s in Tallinn, visiting women in childbed was a popular entertainment among middle-class society. Spouses used to go together to the party that was organised on that occasion. However, it might have happened that the baby was not shown to the visitors (EA 212: 322–324). The more subtle society in Tallinn believed in the casting of an evil eye (EA 212: 320). There was a contrary opinion from a doctor's family in Jõgeva: *Well, we did not have this fooling about not allowing everybody to the baby; meaning, an evil eye, bad character* (EA 225: 439). In Jõgeva, male visitors were a novelty for more ordinary people even in the 1950s: *And it used to be that men did not visit women in childbed, it was only females. But I worked in an artel, and men did come, too. And my mother clapped her hands in surprise – who has ever seen it before that men come to pay a visit to a woman in childbed!* (EA 225: 514).

Differences in customs can reveal themselves not only between the country and the town, but also between various social strata and families. Differences between separate areas and towns of various importance were probably greater than just between the countryside and towns. For example, what was done with the presents brought by the visitors. There are several reports from Jõgeva that a bagel or a cake that the visitors had brought, had to be cut quickly and the parcel had to be opened: *Oh yes, this* [cake] *was cut immediately, in order to make the child walk and talk quickly...* (EA 225: 386, 514–515). This is a traditional understanding – the parcel had to be

opened quickly.[11] Relevant customs were also remembered in Abkhazia, in the Estoniya village; the opening of the parcel that was brought to the woman in childbed, had to guarantee good luck in marrying (EA 207: 236). An elderly lady Ina from Tallinn said quite the contrary about the middle class of the 1930s: *We had such an educational style that, when a gift was given, it was not snatched to be opened immediately, this showed greediness. It is the same on a birthday, the present is put on the birthday table, it is not opened at once. At that time, educational requirements were relatively different* (EA 212: 327). In Tallinn, people bought a cake from a bakery, when paying a visit, and the "bannock" that was taken along in the country, was called a cake base: *Naturally, with a cake and flowers. And closer people, they had a tiny shirt or a knitted cardigan. But in the country, they also brought a cake for the baby. The one that we call a cake base, was baked with eggs, it was really big. A sponge cake* (EA 212: 324).

In North-Tartumaa, in the 1930s, the new mother was also given porridge, in towns, this custom had probably disappeared earlier: *No, nobody was given porridge as a present. No, Estonian people have not been as poor as not to have porridge themselves. Maybe, a very long time ago this had a kind of mystical image* (EA 225: 440 Jõgeva). In Jõgeva, it was still so in the 1960s, that the new mother was given money, old silver coins were said to be suitable for this (EA 225: 515). In Tallinn, a middle-aged interviewee presumed that the custom of giving silver money disappeared because of the lack of coins, she said to have heard about the money-gifting custom from her mother (EA 212: 127). The mother of the interviewee claimed the opposite, she said she had never even heard about this: *Money? – No. In my family and among my acquaintances, they did not do so, maybe it was like that among the poorer people. The English have such a saying, that a child was born with a silver spoon in its mouth, this is about the well-off people. Then it was obvious that the baby came from a rich family. When it was known that the baby had its*

[11] This custom had different variants. For example, it was written from Saarde that when a girl was born, the presented tub had to opened quickly, in order to make her marry quickly. When it was a boy, the opening had to be more slow, to make sure that he would not marry too soon (ERA II 113, 216 (8) < Saarde).

first tooth, then the godmother or somebody else brought a silver spoon. I have done this to my acquaintances and I guess I brought one for you. It was usually the godmother who brought the silver spoon. "Tooth money" – maybe it was like that among poorer people. We were not rich either, but middle-class" (EA 212: 325–326). In Estonia, silver spoons were popular gifts for the baby in the 1950s–1970s, both on the occasion of baptising and when visiting the new mother; and maybe they are still popular.

At earlier times, those who visited women in childbed, were first and foremost married women. Nowadays, besides relatives, the first visitors are also the single friends of the new mother: *Main thing is flowers, maybe nothing else is needed, but... I gave a book to one. Well, and the baby's things are also taken, nappies and... toys.* [---] *I think it is the female friends who are very keen on paying the visit* (EA 212: 49, 50 Tallinn). Foodstuff has been replaced by obligatory flowers.

When the baby saw the first light of day in a hospital, then, in the 1930s, the mother and the child were given presents there already. And it was the mother's decision, whether to show the baby to the visitors or not (EA 212: 322–324 Tallinn). In Tartu too, people went to visit new mothers in the hospital (EA 213: 265). During the soviet time, in the 1950s–1990s, paying visits in hospitals was forbidden, it was possible only to take flowers[12] and food there to be given over to her (EA 212: 35 Tallinn, Rapla): *I know, Evald brought me a parcel, I went secretly to the window and they were angry at me* (EA 212: 20 Rapla). The closest relatives could see the baby if they were lucky and could come to an agreement, so that the nurse would show the child through the window (EA 212: 119 Tallinn). But if the windows of the ward faced a favourable direction, then, at feeding times, even mothers could secretly introduce the new member of the family to their folks. Letters were also a means of communication with the relatives at home. When coming home from the hospital, the first uninvited guests were the medical employees who began to make arrangements as to how to feed the baby, how to give it a drink and

[12] In several hospitals, for example in Tartu maternity hospital bringing flowers was forbidden. In Tartu bringing flowers to maternity hospital is allowed only since 1990s.

how to swaddle it, etc. When a pediatrician came to see my newborn Arne in January in 1990, then her first comment was about our cat Ints – there is no place for this in the flat.

Conclusion

The birth of a human being has become a medical phenomenon, and therefore, part of the old customs have disappeared or they have been replaced by hospital folklore. However, the borderline between folklore and experiential observations is not distinct. Beliefs, connected with the time of expecting a baby, are viable until today, whereas it is possible to see the interweaving of older and newer traditions. People of rural origin have often taken their understandings, characteristic of certain regions, with them when they moved into towns. Still, in the case of traditional reports, it is not always the customs that have been taken along from the countryside. Today, we cannot declare what in the customs is characteristic only of towns; both in the country and in towns, traditional understandings could be differentiated from contemporary opinions. And the balance between these depended first and foremost on regional origin and the religiousness of definite people, and also on social background. Differences between various areas and certain towns of importance were probably greater than just between the countryside and towns. The performance of old customs is more determined by regional origin. The similar tendencies could be found in funeral customs (Mikkor 1999a).

The difference between the country and towns was certainly greater at earlier times, in the 1930s–1940s, the customs of town people were conducted by "good manners" and also by folk tradition. Among contemporary rural people, it was especially noticeable that they regarded prestige to be of utmost importance. Some town inhabitants had a disparaging attitude towards "country folk", this was extremely characteristic of a midwife from Jõgeva, the first generation in town. People with secondary school education, who had been living in towns for several generations, had a more respectful regard towards country population. However, refined breeding and the manners of town people were emphasised in Tallinn.

During soviet times the proceedings, connected with the birth of a human being, were greatly influenced by orders and the planned economy. As in general, the words 'deficit' and 'acquaintances' had special importance also for customs. When delivering their babies in hospitals, women could experience the trends of contemporary soviet medical science. Today, all this has changed or is changing.

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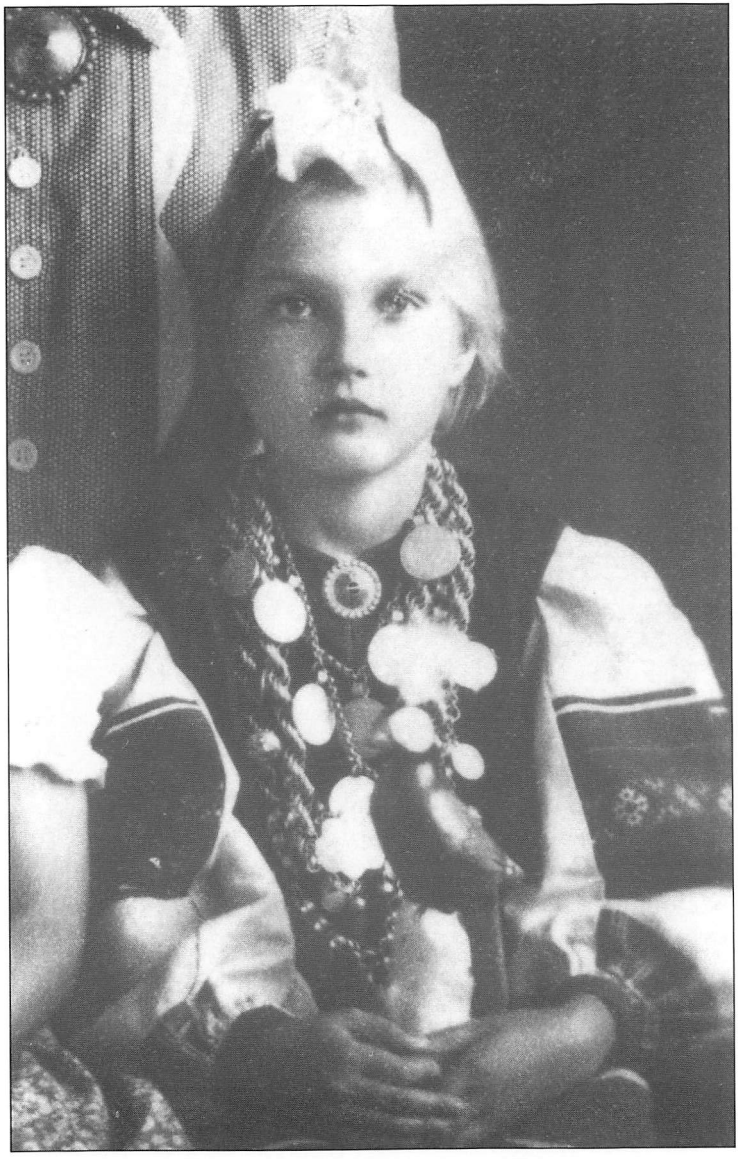
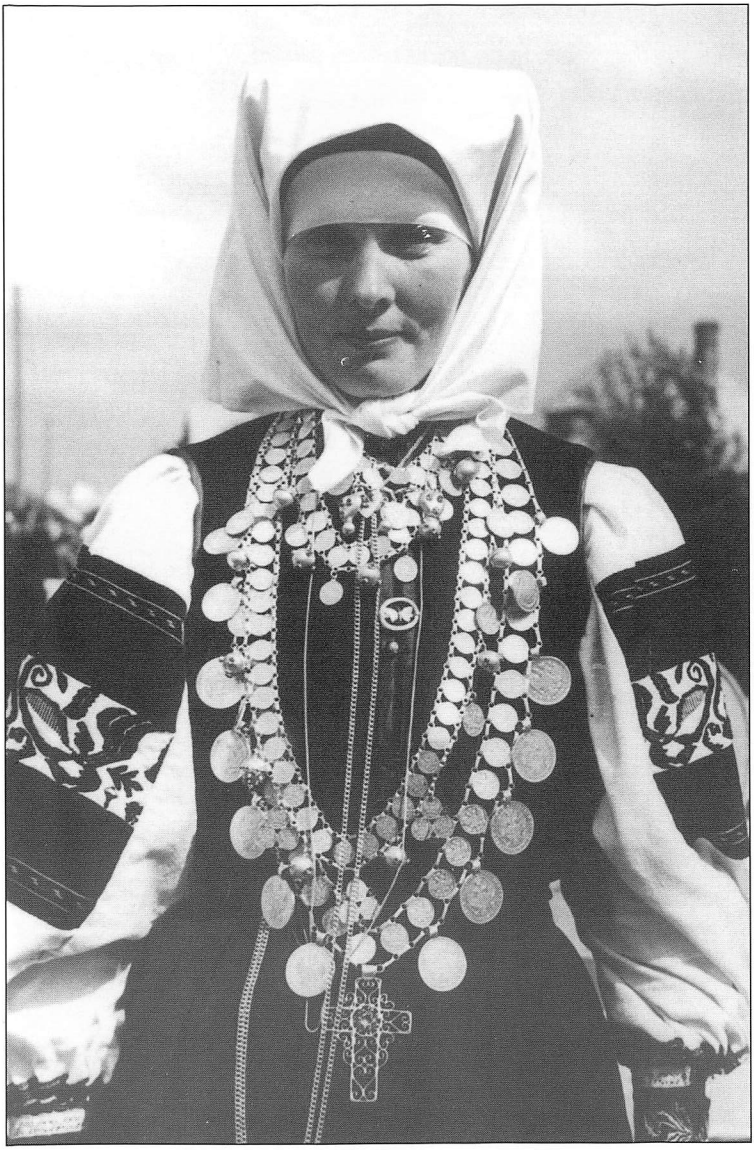
Photograph 1. A five-year-old Setu girl in Petchory.
Photograph by G. Kirillov 1949.



Photograph 2. A twelve-year-old Setu girl in Petchory.
Photograph by G. Kirillov 1954.

Photograph 3. A Setu maiden in Petchory.
Photograph by G. Kirillov 1930.



Photograph 4. A Setu married woman.

Photograph 5. The Setus bestow their silver jewellery
upon the icons in the church with gratitude and prayers.
The ornaments are serving the God.
Photograph by Mare Piho 1998.

Photograph 6. In contemporary Estonia the silver jewellery of the Setus is earning money. An advertisement of Optiva Bank in the year 2000. Text on the advertisement: 'Still have to prove your credit record?' Photograph by Anu Ansu.

Setu[1] Silver Decorative Jewellery in the Context of Town Culture

Mare Piho

Silver jewellery is a valuable resource for studying ethnic and cultural relations. It has carried nation's ethnic identity and has been closely connected to the nation's history, religion and world view throughout time (Piho 1997).

Silver jewellery as a separate object for studies, is also a helpful resource in Setus' late history studies, in which ethnic, cultural and trade relations, but also relations concerning age (look photographs 1–4) and family, are revealed.

The study of silver jewellery in towns is connected with the identity problems of town Setus. Border problems[2] and arisen self-consciousness have unified Setus both in town and country. The Setu movement whose goal was to protect language and culture has also influenced and valued traditional culture, including the use of silver jewellery.

The culture of a Setu woman is characterised by the **numerousness of silver jewellery** (Piho 1997: 5). The jewellery worn in the traditional period reflected periodical changes in the sets of jewellery

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[1] The Setus are an ethnoconfessional group of Estonians. Unlike the majority of the Estonians, Setus are orthodox. Their living area is South-Western Estonia and Petchory (Petseri) county of Pskov oblast, Russia.

[2] At the birth of Estonian Republic in 1920, all Setu area, also known as Setumaa, belonged to Estonian Republic, according to the Tartu Peace Treaty. This area was halved after the World War II between Estonian SSR and Russian SFSR. The border problem occurred during the restoration of Republic of Estonia and the Setu area is still halved: this situation is endangering Setu culture.

and regional differences between South- and North-Setumaa. Jewellery also marked belonging to a certain age group. In silver jewellery women's and men's life cycles were symbolised differently. On one hand, Setu silver jewellery involved individuality and intimacy, and, on the other hand, collective memory and heightened social attention. They had a very powerful semiotic nature and they were poly-functional.

Silver jewellery is the world where a Setu woman lived from her birth till her death. Silver jewellery followed a Setu woman also in the "world beyond". During the time of mourning the jewellery of the dead person was also considered "dead". It was probably thought that silver jewellery **mentally** followed and protected the dead person in the complicated trip to forefathers, i.e. silver jewellery repeats the destiny of the departed (Piho 1997: 18, 145). Nowadays, this world has changed beyond recognition. The culture of jewellery is also changed. Partly, it is the result of the internal development of culture; partly it is the consequence of strong external forces.

Jewellery culture of town Setus can be divided into the following periods: 1) the jewellery culture of Pechory (Petseri), "the capital of Setumaa" at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century; 2) the jewellery culture of the Setu intelligentsia and Setu students during the first Estonian independence period between the 1920s–1940s; 3) Soviet jewellery culture from 1940 to 1991; 4) since 1991, the jewellery culture of the new republic. The influence, length, intensity and also the outcome of these periods have been different. The culture of silver jewellery of Setus living in "the capital of Setumaa" i.e. Pechory is influenced by an innovative group of Setus. Setus living in Pechory were rich landowners and merchants. Some of them owned stores in Pechory, Riga and even Berlin. There also were well-known people among the relatives of Pechory Setus, photographer G. Kirillov, for example, who owned a studio in the Nevski Prospekt, St. Petersburg, later also in Tallinn and Pechory. Jewellery given by these people to their mothers, sisters, sisters-in-law and other female relatives living in Pechory and Setu villages reflected the fashion trends of this period. During this period new, specific chainlets with *lukk*'s i.e. pendants appeared in the sets of Setu jewellery called *püürtü keedi* and *ristikõrd* alias *tsaposka*,

which partly replaced old pieces of jewellery, and the number of the pieces of jewellery in outfits started to grow. A novelty was to decorate these various pendants (*lukk*'s) with stones (*kivi*'s) and their imitations. Stone (*kivi*)-decorated earrings, bracelets and rings were added to the sets of jewellery. This tendency brought along the major change in all the structure of Setu silver jewellery. Until then, it was decorated using only one technique – engraving. The new jewellery is decorated with rosettes made of coloured glass, symmetrically laid separate larger 'glass-stones' and patterned figures in filigree technique. A piece of jewellery always has *kivi*'s (stones) in different colours but dominant became the red ones. The size and form of the pendants (*lukk*'s) in various chainlets also changed. They became bigger in size and varied in form. Soon flowers and leaves made of metal band (silver or argentine) in rolled technique were added. It made jewellery even more massive and heavy. These new pieces of jewellery were worn by the Setu women living in towns also with their everyday clothes. Massive earrings with 'leaves' i.e. leave-shaped pendants were worn only by Setu women living in towns. In towns gold jewellery, like different golden chains and rings, was also worn. In other parts of Setumaa people used to gild silver, influenced by the Orthodox Church and Pechory Monastery where gilding silver icon ornaments was used according to the Byzantine culture (Piho 1997: 11). Setus living in Pechory did not wear national costumes while in town but only when going to their native villages for *kirmask*'s[3] and weddings. They brought to the villages town fashion and also the new concept of the beauty of silver jewellery. With their prestige, they influenced the development of Setu jewellery also in Setu villages. Traditionally conservative Setu people took these influences organically to their culture of jewellery. New trends were accepted, new pieces of jewellery were given Setu names, and the traditional notion of silver jewellery as one of the most important part in the culture of a Setu woman was transferred also to the new items of jewellery.

The Setu intelligentsia of the first period of Estonian Republic (1920–1940), especially students, were strongly oriented to preserv-

[3] *Kirmask* – village party in summer, celebrated in Setumaa (translator's note).

ing their culture and doing explanatory work, whose traces are noticeable even today. As we know, this was the period when the Setu Youth's Summer Festival, organised by Setu students, was attended, side by side to the village youth, by the older generation, whose participation was considered very important. Setu students were also active participants in other Setu parties. By their family ties they were still closely connected to the traditional culture, whose value they appreciated. A great importance was given to the attendance of Setu youth for the first time in the all-Estonian Singing Festivals of this period, where the Estonians got acquainted with Setu national costumes and silver jewellery. A colour portrait of a Setu girl wearing national costume and a rich set of silver jewellery, taken during the Singing Festival, appeared on the front cover of a Latvian women's magazine (author's fieldwork in Setumaa, 1976). The studies made in Setumaa by the Finnish researchers A. O. Väisänen, L. Kettunen, et al., but also Setu "leelo" singers' performances in Finland and the general interest in Setus among the Finns were also of significant importance. A peculiarity of this period was the folk song-centred approach to Setu culture. Folk songs were considered to be the most vivid feature of Setu culture (people still remembered transcripts of Setu folk songs by J. Hurt and the Finnish researchers). Many of the Setu students were well known Setu men song's singers and collectors of Setu folklore. Wearing national costumes and silver jewellery was viewed as natural and was not considered in danger, for their natural development in Setumaa was still in progress. National costumes and silver jewellery were an organic part of people's lives.

A new period has started in the development of silver jewellery. From this point of view, this period marked a new quantitative change by which a "Setu layer" started in the history of Setu silver jewellery, having no analogues in the neighbouring areas. Now chains with several rows of tsarist Russia silver coins were spread, where the coins were attached between two rows of chains, accompanied by multiple coin pendants. This new type of jewellery was named *rahadsõ* (made of money). After Estonia gained independence, large number of tsarist silver coins was eliminated from circulation. These coins were now used for making new jewellery. Chro-

nological difference of coins in one piece of jewellery can be two-three, in some cases up to three hundred years. During this period, the number of coins and pendants used in multi-rowed chains increased constantly, reaching up to 379 in one item. On the other hand, the size of the pendants decreased because of the use of small silver coins. This was also the period when Setu's item of breast jewellery – silver brooch, *suur sõlg* (big brooch) alias Setu brooch, reached its ultimate size and weight (Piho 1995; 1996). In this period, old pieces of jewellery, i.e. jewellery from the 1st half of the 19th century and many pieces from the middle of the 19th century were gone for good. Making of jewellery went mainly to the hands of Setu 'goldsmiths'. Jewellery makers from the other parts of Estonia moved to Pechory thanks to the developing culture of silver jewellery and the new types of jewellery (Piho 1997: 8).

Age differentiation (Piho 1984; 1985; 1992; 1997) while wearing silver jewellery still existed, but some changes could be noticed. Firstly, in the big brooch's wearing: girls living in town (and also their parents living in town) started to wear it without acknowledging the old tradition, according to which big brooch was a part of fertile, married woman's jewellery set. From the old photographs we can see Setu students and town girls wearing national costumes for the Setu youth summer festival accompanied by the traditionally rich set of silver jewellery including big brooch that did not belong to the traditional set of this age group.

Also Setu men's jewellery of this period was made of tsarist Russian silver coins. New pieces of jewellery for young men were brooches made of silver coins decorating shirt's slit and seal rings of the same material. These pieces of jewellery supplanted the old types. Men's earring was gone for good: in old tradition it was worn by men belonging to the married men's age group, always just in one ear. Wearing and even reminding it was considered dangerous and children were frightened with a figure of earring-wearing man. New jewellery's arrival favoured the survival of the Setu men's silver jewellery tradition. Silver jewellery worn by Setu male students in this period belonged to the *tsura* (groom) age group.

Setu students did not create a separate silver jewellery tradition but they were present at the birth of new pieces of jewellery and

indirectly, as those who formed new attitudes, the ones who wear men's national costumes and silver jewellery both in their villages and outside Setumaa, they demonstrated their personal values evaluating silver jewellery as well, which helped to the remaining of this tradition. The favour made by the Setu intelligentsia and students, is the evaluation of Setu culture among the Setus themselves. It is known that the prestige of educated Setus among the other Setus was extremely high, and families with students were highly respected. On the other side, there still existed traditional economy, relations and residential, tradition-carrying village society, where values and changes made by "somebody within the group" were accepted as natural.

The beginning of the Soviet era (from the point of view of silver jewellery) is characterised by total chaos: jewellery was dug into ground, sold cheap, it was stolen, partly confiscated. During this period, many items of silver jewellery changed owners. Silver jewellery that once belonged to the families deported to Siberia, was lost forever. Kolkhozes ruined the traditional way of life. Setu migration to towns started. Jewellery was sold cheap by weight to the state. Probably only 10–25% of the silver jewellery that belonged to the Setus before the World War II has been preserved till today.

Folk groups established in the 1970's both in towns and villages changed the general attitude towards silver jewellery. It was not hidden any more, but neither was it valued, especially among the youth. It was still sold cheap to the members of the folk groups, to museums and collectors. No new jewellery was made for there was no old masters left and all work related to precious metals was declared a state monopoly.

People who had moved to towns had a new way of life and different mentality, but they still had a strong collective memory, emotional desire, need and will to preserve the culture of their childhood's Setumaa. Many families had managed to preserve old family jewellery. Silver jewellery was also bought by Setu intelligentsia living in towns and strongly involved in the future of Setu culture. They had children and grandchildren who, in some cases, were even sowed Setu national costumes. These were worn only inside the group, in family occasions and at home at Christmas time.

For the generation born and grown up in town, silver jewellery is a part of the grandmothers' culture expressing nostalgia and fantasy.

In town's cultural context, there are two current trends of wearing silver jewellery. Nowadays, this branch of the Setu culture is mainly the culture of folklore ensembles. The generation for whom silver jewellery was "the Setu woman's world" is lost and we have also lost the culture connected to it. Despite the external correctness of jewellery outfits, they have lost their age differentiation. Today, without an exception, all folklore ensembles wear jewellery outfits that belong to one single age group: the sets belonging to fertile or birth-capable women. A set of silver jewellery belonging to this age group might have weight up to 6 kg. It is completely understandable, as the set of this age group is the most abundant and beautiful. The most conceptual change is the acceptance of so called big brooch (*suur sõlg*) by all age groups, although traditionally it has strictly belonged only to the fertile women's jewellery set. At the same time, people have maintained the understanding that their culture is rich in jewellery, but they also admit that it has lost its semiotic nature and that there are changes in its polyfunctionality.

Another phenomenon is students' wearing the Setu national costume and silver jewellery in Soviet times in the Soviet universities where they studied. A non-functional use of silver jewellery has also occurred. In the 1980s in Pechory, rooms could be decorated with silver jewellery – *suur sõlg* (big brooch) accompanied by a set of silver jewellery being fixed to tapestry (author's fieldwork in Pechory).

From 1991 on, while Setu folklore ensembles started performing abroad in folk festivals, exhibition openings or receptions organised by banks and other companies, the value of the Setu silver jewellery has grown enormously. In the context of contemporary Estonian urban culture, one of the brightest examples is the use of the Setu silver jewellerry in a bank advertisement (photograph 6). In order to overcome the crisis on personal or family level (first of all the illnesses), Setu women bestowed their silver jewellerry upon the icons in their village churches in the traditional period (photograph 5).

The Setu silver jewellery has been, throughout times as well as now, a symbol of prestige, it is a part of prestigious goods, characterised

by limited access and appreciation within a certain group. That relates especially to the ancient jewellery which is hard to be found and therefore is considered highly prestigious. During the last few years it has been prestigious to buy old traditional silver jewellery and to make new items.

Traditional material for these new items are tsarist Russian silver coins that people have either kept or bought and the new pieces of jewellery copy the traditional ones.

Jubilee coins from Soviet times, made of white metal were also used in limited amounts. The one rouble coins were used for making *ruublitükk*'s, and smaller coins for different types of *rahadsõ*'s. As the smaller coins were made of red metal (copper?), they were bleached because of the ancient cult's tradition of silver i.e. white metal (Piho 1993: 33; 1997). New tendencies in jewellery production occurred in the final years of the 20th century. Nowadays they are made of today's Estonian coins for the reserves of the old tsarist coins have ended. Traditional jewellery made of contemporary Estonian coins is produced only in the Setu folklore ensembles situated in the capital of Estonia.

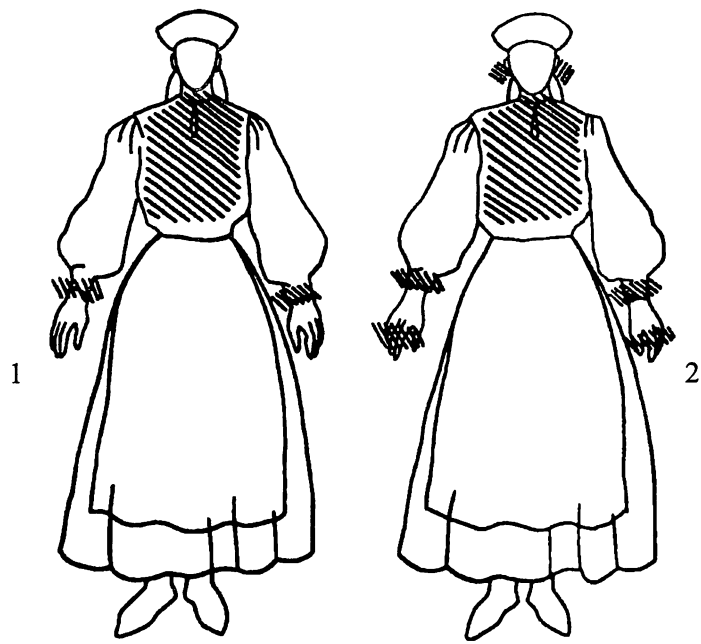
The second tendency growing year by year is buying old and therefore highly prestigious silver jewellery. Expensive Setu silver jewellery being sold in antique shops has often found new Setu owners.

Another trend that contravenes tradition is the wearing of single items of jewellery separately from the national costume. (As we know, Setus wore silver jewellery always as sets.) To put it metaphorically, Setu silver jewellery has "gained independence". Setu jewellery is worn at work and festive occasions, whereas different items are chosen in a way that they are not "recognisable" as belonging to Setu culture. These items of jewellery were made by town "goldsmiths" at the beginning of the 20th century and they follow the fashion of the time. First and foremost, these are *tabakeedi*'s and *uurikeedi*'s, but there are also *kaalakõrda*'s made of silver coins and bracelets from the end of the 19th century.

Starting from the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, while *suur sõlg* (big brooch) appeared into the set of the Setu silver jewellery, replacing the old Setu jewellery (Piho 1996; 1997), this has become the most prestigious polyfunctional part of

Setu jewellery. *Suur sõlg* (big brooch) was expensive and there were not many of them, it was therefore common to borrow them. Other parts of jewellery could be also borrowed and a special system of compensating (paying) for it was established. A couple of decades ago, borrowing silver jewellery already relied only on good relations. Today borrowing silver jewellery is possible, but in very limited occasions and only between very good friends or very close relatives (mother-daughter). As jewellery is regularly needed for performing, new Setu brooches have been made, that copy the traditional silver Setu brooch by shape, but differ in material (non-silver) and ornament.

Another phenomenon is the conscious wearing of jewellery that has "gained independence" at political activities, congresses and receptions. This phenomenon can be called "Setu silver jewellery as a political manifestation" or "Setu silver jewellery and politics".



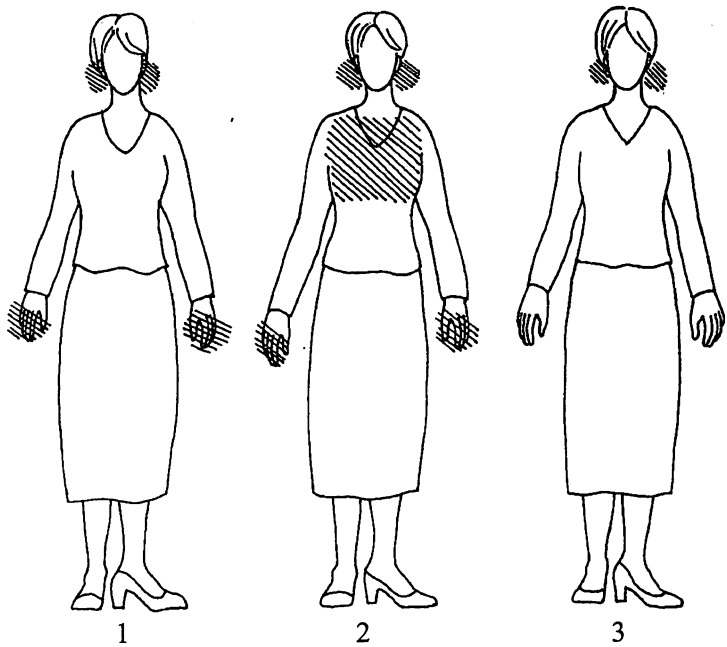
Drawing 1. Marking the body with silver jewellery in the culture of folklore ensembles.
1. In the country. 2. In towns.

While taking into consideration the "impracticality" of jewellery in everyday life, we find necessary to stress its mental functions and connection to our psychological states. As being entirely connected to the topography of the human body, jewellery expresses not only human's plastic feelings but it affects his or her physical and mental state. It is interesting to observe the placement of jewellery, i.e. marking the body parts, in the jewellery culture of the folk ensembles. Some differences appeared: in the country, neck, breast and wrist are marked with jewellery, whereas in towns – ears, neck, breast, wrist and fingers (look drawing 1) are marked.

Among the Setus living in towns it is common to mark neck and fingers with modern jewellery. We can compare marking different body parts among Siberian Setus (Piho 1990a; 1991; 1993) and Setus living in Middle-Asia (Piho 1998). These people do not wear national costumes or Setu jewellery any more, but the placement of modern jewellery is the following: in Siberian Setu villages ears, neck and fingers are marked with jewellery, in towns – ears and fingers (author's fieldwork in Siberia, 1987–1991, 1999), Setus living in Middle-Asia wear massive and heavy earrings which is an influence of local Muslim culture (author's fieldwork in Uzbekistan, 1998) (look drawing 2).

Although the Estonian intelligentsia "discovered" Setu silver jewellery at Setu singers' performances in the Estonian National Museum and in the "Vanemuine" theatre in 1912, the wider public could see it only at song festivals. Today, Setu jewellery is a generally known ethno-cultural symbol.

Setu folklore ensembles who performed in Europe and the USA represented in the first place the Estonians and Estonia, and only secondly the Setu people. But in Finland, Setus are very well known and there they firstly represent their own culture. Everywhere it has been the Setu *suur sõlg*, together with silver jewellery outfit that could weight from 3 to 6 kilograms, that has caused the greatest interest and a peculiar cultural shock. In this context it is a phenomenon where Setu silver jewellery represents a symbol of a rare ethnic minority.
For years, Setu silver jewellery has crossed the boundaries of its narrow and closed cycle. They are worn by the Estonian intelligentsia, by important people. It should be also mentioned that these are always original items of the Setu silver jewellery, and it is also popular



Drawing 2. Marking the body with silver jewellery.
1. Siberian Setus in towns. 2. Siberian Setus in the country.
3. Middle-Asian Setus in Uzbekistan.

to wear genuine *rahadsõ*'s – Setu-style jewellery made of tsarist silver coins and belonging to the "Setu layer" of jewellery. It implicates that some part of the Estonian intelligentsia has adopted this part of Setu culture. There are different ways to wear these items of jewellery – they are worn sometimes directly on skin (low-cut neckline) and sometimes there is no difference made between avers and revers sides of *rahadsõ*. The Setu people themselves carry silver jewellery only on clothes and jewellery made of silver coins on the revers side, having the symbol of double-headed eagle.

In particular, we should mention the making and wearing of Setu chain *püürtu keedi* among the expatriate Estonian song festivals all over the world together with conventionalised Setu or Estonian national costumes.

Setu silver jewellery has also influenced modern Estonian professional jewellery making where single elements and whole composi-

tions of Setu silver jewellery have been introduced. Lately, considering growing interest in Setu silver jewellery, copies and simple versions have been also produced.

In conclusion, we can say that Setu silver jewellery is associated with collective memory and sacral matters also today; this becomes evident at folk parties and performances (the Day of the Setu Kingdom, the singing day) where Setu people feel maximum unity and togetherness. It is then that they realise their connection with their past and their ancestors who gave them the first and consequently the sacral examples.

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Translated by Marti Mätas

The Crumbling of the Peasant Time Concept in Estonia[1]

Heiki Pärdi

> *Man is not born with the "sense of time", his concept of time and space is determined by the culture where he belongs.*
> (A. Gurevitsh)

Time is one of the major and comprehensive cultural categories and the relationship with time determines the essence of culture to a large extent. The Russian social historian Aron Gurevitsh, who has studied the medieval European concept of time, confirms that *there is no other factor that characterises the essence of culture as well as the concept of time. This is related to the knowledge of the world during a particular era, it reveals the people's behaviour, their consciousness, rhythm of life and their attitudes towards things* (Gurevitsh 1992: 75). Time is of ruling importance both for society and a single person but it is only in Europe and the western world as a whole where time has played such an important role.

Time does not only exist objectively, as people experience and are conscious of it also subjectively. Furthermore, according to Gurevitsh, time is first and foremost a subjective category, an inseparable part of human consciousness (Gurevitsh 1993: 196). Time, similar to other cultural categories, has a number of forms which differ from each other in time, space and social environment[2]. That is

[1] This research has been carried out with the financial support from the Estonian Science Foundation. Grant No. 2089.

[2] Good examples of the time concept of different nations in the world can be found in the book *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (1955).

why time is perceived and used differently in various civilisations and societies. Time is treated differently even by the separate layers of one and the same society and by single individuals. In other words, there is no common "monolithic" time running in any society, instead, there are a number of social rhythms which depend on the nature of various collective groups and on the regularities of different processes. Social time flows differently in the minds of separate classes and groups, as they treat and experience time in their own way due to their different functional rhythm. Consequently, in the context of culture, there are many different ways to understand and treat time. Simultaneously, no society can exist without co-ordinating different social rhythms. This is the reason why in every society, there has to be a single, dominating social time. However, time, in total or in general, always remained local during the pre-capitalist era, as the entire social life was particular. Hand in hand with the development of socio-political universality, time became more equalised and unified. Control over time went to the public authorities which were growing more powerful. All this gave birth to "national time" and unitary temporal thinking (Gurevitsh 1992).

When analysing the concept of time for Estonians held during the 20th century, we proceed from the idea, well-known in social science, that behind the revelations of social life are the hidden layers of profound social structure. These forms of social consciousness, intrinsic to all people, shape the social behaviour of both individuals and groupings and altogether determine the changes that take place on the surface of a society. Such concealed "cultural grammar" determines how people see the world, it determines their evaluations and the basic tempo and rhythm of their life (Hall 1983: 6). Every individual without exception has his/her personal way or mentality of seeing the world. Different aspects of the latter, including the concept of time create a compound but complicated and contradictory worldview, shaped by people's way of life. At the same time, it is not difficult to notice the contrary connection – our worldview strongly influences and shapes our way of life.

Treating time as a cultural category, I have proceeded from the relevant works of Aron Gurevitsh (1971; 1992; 1993), Edward T. Hall (1976; 1983) and Orvar Löfgren (1987), the concrete empiri-

cal subject originates mainly from the Archive of the Answers of the Correspondents of the Estonian National Museum.[3] Since the article deals with such subjective, inseparable from human consciousness, category as time and its perception and understanding, therefore I have regarded it to be necessary to extensively present people's ideas about this matter using their own words. It is not indispensable to add some colour to the story but to heed the voice of the speakers. I am convinced that it is not merely important (or maybe it is not important at all), what people say but how it is said. This is the only way to reveal the attitudes and appreciations of people in a relatively adequate manner.

Traditional Peasant Time Concept

The agrarian society, characteristic of many nations of the world in the past, ceased to exist in Estonia in the middle of the 20th century by the violent enforcement of kolkhozes and by destroying the peasantry as a class. The peasant society with its way of life being formed

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[3] Material about this matter can be found in the answers to the questionnaire of the Estonian National Museum *Customs and rules of everyday life* (*Argielu...* 1994) (KV 727–735). One section in this questionnaire deals with people's attitude towards time. About 200 people, correspondents of the museum, from all over Estonia, answered the written questionnaire. The network of the correspondents (KV) of the Estonian National Museum was created in 1931, aimed at first hand to obtain thorough information about traditional peasant culture. For this reason, the majority of correspondents were recruited among rural people. The core of the correspondents was the educated people in villages (teachers, civil servants, etc.), but also a number of peasants. The network was almost dead during the first decades of Soviet occupation, until the end of the 1950s, but since then it has functioned very actively. At present, the ENM has more than 700 correspondents, and differently from the pre-war time, they mostly live in towns, although the majority originates from the country. There are also differences in the social status and gender. A relatively large amount is formed by schoolteachers and other representatives of intelligentsia, while the number of real and active farmers is very small. The reason is very simple – the Soviet regime annihilated the peasantry as such. Secondly, the share of female correspondents is unproportionally large and, no doubt, this influences their work and the general picture of Estonian everyday culture, created on the basis of their correspondence. Correspondents today differ from their predecessors also with respect to their age – a large majority of them is about 70–80 years old, this means that their bright memories (childhood and youth) date from the time before WW II.

during the Middle Ages was a very archaic phenomenon. This is why traditionalism in its medieval meaning characterises the peasant worldview, including the concept of time. The time concept of medieval people had several very different and even contradictory aspects – agrarian time, family time, biblical or liturgical time, cyclical and historical time; still, the foundation for everything was the cyclical sense of time, based on the rhythms of nature and on the changing of seasons (Gurevitsh 1992: 113)[4].

For peasants, time depended most of all on the natural environment and the rhythms of nature. *This was the time of the people who did not rule nature but were subject to its rhythms* (Gurevitsh 1992: 85). It was not only nature that influenced the sense of time of a peasant, it was also his work. But his work, in its turn, depended greatly on the rhythms of nature (dark-light, warm-cold, dry-wet, etc.) and the work year was tightly connected to natural year. Due to these connections between natural and work year, peasants perceived time as something cyclical, rhythmical and repeatable. Nearly always peasants had several jobs in hand concurrently and according to the apprehensions then, the measure of time was work, which is quite the opposite to what it is today.

According to peasant mentality, there is time for everything because things go slowly. Estonians, similarly to various other nations, were convinced that when God created time, he created enough of it.

Time was not a problem in the countryside. Indeed, people did work there, but they also had enough time to simply sit down and chat (KV 732: 663 Suure-Jaani).

The measure of time was work. During this period, it was the measure for everybody (KV 727: 254 Kihelkonna).

When speaking about time, people kept their eye more on the outcome of work than on a clock (KV 732: 555 Halliste).

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[4] It is worth mentioning that the custom of regulating public time by chiming churchbells, which dates to the Middle Ages when social time was under the control of the Church, was still maintained in some places of Estonia until the 1930s. An ENM correspondent from Lääne-Saaremaa (West-Saaremaa) remembers that *at six o'clock on Saturday evening, churchbells were ringing, and they announced the end of the working week.* [---] *Everybody tried to arrange their work and activities so that they could finish at six on a Saturday evening and there was no working on Sundays* (KV 751: 249–250 Kihelkonna).

There was a common phrase: God did not create hurry, He created rats and mice. This was a principle that people followed. Country work demands calmness and patience. And so did life stream slowly and patiently. It was repeated over and over: quickly done – bad job, when done slowly – it is a beautiful job. [---] *Clocks could almost be non-existent, people observed time more by the sun.* [---] *The performances in the culture centre began when people had gathered, sometimes an hour and sometimes an hour and a half later than announced. It was simply impolite to go and see somebody exactly at the invited time.*

People felt free with the time of others, too. If somebody came because of business then it was indecent to start talking about the matter right away. People just chatted, exchanged village news and about an hour later they would say: "I also had some business to do." If the other person began to talk about his/her matter too quickly and wanted to leave, the hosts would ask: "Did you only come to bring a light?" (KV 728-I: 139 Juuru).

Daily and seasonal work dictated a firm but placid rhythm in a farm. The clock ticked on the wall but it was not omnipotent. Old people were awakened by daylight and cockcrowing. [---] *Time was allowed to flow peacefully, but at the same time, there was no long time wasted on getting into the swing* [---] *Like other men in the village, so did our father have a fob watch, but he never used it at home. He put the watch in his pocket only for his trips into the town. During the pre World War II years, country youth began to obtain wristwatches but these were rather luxury goods – there was no need for them in everyday life* (KV 727: 335 Muhu/Tori).

We were not taught to evaluate time in the direct, lexical form, although, sometimes, we were encouraged by saying: be more quick, why so slow-moving, are you sleeping. [---] *Grandpa said exactly the opposite: Where are you hurrying? You are always rushing. God did not create hurry, it was cats and mice (my mother also used to say that). You only catch a flea in a hurry. You cannot run ahead of your life, etc. And really – the life of my grandparents flew like a big deep river, slowly and peacefully, but irrefutably, continuously; it did not ever turn round and round anywhere* (KV 731: 134 Mõisaküla/ Väike-Maarja).

An ancient cyclic concept of time was in use in the Estonian peasant society until the 19th century. Since then, the Estonian popular time concept became more and more influenced by various institutions that regulated social life, like state, church, school and manor. The involvement of the peasantry in the developing market economy and more immediate and closer communication with different institutions was the indirect reason, as it demanded more punctuality in connection with time. Local civil parish authorities and courts had an especially great impact on the peasantry. As a result of the co-effect of all this, there was an increasing necessity for peasants to know the time, to be able to use dates and to know their exact age in years, etc. Several primeval methods and units of measuring time gradually disappeared from common usage. Time-denoted weeks, synodic month and holidays lost the importance they had had so far to the yearly dating and the day was divided according to the clock (Vahtre 1991: 133–135). The new linear time concept began to vigorously find its place beside the traditional Estonian cyclical time system, but it did not substitute for this. One of the first who introduced the new time concept to the Estonians was the public enlightener Fr. R. Kreutzwald in 1843. In his book *Sipelgas* I ('An Ant') there is a story entitled "How should time be handled in our days".[5] This story expresses a totally different attitude from the customary peasant understanding about time, summarising an idea that "time is a precious treasure". *Who wants to get along happily in the world has to be able to use his/her time wisely because time is the ball of thread meant for weaving our time life-cloth* [---] *Time is a precious treasure which gives all happiness and blessing also in our days. The person who can manage his time in a wise manner will do better in his life. Because of that, let us sleep less, get up earlier in the morning and do not ever idle away any moment: this way your timely life order will become the rich source of peace, joy and happiness* (Kreutzwald 1953: 230–231).

[5] Kreutzwald borrowed this and also many other of his educational stories from similar German publications. Initially, this story was published in Germany in a magazine *Das Pfennig-Magazin* I–II in 1834. Consequently, the time lag between Germany and Estonia when introducing the new time concept, was not very notable.

As peasants were more and more involved in the market economy, the adoption of the new way of thinking became vitally important for them. According to Lauri Vahtre, the 19th century can be regarded the "final breakthrough" in the transition from cyclical time perception to that of linear (Vahtre 1991: 120). By the end of this century, the new concept of time had become the elementary part of the new public education discourse. One of the handbooks from that time, providing young people with necessary advice for life, handled time in the following way:

The right usage of time at home, in social and business life is the first requirement and of utmost importance. [---] *Now and always, businessmen have said that "time is money", following the example of Englishmen; but young alert people can righteously add: time is education, mental enhancement, and enjoyment. Idling one's time away means that a human being deprives him/herself of the most precious treasure* (Grünfeldt 1896: 24, 29). As always, every public normative discourse differs from real life to some extent. This was also true about the time concept. This means that the final breakthrough might have happened by the beginning of the 20th century but new understandings did not completely and terminally oust the old ones. This is especially true about peasants with conservative ways of life.

The new Time of the New World

The new "modern" world with its concept of time was born in towns which are cardinally different from agrarian feudal society. The life of a town craftsman was connected with nature and its rhythms in a more complicated and mediated way than that of a peasant. A specific social environment emerges in towns and town people also have a totally different attitude towards time than feudals and peasants. Time was becoming more and more a measuring unit for work. This proceeded a necessity to measure time more punctually and conditioned the invention of a mechanically driven clock.[6] Time became

[6] The exact time and place of the invention of the mechanical clock is not known; still, it is more or less certain that these clocks began to spread in Europe in the 12th century (Savelyeva, Poletayev 1997: 504).

linear, it came from the past and went to the future through a point which is called the present. People began to perceive more and more that time, which they used to notice only when certain events took place, does not stop provided there are no events at all. That is why it is important to save time and to use it reasonably by filling it with useful action. In the end, people began to understand the importance of time in connection with the rise in the self-concept of an individual. Instead of a tribal being, a human began to perceive him/herself as an unrepeatable individual – as a person who is placed in a concrete time frame and who can make the best use of his/her abilities only during a limited period of time (Gurevitsh 1992: 117–120).

The contemporary time system is very rational and strictly formal. Time is an entirety which can be mechanically divided into measurable, standardised units: seconds, minutes, hours, days, etc. In addition, our time is completely specialised – there is time for every thing. E. T. Hall calls this time concept a monochronic one and the opposite of this is polychronic. Monochronic cultures (America – north of Europe, conventionally) are orientated to work obligations, time schedules and procedures. These are 'one-at-a-time' cultures.[7] Polychronic cultures (Mediterranean – south of Europe, for example) set a human being, human relations and family in first place. Here, many things are carried out at the same time[8] and no plan or time schedule can outweigh natural human communication. Comparing the new strict and rational time concept with the earlier "natural" and "human" one, the alienation of time from a human being reveals itself: *The switchover to mechanical time management was the preparation for a new and immensely important shift in understanding time: for the first time this showed illustratively that time*

[7] As a matter of fact, neither North-Europeans nor Americans live only according to the monochronic time – it is only the surface of life, the so-called official life. In homes, life goes on polychronically, especially among women who have to be wives, baby-sitters, nurses, cooks, drivers, etc., all at the same time. Polychronic time is, actually, considered to be feminine and monochronic, masculine. According to Hall, men in the American – North-European culture are more orientated towards work, whereas women's world is centred on people and the relationships between them (Hall 1983: 51–53).

[8] Similarly, peasants usually do many different jobs at one time.

does not depend on people, it is not anthropomorphic and that it is internally indifferent to its content. In fact, during previous history, people had always perceived their internal connection with time. [---] *Time, as well as space, was always measured by the movements and actions of people.* [---] *Clocks that work by means of mechanical power symbolised the alienation of time from people.* [---] *When discovering the secret of measuring time more exactly, people began to lose control over time* (Gurevitsh 1993: 202–203).

The establishment of the monochronic linear time concept in Europe was accelerated by the rapid development of industry in the 18th–19th centuries.[9] Industrial capitalism did not only change the ways of production, but also social and economic relationships and the thinking of people. The co-ordination and standardisation of the entire work and life order, i.e., discipline, was highlighted. The new standardised concept divides time into various compartments that should be kept separate from each other. Those who are not able to organise or divide their time are thought to be impractical or even unreliable. Functionally structured linear time is used for checking people's activities and communication, but it does also have a symbolic meaning. Time is not only money, it is also the symbol of status and responsibility (Hall 1983: 73).

Such a conception began to spread, to some extent, in the Estonian villages in the 1930s.

The person who was not punctual, who did not show up at an appointed time and who did not appreciate the time of other people was regarded as not being reliable. He/she was disrespectful towards other people. He/she could as well "forget" all his/her other promises (KV 731: 382 Tori).

Capitalism separated production and non-production as well as work and leisure. It is of principle importance that, consequently, this created two contradictory spheres of life – public and private. On the basis of such division, time was also separated into two totally differ-

[9] In the course of time, clocks became more reliable and exact. For a long time, clocks had only one pointer, the hour hand, the minute pointer was added to clocks in the 16th century (Wendorff 1985: 195). The necessity to measure smaller and smaller units of time shows the accelerating speed of society's life tempo.

ent parts – work-time and leisure-time. Weekends and holidays in their western meaning are relatively new phenomena in Estonia. Even among urbanised people, they became common only in the 1960s–1970s. They have remained unfamiliar for country people with traditional peasant way of life also today. Likewise, there were certain periods earlier, too, when it was not allowed to do one or other work but all these prohibitions proceeded from religion and beliefs.[10]

The more abrupt distinguishing between the public and private role in the 19th century middle-class culture conditioned the creation of two different times – the public and the private one. In the public sphere, time was at the mercy of clocks, regulations and time schedules – the ruler is monochronic time. Private time was, and still is, perceived in traditional qualitative forms, i.e. polychronically. Such split usage of time, among factory workers in a small town in the 1930s, is described by an old schoolteacher (b. 1924):

My mother and father had to go to the factory at a definite time, or as they said – when the hum (=whistle) went on (at 7 o'clock the boiler house of the factory signalled the beginning of workday). When they were free from their factory jobs, my parents, like my grandparents, bustled around continuously, not caring about the time, it was important to get ready with all necessary activities by bedtime (KV 731: 134 Mõisaküla/Väike-Maarja). This also explains why peasants took their fob watches with them only for their trips

[10] Work as such was viewed as a natural condition of people, although, at the same time, it was a severe necessity. For peasants, work never ended and that is why they could not take it as something that could not be done. *Work had to be done with pleasure, then the result was also good. The greatest joy is the joy of work* (KV 730: 399 Peetri). It can probably be said that the 20th century Estonian peasant's attitude towards work and its results was similar to that of a medieval craftsman, for whom work, beside everything else, was also a source of moral satisfaction and for whom the product of work was internally close and bore the signs of his personality. (Gurevitsh 1992: 202). According to the general attitude of the Estonian peasants, the most deploring thing about work was hurrying and carelessness. The most important phenomenon was "the beauty of work", this did not only mean an accurate result but involved also "the right" tricks of work, which, when applied, guaranteed the desired result. It was not important for how long a certain work was carried out, it was important how it was done and what was the outcome.

into the town or when arranging matters or doing business in the municipality building, etc. When working in their farms, people did almost not have any need for a clock.

It is necessary to learn to use time properly

Monochronic time has been characterised as arbitrary and imposing, i.e. such a concept of time is not natural because it has to be learned – it is a *learned* concept of time (Hall 1976: 20). The new system of time usage and its concept became one of the bases of the middle-class worldview which was instilled into people everywhere. This was done directly at workplaces (factory hums, work regulations, time check, etc.), at schools and in homes. Punctuality became a virtue which was not only promoted in school textbooks and books about good manners; it was also taught in homes at a very delicate age (set times for getting up, going to bed, for meals, etc.). The objective was to raise people with an "inborn clock", for whom time was always clear and visible (Löfgren 1987: 31). A correspondent from Tallinn describes very illustratively her childhood concern, namely, she could not tell the time: *I was very sad that I was born to be so stupid and that I could not tell the time.* [---] *I thought it to be really terrible to grow up and not be able to tell the time.* [---] *My anxiety was serious and real. But then I had a great idea: I will marry a man who can tell the time and then he would tell me what time it was. A man has to know how to tell the time* (KV 728-II: 802 Tallinn). Another noteworthy aspect here is that according to a little girl, it was natural that men should be able to tell the time in any case.

Public clocks which were put up on streets, public offices, schools, church steeples and elsewhere helped to make time visible. For the same reason, people obtained clocks for their homes where they always had to remind people of the procession of time with ticking and chiming. Wall clocks began to appear in Estonian farmhouses in the second half of the 19th century, following the example of the upper classes.[11]

[11] As usual with modern things, clocks became the objects of prestige. In the beginning, the practical function of wall clocks and later on, also fob- and wrist-watches

In 1873, my father was born. He was baptised the same month. His godfather was my grandmother's brother from Piirissaare. He gave his little nephew a huge wall clock as a present. This clock was a good timekeeper and with a very shrill sound. [---] *When working in the threshing barn, we could always hear the clock striking, and also in the garden and in the paddock, we knew the right time. The whole family of ours treasured time. This also enabled the saving of other people's time, we were almost always punctual* (KV 735: 507 Oudova).[12]

Certainly, the very existence of clocks did not immediately, and cardinally, change the traditional time arrangement of farm life. Until the 1930s–1940s, and to some extent even later, life in the majority of farms in Estonia, despite clocks, proceeded relatively "time-externally".

At home, there was a big clock on the wall. It was set right by the sun-setting time in the calendar. Sometimes, we set it by our neighbours' clock. We did not have a radio and we were living according to our own time. It was not bad at all. The day of a farmer began with dawn in summer. In winter, there was less sun to be seen but nobody was in a great hurry then either. Animals were fed according to the clock but it could lie a little – there was nothing wrong about this. [---] *Farm life could go on without clocks at all, nothing would have changed. But town life needs sticking to clocks* (KV 728-I: 301 Kose).

These two recollection fragments from the 1930s confirm that clocks were not ruling the life of a farm family at that time. A clock,

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was outweighed by their symbolic value. It was customary to give clocks as presents on the occasion of the most important events – marriages, births, etc. It was especially symbolic that "the time machine" had to commemorate the most important events of personal life. It was simply necessary to have a watch, it showed the status and wealth of a person, whether he/she was up-to-date, "fashionable", etc. For example, a golden chain, hanging over a stomach, was the symbol of a proper farm owner, although, sometimes, according to the rumours by evil people, it had ended with an onion instead of a fob watch.

[12] I saw a clock that was almost the same age in the autumn of 1994 in a farm in Kosu village, Kuusalu parish. As the 72-year-old housewife said, it had been ticking on the very same spot for about 120 years. It had been given to her late husband's grandfather and grandmother as their wedding present.

on the wall of a room in a farmhouse, could very well show "human" time. This was not a problem for anybody and nothing happened.

Substantial middle-class ideals include order and punctuality which means drawing clear time borders between the activities of everyday life. Everything has to be in its exact place and there is a certain time for doing everything. It was relatively difficult to follow these rules in a farm household, but, nevertheless, more and more Estonian farm families began to achieve such an ideal in the 1920–1930s. All this is attested by the childhood recollections of our correspondents from the countryside.

In my father's home, sticking to time was a very serious thing. This is what the clock was for – to stick to time very punctually. At that time, there were few clocks, especially among children. A big clock was on the wall and according to this, one went to school, to pasture, to milk the cows and to look after the animals (KV 735: 97 Põlva).

In our farm, everything went like clockwork. Punctually. Time was very important and precious. You should not fall behind it. [---] *Yes, people in our farm were punctual. They were present or went somewhere exactly when needed* (KV 735: 399 Urvaste).

Parents taught their children to be punctual about time already at an early age. This is something I have taken with me from my home for my entire life. I do not appreciate inaccuracy. Time is precious, it has to be saved, time resolves things, time is money, as the sayings go (KV 728-I: 29 Hageri).

In our home, time was regarded to be a treasure, given to people in order to work. There was a common saying "time is money". Since a very early age, it was taught to us to keep the time (KV 728-I: 64 Juuru).

The standpoint which sees punctuality as an inseparable part of the nature of "a proper human being", is well represented in the thoughts of two elderly educationalists (b. 1915 and 1921).

I regard the evaluation of punctuality to be one of the features of a person's inner culture, exactly like any other kind of accuracy (KV 729: 138 Viru-Nigula).

Punctuality was a part of general accuracy and good manners in our home (KV 728-II: 984, 986 Tallinn).

Mental attitudes, which have for centuries been shaped by the cyclical concept of time, have not yet fully adjusted themselves to the linear time system even now (see e.g. Kuntz-Stahl 1986: 178). People who are not used to live their daily life according to the clock have even today difficulties in timing their activities that need punctuality. Elderly country people try to avoid being late by coming earlier by about a quarter of an hour: *An unwritten law was applied. Be present five or ten minutes earlier but do not be late for even half a minute* (KV 731: 382 Tori). *Until now, my mother goes to the bus station or even a shop at least a quarter of an hour earlier. In the countryside, the majority of older people have this habit* (KV 731: 186 Saarde). Another way of "securing" oneself timewise is setting the "public" clock at home 10–15 minutes in advance of the actual time: *The clock always had to be at least a quarter of an hour faster than the right time. My mother regarded it to be important in order not to be late* (KV 728-I: 105 Juuru).[13]

Utmost changes in the attitudes of Estonians towards time took place during the Soviet period when urbanisation and industrialisation reached a very high level compared with the time before World War II. Very many country people also had to begin to live according to the clock because the organisational principles applied in agricultural large-scale production were the same as in industry. General everyday arrangements also forced people to consider time – the time-schedule of public transport in the country considerably influenced the rhythm of local life. In the 1950s–1970s, there were very few private cars in Estonian villages which made country people greatly dependent on local bus transport. The network of bus routes was very extensive (a lot more than now) and well functioning at that time and the prices of tickets were regulated by the government and kept very low. The life of schoolchildren was most dependent on bus

[13] It was exactly the same in my peasant paternal home (North-West Estonia, Raikküla). As far as I can remember, the clock has always been 10–15 minutes faster than the actual time and it still is today. When sometimes the clock had stopped and I wound it up and wanted to "set" proper time, I was always told to "set it faster by a quarter of an hour!". If somebody had still "accidentally" set the wrong "right" time, my grandparents or parents quite quickly corrected this mistake.

transportation as they normally went to school by bus. Since the 1960s, TV began to influence the relatively "time-free" life rhythm of the country people to some extent.[14]

At the same time, the Soviet life arrangement and attitude towards life substantially crumbled the generally punctual, "German" time usage of Estonians. Even now, elderly people "from the first independence period" criticise younger people that they have accepted the Soviet mentality and that they do not regard time the way a "proper" Estonian should. Sure enough, the capitalistic golden rule that "time is money" was not valid in the Soviet Union. The Soviet work organisation was based on strict discipline, guaranteed by tough punishment. After the death of Stalin this system cracked. "Official" and actual life receded from each other ever more and the fulfilment of the gradually increasing amount of innumerable instructions (the number of which was increasing permanently) became more and more formal. Continuously and consistently, the practice proved to people that the requirement of using worktime rationally lacked inner meaning. The following anecdote describes it nicely: *A man comes home from work earlier than determined. He is asked: "Why so early?" – "Well, I cannot be late twice during one day. I was late for work in the morning."* (KV 729: 322 Rakvere).

On the other hand, the unstable "Russian stuff" deepened the firm belief of Estonians that culturally they belong to the European nations, and this was revealed in their attitude towards time in general and especially in the usage of time. Contacts with other nations of the Soviet Empire showed quite clearly the differences in understanding time. In the opinion of Estonians, all those nations who lack the "right" (European, civilised) idea of punctuality and correctness, are "Oriental", some more, some less. They have always "plenty of time" and it is useless to expect them to keep to prearranged time (and any kind of deadlines). The only exception, although, with certain reservations is made for Latvians. Whilst, despite the more deep-

[14] Certain broadcasts (especially, for example, the news programme *Aktuaalne Kaamera* 'Topical News') became very popular in the rural population. Watching this news was like a ritual which greatly affected the everyday time regime. It was especially important for men to follow the news, for women, cultural programmes (TV theatre, etc.) were more significant.

ening influence of the Soviet attitude on the "brotherly nations", Estonian time concept maintained its peculiarity. There were a number of anecdotes where Estonians were teased because they did not give up their "German" correctness and punctuality even in the most absurd situations.

The rational time concept of modern Estonians is well expressed in the thoughts of a young country woman (b. 1968): *My practical sense has taught me to take the best use of waiting time: I always put a book or a magazine or knitting work in my bag. This is not suitable for everybody because, for some people, waiting is also an activity and therefore expedient. Even my own parents found that sometimes you can just let the time flow, have a "time-out". Life has taught me to be more practical and I think that one cannot waste a minute. Because if you do not do anything for some time then this time is wasted, just gone* (KV 731: 504 Tõstamaa). Waiting is unbearable for contemporary people and they are irritated when they have to spend some time doing nothing.

However, the majority of contemporary people here and in the West are not inclined to time so rationally. Only work time is for some reason regarded to be valuable and the attitude toward leisure time is totally different. For a large amount of people (those with lower educational level and/or those who do only physical work), the latter is almost of zero value because they do not know what to do with their spare time (Savelyeva, Poletayev 1997: 521).

Happy Birthday!

The individualisation of personality is characteristic of bourgeois/middle class culture. This is the reason why the celebration of personal events (birthdays, name days and different anniversaries) became very important among the middle classes. Peasants were accustomed to celebrate collective events and parties but the attention of the middle classes was centred on the life cycle of an individual. The celebration of birthdays is one of the most important of such rituals. These celebrations were a part of middle class culture, and also of its time perception. The custom of celebrating birthdays was strange, if not worse, for the 19th century peasants. For example, in Sweden this

became more common among ordinary people (peasants and workers) only around the turn of the century (Löfgren 1987: 32).

The situation was similar in Estonia, where people, who were born in the middle of the 19th century or earlier, did not usually know their exact date of birth, nor mentioning its celebration.[15] *Earlier on, people usually did not know how old they were or when was their birthday* (KV 103: 498 Jõhvi). The celebration of birthdays among Estonians was quite rare even at the turn of the 19–20th century. This custom began in towns where the contacts with European middle class culture were more tight. First the "genteel" town people – educationalists, clerks, merchants, etc. began to celebrate birthdays. In the countryside, it also spread among the landlords. At that time, only the important "milestones in life" – the 50., 60., 70., etc birthdays were celebrated festively. The birthday party of the person who had reached such a "respectable" age was an important opportunity to show his/her social position. The celebration of birthdays spread more slowly among peasants but soon enough it also became a measure of underlying one's social status. In the 1920s the celebration of jubilee birthdays became a question of "honour and glory" for farm owners and village officials (KV 129: 719 Tarvastu). Still, it was customary only among the well-off and educated country people. The celebration of birthdays did not spread widely among the majority of farm people before World War II.

I cannot remember celebrating our birthdays in my childhood. We only celebrated it in our family circle. A sweet dish was made and sometimes a cake was baked (KV 752: 58 Harju-Jaani/Tallinn).

We did not know and celebrate birthdays, not to mention jubilees. It was different with Christmas, then we invited relatives, neighbours, friends and acquaintances (KV 751: 554 Pöide).

Birthdays and jubilees were not celebrated in my home and we did not have a party. It was just mentioned that this boy or this

[15] The short history of celebrating birthdays in Estonia is reflected by the fact that there is no such notion in our "classical" folk culture. It is not in any Estonian lexicons of folk culture or in ethnological overviews. The only research studies about birthday tradition in Estonia are the pro-seminar papers by Tartu University history students Anti Naulainen and Merje Oopkaup, supervised by the author in 1993.

daughter has a birthday today and that was it. But several times we did go and "sing for" a birthday child together with the young people of the village at night (KV 752: 173 Kose).

Birthdays were celebrated mainly for the children's sake; parents seemed to totally avoid them. I do not know why, I guess there were economic calculations or may be they did not want to reveal their age to the children. When I was a child, I never heard how old my mother or father was. [---] *Our family did not celebrate jubilees, still, the relatives of my parents did so, but quite seldom* (KV 752: 526 Rapla).

Birthdays were not celebrated separately but they were signified at supper. There was a little present for the birthday child but not on every birthday. The usual presents were socks or mittens and a game or a toy for the child (KV 751: 469 Rõuge).

Birthdays were not fashionable [---] *The first I can remember was my father's 50th birthday in 1953, and since then we had a celebration after every 5 years. Neighbours and other acquaintances began to visit us at birthdays. Such closeness was conditioned by the kolkhoz system* (KV 752: 373 Kuusalu).

The celebration of birthdays in Estonia became universal only in the middle of the 20th century. As usual, it took more time for the country people to get accustomed to a new thing – also the celebration of birthdays spread in the country quite reluctantly.[16] However, once a new custom was adopted, the more seriously it was taken. At that time, it was quite common that birthday parties were organised every year both in the family circle and at workplaces. The more important anniversaries (ending with a 5 or a 10) were celebrated very grandiosely, and as the wealth of the population became greater in the 1970s and the 1980s, these parties were really spectacular. In a totalitarian society that levelled all kinds of variabilities, this was one of the possibilities for people to feel themselves to be a unique indi-

[16] Using my childhood home as an example again: I cannot at all remember celebrating the birthday of my paternal grandmother (b. 1888) who lived with us. For that reason, I still do not know her date of birth. My grandfather's (b. 1888) birthday was festively celebrated for the first time when he was 70 and my father's (b. 1912), when he was fifty. My mother's (b. 1931) first birthday party took place only in 1981, when she turned fifty.

vidual and simply to demonstrate and confirm their status to the others. Birthdays became a very important personal anniversary in Estonia also because we do not have the tradition of name days.

Conclusion

Estonians, who had mainly peasant way of life before World War II, have now become an urbanised nation. 60 years ago, more than 2/3 of Estonians were country people whereas now, at least 2/3 of the population live in towns or in urban settlements in the country, in which the way of life is very different from the traditional peasant environment. As the worldview of a person depends on his/her way of life, so has the time concept of Estonians changed greatly during the expiring century. A straight, linear time which is characteristic of capitalism has come in return for the peasant circular (cyclical) and polychronic time system. An era without clocks has been replaced by the clock-age. During the second half of the 19th century, Estonians got acquainted with the new time concept, according to which "time is money and there is little of it". Roughly speaking, it took people the whole first part of the 20th century to acquire this new teaching theoretically. This was practically applied only in the second half of the century. Although, as early as the beginning of the century, a modern, middle-class time concept was prevailing in public discourse, the majority of peasants still lived according to the medieval perceptions and understandings of time. In the beginning of the 1940s, Estonian life was disrupted by a political cataclysm that eliminated independent statehood and aborted the successfully started building-up of capitalism. During the next 50 years, Estonians had to live in the Soviet system, based on totally different conceptions. On one side, the Soviet practice destroyed the modern time concept, from the other side, it forced this on people. Officially and formally, the middle-class time concept, purely a characteristic of capitalism, was prevalent in the then pseudo-socialist society; but in real life, people continuously experienced its inappropriateness and even its meaninglessness. Still, extensive Soviet industrialisation and urbanisation favoured and accelerated the establishment of the modern time system. This affected especially the rural population.

Traditional and relatively autonomous peasant time concept and usage were destroyed by forced collectivisation which annihilated the peasantry as such, together with their way of life. But in the consciousness of people, changes do not take place as quickly and abruptly as in surrounding life. That is why it would be precipitate to say that the peasant worldview, formed during the Middle Ages, and its relevant time mentality has finally and irreversibly perished.

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Translated by Mall Leman

Dramatic Urban Experience of the Khanties. An Interview with Tatyana Moldanova[1]

Art Leete

Introduction

This paper is based on a conversation with Tatyana Moldanova, a Khanty ethnologist, who has provided the majority of the input. Art Leete acts as a provocative problem-maker and topic controller. This conversation took place at Tatyana Moldanova's home in a flat in a large block of flats in Khanty-Mansiysk, Tyumen oblast on 26 April 1996.

The author has transcribed the text from the tape recording, translated from Russian into Estonian, as well as edited and provided some necessary footnotes for the paper. The main idea of the paper is to communicate Tatyana Moldanova's ideas. This is also the reason why additional sources have not been included, although this might have provided a more comprehensive overview of the subject.

The main issue addressed in this paper is whether the peoples living in arctic and sub-arctic forest and swampy areas have special attitudes caused by the environment (henceforth called arctic hysteria).

I admit that I am not competent in psychiatry and psychology, the aspect which would not ease an overall treatment of the topic. Rather, it would be inevitable for examining this topic. Therefore, ethnological aspects are addressed here, explaining the life in the forest then through cultural phenomena. The interpretation of "arctic

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hysteria" is based on Tatyana Moldanova's experiences of the life in the forest area and thus intuitive psychological interpretations are also included.

Since the year 1960, the term "cross-cultural psychiatry" has been used. Ethnic psychologists and psychiatrists are confined to the emotional conduct of different nation groups, excluding intellectual, memory and thought differences (Vahing 1998: 1732).

Vahing also describes arctic hysteria, considering Eskimos (mostly women) as an example. "The initial signs are tiredness and depression, which then become despair, uncomprehending explosion of rage, desperate excess of movement. This is then followed by rolling one's body in the snow, smashing up things, tearing off clothes from one's upper body. These are glossolalia (inarticulate sounds), echolalia, echopraxia, coprolalia. The duration may range from a few minutes to an hour or two in a few cases. As with hysteria in general, it does not cause any injury or damage, only temporary loss of consciousness and total loss of memory. Good recovery, complete remission" (Vahing 1998: 1735).

Vahing also gives possible explanations for arctic hysteria, e.g.: insufficiency of calcium and consequent convulsions, conflicts with other people, cultural depression, oppressive impact of culture (Vahing refers to S. Freud), it may also be caused by an extreme autosuggestion with a sexual implication. Other people nearby, as being afraid of evil spirits, avoid contact with a victim and refuse to provide any assistance for him (Vahing 1998: 1735).

Vahing concludes his discussion of arctic hysteria by reaching three conclusions, e.g.:

"1. In the case of arctic hysteria, we cannot speak about an illness or a hysterical psychopath.
2. If considered at all, arctic hysteria can be regarded as a hysteric reaction or a hysteric explosion, similar to the *arcus hystericus.*
3. According to international classification, arctic hysteria does not belong to neuroses. Rather, it is considered to be "dissociative disorder" (Vahing 1998: 1738).

H. M. Sampath claims that the contemporary idea of the depression of Inuites is based on Hippocratic ideas about the impact of the northern environment on the human psychic (Sampath 1981: 519).

Hippocrates (500 BC) shared the idea that the surrounding environment influences both culture and psyche (Tokarev 1978: 32). He has provided the following description of the native country of Scythes around the Black Sea, e.g.:

"Seasons are not very distinct and different from one another but are quite similar; as a result of this, people also look alike in appearance. They eat similar food, wear similar clothes both in winter and summer. [---] They do not have any physical exercise because one cannot develop one's body or soul where there are no great changes" (Tokarev 1978: 34).

Research about emotional disorders in non-western cultures, carried out in the 1950–60s, revealed that the depression rate is much higher in western cultures than in traditional communities. More recent research in the 1960s, however, did not confirm this. It was assumed that many languages, including the Inuit language, do not have the ability to express depression. In the 1970s, they claimed that the language has the vocabulary for expressing depression. They have plentiful methods for expressing depression (Sampath 1981: 519). Sampath also ascribes the mental disorders of Inuites to their family problems, including the death of close relatives (*ibid.*: 519–520). Sampath concludes that the universal conception about depression also applies to Inuits, as with people in general (*ibid*: 521).

In addition to psychologists, anthropologists have also studied extreme personality concepts. In her book "Patterns of Culture", first published in 1934, Ruth Benedict considers psychological unity as a central cultural model. She also includes the so-called extreme cases. According to Benedict, the Zuni Indians in New Mexico are Apollonian, (well balanced in character, worshipping), while Kwakiutl Indians in Vancouver are Dionysian (ecstatic and frenzied character), and the Dobus in Melanesia are Yagosian (mysterious and schizophrenic character). These models are based on Nietzsche's and Spengler's ideas, as well as those of psychoanalysts and gestalt psychologists (Benedict 1947).

R. Benedict notes the primary importance of the whole model of the individual over separate symbols within a culture. Also, she highlights the importance of reasons behind the motives and emotions institutionalised by the culture (*ibid.*: 45).

Benedict also notes, e.g.:

"Any configurational interpretation of culture is also their presentation in terms of the psychology of the individual, yet it is dependent on history and psychology aspects" (*ibid.*: 215).

Benedict also states that cultural configurations are applicable on a local scale only (*ibid.*: 216). Each culture can choose a different type of deportment/conduct (*ibid.*: 235), and a very "unstable personality type" can be valued highly within a culture (*ibid.*: 249, 254). Such drastic personality types represent the extreme development of the local cultural model (*ibid.*: 255).

Nowadays R. Benedict's basic ideas supporting totally culture-specific personality types are not considered to be topical among personality researchers. They, however, have their place in the history of anthropological personality studies.

Forest life moods: an interview

Art Leete: Some researchers[2] have claimed the arctic environment to cause psychic disorders in people. This is said to have diverse reasons. For example, the Northern people may suffer from lack of vitamins, long and dark polar nights, and a dull landscape. Also that for a long time people can communicate with a limited number of people only etc (Konakov 1983: 176; Sidorov 1997).

These supposed mental disorders are said to express themselves in people's emotional instability. People may also stolidly go in the same direction for a long time without a specific reason, or do something else unnatural or pointless.

Such approach probably has ethnocentrist reasons behind it. Peoples inhabiting the areas south of the arctic region or even further away describe arctic hysteria as if the phenomenon was inherently and naturally pertaining to Northern peoples. This can be stereotypical: very often that arctic peoples themselves do not feel any emotional disorders.

Tatyana Moldanova: The problem is what are the prevailing moods when you live in the north all alone.

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[2] See Leete 1996.

I do not think life has been easy. At first, the environment might have influenced the psyche. When I observe the way people behave, it seems to me that the culture has provided us with an adaptation mechanism. People have developed the means for not getting into such moods. I am sure of it.

When I was young, I lived in the forest with my granny. And I remember it very well that it was **too** peaceful there. I have, then, my personal experience. When I lived with granny, everything was peaceful and the world was big, very big. Much bigger than it is now when I live in town.

Then I thought why the world was so huge. My granny never let me have hunger for information. She worked and guided me. She took me from one situation to another...

We were there in a way very sensitive, particularly susceptible to new experiences. Even when you have a kind of sensory deficiency there, when the amount of information about things is limited, this hunger increases and the brain is constantly active. The brain, then, works creatively and is constantly activated.

Therefore, when you are a child and growing up, you have not got the time to get nervous or do something different. The brain is constantly operational and continuously charged. And you are getting bigger, bigger and bigger.

Later, I remember from my childhood, the world was wide, very wide. But when it is your world, created by yourself, it is kind to you, you know. I mean wherever you go, originally it is a good place. There is no emptiness. That is what I felt.

How do I feel about the present situation? When we were to go through the boarding school system – *parashka* (wooden-seated, metal emptiable toilet) and all that – then these mechanisms started to dismantle the existing world. This world was disclosed, naked. Everything that was within you moves out of you. But it is awful to live in the naked world. Then fear starts. But fear causes hysteria. Fear that the world is a terrible place.

And now that we can live in towns or somewhere else, the former world returns to us. Before I thought that spirits are alive. But when did they disappear? They disappeared when I went to school. They were not around any longer. And tonight when I sleep, fall asleep, I

see them all alive, you know. And because we did not collapse in the present-day world, and get in such... For me, it is one and the same environment.

For me, considering hysteria, it is more dangerous in town than in the forest. Because in the forest my "switching changes". And I start actively doing something, thinking out something. You pick berries and the whole world is with you. And it goes through you. Everything is peaceful and nothing would impose itself on you, everything goes smoothly. As if you had been taught to realise these things. Say there are cloudberries, insects and you are all alone. As if you have experiences, someone has taught you, told you. And have evidently felt the same somewhere. And it is terrific.

But in town at times I feel terribly isolated, being yearning and lonely, although there are lots of people around. It seems that not all of them are humans, you know. You are not in contact with them. In the forest, when you go there where you know some trees, they seem to be alive. As with everything else there. You feel closer to them than to people in town, as if townsfolk did not have this warmth.

Or you can put it this way: whatever place, when you have become used to it, somehow becomes warm. This is pleasant and joyful when you recognise that place. Later when you return, again that joy comes to you. In the forest that kind of mechanism works.

But when you are in town, or suppose that our people have not got married, then the above mechanism, it seems to me, works even better. I just feel it, you know.

Common Law

Art: Is not it so that during the Soviet period, by law Khanties practised poaching in the forest? They hunted, although prohibited by the authorities, unless they did not hand over their catch. When one cannot behave honestly and tell the truth but has to lie all the time, this also has its influence on the psyche. This is also a sign of hysteria when a person lies. That they cannot be honest with the state authorities may also have the influence on people themselves.

Tatyana: You know, I bring the following example. Our world-view has been worked out completely, has not this. Basically, when you

look at it, we have got spirits, *hoimaz*[3] who always give you some fish. You caught fish, but they give it away. And when you at least lived in such a world as a child, you do not have conflicts whatsoever.

As with poaching and lying – this is a completely different world. There the boss makes his laws. For Khanties, there is no such a thing as inner conflict.Their bosses act and do what they want. But locals have their own laws and there are no basic conflicts.

You know, many of us are imprisoned, almost all men. Before I asked myself, why, what do they think. You see what comes out. We have got a song, saying that only the highest of spirits *As tij iki*[4] will be punished for sins or bad deeds, *Mir susne hum*[5] in Mansi people.

Only he can do it. But if a human was imprisoned... There is a song, e.g.:

"...when you were caught in fatal trouble with the Russians,
when you fell in the house with tiny windows,
I stretch out my divine arm and pull you out of it".

It comes out, then, that the laws written by Russians are simply "fatal trouble". Fatal trouble, unhappiness. Yet *As tij iki* can punish. It means, your surroundings, your laws, your community, when you break them, there will be disharmony. Why people drink nowadays? The reason is that they breach the laws of their life, not because they break Russian laws. This means that these social laws are primary.

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[3] *Hoimaz, heimas* 'producing spawn' (in the Khanty lng.). According to Khanty mythology, a spirit who lives in an area around the lower course of the river Ob and splinters wood which then become fish. Splinters cut in winter become squirrels, sables, reindeer and other animals. *Hoimaz* is the master of fish and water. *Hoimaz*'s wife is called *Kasum imi* 'Kazym woman' (in the Khanty lng.) (Moldanova 1999: 61, 82; Moldanov 1999: 33–34, 67), Goddess – ancestor of Kazym Khanties. She is considered to be daughter of Numi Torum. She manifests herself in the form of a sable or cat. Among Mansi people this goddess is known as *Kasum nai ekva* (Moldanova 1999: 105–106, 140; Moldanov 1999: 27, 79).

[4] *As tij iki* 'old man of the upper course of the Ob River' (in the Khanty lng.), grandchild of *Kaltash,* son of Torum, among the most important Ob-Ugric gods. Also *Mir vantty he* 'Man watching the world' (in the Khanty lng.). He lives near Khanty-Mansiysk and rides a white horse. *As tij iki* sets moral standards for people (Moldanov 1999: 33, 39, 41, 58, 64, 124).

[5] *Mir susne hum* 'person watching the world' (in the Mansi lng.).

An outing through the swamp

Tatyana: We have a special kind of character. Because mixed marriages tend to be unhappy. Suppose other people consider you to be nervous. But when you get married to someone from among your people, and you become different, peaceful. I mean you may become a totally different person.

Let us consider myself and Timofei[6]. Once we came out of the forest.[7] We had to go for 70 kilometres. It was 7 November. This means, it was a cold season already, everything was frozen.

Then all of sudden everything became shallow. I have put on some weight when living in town. I just almost drowned in the swamps. And there was about 5 kilometres to go. We could have taken a roundabout path of 15 kilometres. But Timo said that we could take a direct one, as everything is frozen. We then started to go, but the swamp had melted there. And I got in the middle of it, about 2 kilometres. And I could not go any further. I had no strength whatsoever. I stood up and fell at once. As I fell I could have some rest. But there was water. I sunk into it. I had *kis*, winter boots on. My *kis* were soaked, and I was wet to the skin. And I could not go on. We had come two kilometres and we had three more to go. And I did not know in which direction to go. I had a rucksack and Timo had a rucksack. But Timo did not sink in there. He could go along the thin ice so. But I only stood up – fell down and again stood up and fell.

And then I thought that if he had said a single bad word, I would fall there and never stand up again. Never, understand? But Timo only stood there, smoking. He waited as I was lying there. Then I stood up again. I went on. Later I started to roll myself from side to side. Then it came that I could not go any further. Looked at him, thought:

"Now go on reviling! Then I roused myself to anger. I would not go on!"

But he waited. Stood silent. I saw he was also tired. He took his rucksack further. Then he came back and took my rucksack further.

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[6] Timofei Moldanov (b. 1957) Khanty ethnologist and folklore researcher, Tatyana's husband.

[7] This happens on the river Kazym.

But I then moved on crawling. It was there a kind of extreme situation.

In certain serious cases there is never an explosion. It can be that we see things differently. But I am 100% sure that we perceive things in different ways. We cannot have the life different from what we have got. Only a few of us are capable of this.

In that world I like everything, because all feelings are pure there. But here in town even joy is exaggerated, sorrow is the same. But there in the forest joy and sorrow are somehow transparent, penetrative.

I bring an example. That same place, when we went with Timo in the swamp, I finally got out of it. We got to an island. This was in the middle of the swamp. Such a small island. We cut wood there. I undressed. It was winter already, snow everywhere. And I dried all my clothes.

And I was so cheerful. The joy was really sky-high. Everything was joyful, beautiful. I felt as if having had a good rest. I felt very high!

Later when we left. I came across a swamp again! I nearly drowned again! I began to feel it – by now it is well. I thought to myself what then if I took a step? I took – did not sink! I was so happy, you know, it was a state of absolute euphoria. Great! Great! Then I took another step. And still I did not sink. I felt blessed indeed! I felt so great! I felt so very dry! I felt so warm. I stood on this step and – oh! – I sank in there. I sank into it with that leg, with that one leg. But the other leg was still dry! The dry leg! One leg was dry! I pulled my leg out and I had such a feeling. I took a step and I did not sink in again. I felt great again. With the next step I sank in with that same leg again. And again joy! Great joy! It ended so well, heavenly, you see! What happiness, I thought, standing with my leg in the water. I sank into the water with that same leg! But the other leg was dry. What a blessing! Pure joy!

This was what I wanted to tell you, so that you could see what our lifestyle was like. In a life different from that, one cannot have such a joy, because this is not confined either from the top or bottom.

Conclusions

This paper would not pursue any clear-cut explanations to arctic hysteria or moods of forest life. Yet it, presumably, has contributed to the overall research of these subject areas. And has done so from its original point of view.

This is not a discussion in the true sense of the word. It rather includes a couple of random stories on moods of forest life. As with the presented opinions that as if turned up unexpectedly. What came into one's head during this short interview.

Yet a couple of hypothetical regularities of forest life attitudes occurred despite that the material is not overwhelming. First, that in the cultures of hunters and reindeer herders, traditional regulations of common law are more important than people's feelings subject to constant change. World-view of forest peoples is a whole that would not allow any mental hesitation or dialectical controversies within it.[8]

Second, it is the change of surroundings, rather than the surroundings itself that influence the "overall" attitudes of humans. Emotional problems may also have problems of human relationships behind them, while the influence of surroundings cannot be distinguished so clearly.

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[8] In this respect Tatyana Moldanova's viewpoint can be compared with Claude Lévi-Strauss' structural concept of a myth which says that one of the roles of myth is to regulate human coexistence and exchange opposition of nature to culture (Lévi-Strauss 1967: 202–227; Puhvel 1996: 28).

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Translated by Epp Uustalu

Town and Country among Finno-Ugrians

Heno Sarv

When observing the comparative development of urbanisation among the nations of the former USSR at the end of the 20th century, it can be recognised that differently from the Indo-European nations who have prevailingly developed an urban lifestyle (average level of urbanisation 47,1% in 1970; the speed of urbanisation 1,29 in 1959–70), and the nations of Altai (25,8%; 1,36) and Caucasian (29,0%; 1,25) language groups with a prevailingly rural lifestyle, the urbanisation of Finno-Ugric nations (30,3%; 1,52) is in an active transitional phase between these two conditions (Sarv 1989: 16–17). Even at the beginning of 20th century, however, among all the nations of Russia, the Finno-Ugrians experienced the most rural of lifestyles, with less than three percent of town inhabitants (Kozlov 1975: 84; Kappeler 1992: 236, 326; Simon 1991). How did the Finno-Ugric cultural identity develop, being connected only with a rural lifestyle which totally excluded foreign influences, and due to what circumstances did this identity change during the 20th century?

Traditional habitations in the forest zone are situated separately. The original function of a town was to be a stronghold, a shelter in times of war. The town as such is called *linn, linna* in the Balto-Finnic languages; *kar* in Perm languages, *osh, vozh, város* in Mordvin and Ugric languages. Towns emerged in the junction points of transit trade routes, running along riverbanks and seashores, where there was enough reason for defending against raids. Surface and timber were used as building material for strongholds and therefore, only fort-hills and moats filled with sediment have remained from the demolished towns within the modern landscape.

In the habitation areas of Meryas, different settlement sites from 6th–11th centuries have been studied. The oldest of them are the strongholds that are connected with the late Dyakovo culture. During the excavations of the Bereznyak stronghold in 1934–1935, P. N. Tretyakov (1941: 51–68) has identified the remnants of 11 buildings, six of them were dwelling houses of 16–25 square metres, with an approximately square-shaped general plan, and deepened earthen floors. The evidence of the findings allows us to presume that the division of space in these houses left the left side for men and the right side for women. Most probably, they were one-family dwelling houses (Golubeva 1987: 70).

The described building is similar to the semi-subterranean houses found in the stopping places of reindeer herders today (see Sarv 1999: 43) and to the summer kitchen-family tabernacle *kuala* of the Udmurts (Lintrop 1993: 44 introduces a photograph of a similar building in a place of sacrifice of a kin group). The buildings were situated parallel to the banks of the Volga river, in two lines, "as streets". The more sizeable buildings had a social function, according to Tretyakov. There are no possessions in the 40 m^2 house, just a big fireplace and bunk-beds along the walls. The house also included a storage place and holes in the earth that could have been used for storing food supplies. Another, 34,8 m^2 building with a fireplace can be considered the "house for female work". Half the spindle-stones and moulding forms of the settlement site have been found in the vicinity. The small building without a hearth and with grain remnants was probably a granary. There is also a forge and a "dead persons house" in the stronghold. Apparently, it was a dwelling place of a kin community, cultivating within a collective economy (Golubeva 1987: 70).

On the basis of the given reconstruction, I dare presume that during the first millennium, the Finno-Ugric people of Eastern Europe had a similar urban culture as in the forest zone of Western Europe. First millennium towns with Finno-Ugric strongholds fell to Tartar tax collectors in the East, and German ones in the West at the end of the first quarter of the second millennium.

Since the development of firearms, the importance of towns as strongholds has decreased, and in a war situation, it is not expedient to run away from the village to find shelter in a town; on the contrary,

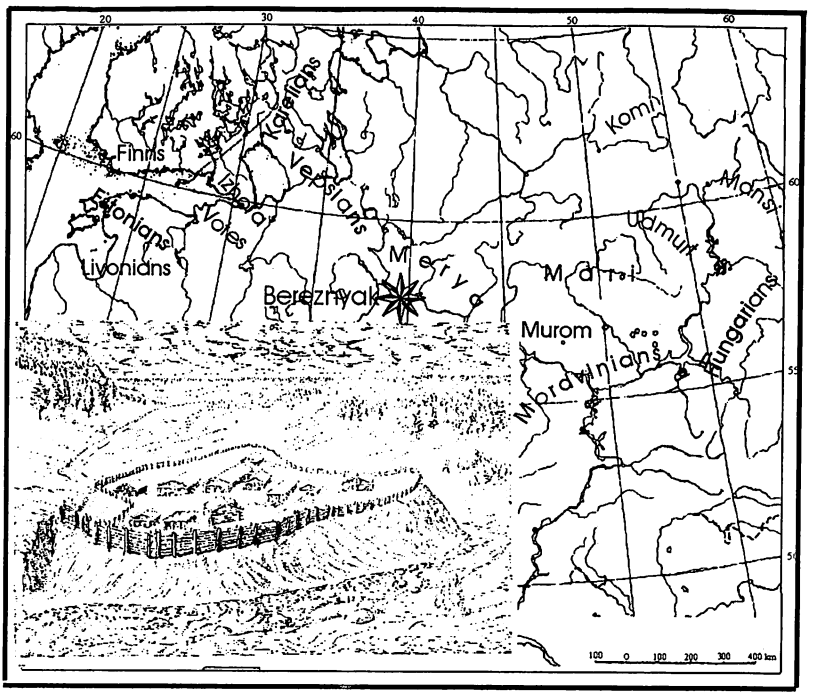

Figure 1. The settlement area of Finno-Ugrian peoples in the first millennium and the Bereznyak town of the Meryas, 4th–6th centuries (Golubeva 1987: 8–9, 273).

people evacuate from towns into the country. In guerilla war circumstances, it is more insecure to live in a village than in a town even today, and that is why it is characteristic of the post-war period that large groups of people (especially those who are less accepted by village society) leave the country for the town.

The initial defensive purpose was, due to the growth in productivity, ousted by another important function of the town in and during the second millennium: the consumption and channelling of the surplus of demographic and material products of surrounding rural areas as a commercial, industrial and administrative centre. In this sense, the town is called *kaupunki* in Finnish; among the Finno-Ugric nations of Russia, the above-mentioned words denoting towns have perished gradually in favour of the Russian word *gorod.* When ancient strongholds were captured by a foreign nation, a certain cultural-ecological division of labour was practised in this poly-ethnic

society where the indigenous people dealt with the economies that were more dependent on the natural environment. The word *gorod* gained different meanings in different linguistic contexts. If, for a Russian, the word indicates a fence or a defensive construction, then for a rural Finno-Ugrian, it lacks such linguistic connection and the word *gorod* means for them either a fair or a market place where it is not possible to communicate in their mother tongue and where they would not build their homes only for this reason.

Western Finno-Ugrians with Germanic town environment and Ob-Ugrians who had relatively little contact with colonial powers maintained their environmentally sustainable scattered habitation in forest areas that originated from the times of extensive economic development also during the second millennium. The traditional scattered habitation of Ob-Ugrians was destroyed by the Soviet power during the 1930s violent settlement campaign.

On the southern border of the Finno-Ugric area, in the forest steppe zone, the Mordvins (still, remarkably more so than among Baltic Finns Maris and Udmurts who also live in mingled forests) have a transitional type of habitation from separated households to closer communities.

Villages are very big, but the absence of a stronghold (*kreml*) in their centre makes them differ from towns. There is no need for strongholds as since the end of the 16th century, these nations have not initiated armed rebellions, although they have been involved in them. Their widely known peace-loving, demure and reserved character has spared them from extremities. They have not had the experience of building up their own state as the basis of their national self-being during the second millennium. Through centuries, these cultures have protected themselves against the unifying policy of Tsarist government by maintaining their economic, language, cultural and cult traditions and their social relations in the village community.

Nikolai Mokshin writes about the Mordvin village society: "During the first millennium AD, patriarchal kin relations were characteristic of Mordvin tribes. According to current research data, every Mordvin tribe (the total number is not known exactly) consisted of several patriarchal kin groups, which, in their turn, included several patriarchal families, whose head was usually *kudatya* (mdE *kudo,* mdM *kud* + *atya* 'old man'). Kin group or several kin groups formed

a village mdE&M *vele*. The chief of a tribe was *tyushtya* (mdE&M *tyoksh* 'highest, top', *atya* 'old man'), a leader elected by the elders of kin groups.

Until the beginning of the 20th century, the traditional socio-normative institution shaping the ethnic type of thinking and behaviour of the Mordvins was the village community. According to common law, this regulated the economic, social and cultural everyday life of the Mordvin peasantry. Village community was, in its turn, divided into family groups who all originated from different ancestors. For example, the community in a Moksha-Mordvin village Volgapino in Penza guberniya, Krasnolobodsk county, is divided into eleven such groups, ranging from ten to more than forty families (the Russian National Ethnographical Museum archives, bank 1, register 1, file 253, page 137). Social functions of such family groups have so far not been studied much. It is possible that they were patronymias or their remainders.

Village communities were conducted by elders *pryavt*s (mdE&M *prya* 'head'), who were elected at the general meeting of the representatives of farms mdE&M *velen' promks* (from the words *vele* 'village', *promks* 'body, meeting'). The closest assistant of the *pryavt* was mdE&M *velen' atyat* or mdE *pokshtyat* (from the words *vele* 'village', *atya* 'old man', *poksh* 'big'), without his consent the *pryavt* could not make any important decisions. Old village men also had a certain judicial power, based on common law. The village assembly also elected the tax collectors who made special marks on wooden sticks or boards which were still used until the 20th century. They kept an account of the number of farms in the village and the number of inhabitants and live stock in every family, and also of the size and return of taxes.

The village community regulated the carrying out of rites, especially the ones connected with the agrarian sphere, as business activities of the society depended on this. Together they fixed the days of common worship, the precentor and the preparers of worship dishes. Sacrificial animals were also obtained at the expense of the community" (Mokshin 1999).

Antal Bártha adds to the above-mentioned, basing on the history of Udmurts and Maris in the composition of the Russian state: "Imperial powers could not ignore the indigenous people's traditional

village communities. They were mentioned already in the documents dating from 1583–1588. They did not come as a surprise to Russian authorities as village communities were also present among Russian peasants and the authorities had a centuries-long experience in communicating with them. In 1797, this practice took a form of law when tsar Paul I acknowledged the self-government of peasants as the lowest level of imperial administration. This was a reasonable solution in order to maintain the fragile balance in the occupied habitation areas of the Finno-Ugrians.

However, there are a number of functions and aspects that make Mari and Udmurt village communities differ from Russian village communities. They were not dependant on the lord of the manor, as Mari and Udmurt peasants were state peasants. The language used inside the community, the world of thinking, and religious rituals, including sacrificial services between communities, were incomprehensible to Russian authorities.

Declaring that Russian law and courts are not understandable to them, Udmurt and Mari communities regained their juridical and court competence in 1767–1768. They maintained non-Christian marriage and family conventions, orphans were taken under the custody of the community and they were hidden from Christian clergymen, in order to prevent their being sent to mission schools, according to the regulations of the state. To cultivate land in forest areas, there was still a need for collective cooperation, still, solidarity and cooperation between kin communities, often in the distance of hundreds of versts exceeded the purely technical agrarian cooperation territorially between neighbouring communities.

Among the rules of the community, there were some that coincided with these of the state. Both state authorities and peasants were interested in the fact that only the best peasants who would distribute taxes and feu duties among the population on the basis of warranties, would be in charge of the community. Contrary to the depiction of Soviet historians about community elders-village drain-pipes, it was namely the wealthier members of the community who bore the greatest feu duties. The 18th century census indicates that Udmurt and Mari peasants were prevailingly of average wealth, there were no poor peasants without horses among them. The number of really prosperous peasants was exceptionally small, seldom existing in ev-

ery community.

Russian peasants did willingly ask for protection from Udmurt and Mari village communities, although the identity, language and cult ceremonies were unfamiliar to them. Naturally, nobody dared to force Russian orthodox peasants to take part in heathen worship.

Why did Mari and Udmurt village communities in Vyatka guberniya pay the taxes appointed by Kazan guberniya and vice versa? This question, causing headache to Russian statisticians and financial workers was not understandable to Mari and Udmurt people. Obligations to the imperial state were fulfilled by the community for whom the origin was more important than the administrative borders drawn on a map" (Bártha 1998).

The Bolshevist coup in October 1917 turned out to be fatal for Russia's young bourgeoisie culture and for the almost a thousand-year-old tradition of the culture of the nobility. At the same time, this event remained practically unnoticeable among the Finno-Ugric indigenous people of Russia, inasmuch as they practised a mainly rural lifestyle and habitually, they were not concerned about the things happening in St. Petersburg or Moscow.

Despite all this, it was already during the Civil War that the builders of communism, hiding behind the use of War Communism, attacked farmers who had kept away from political life. In order to secure their power, starving Bolsheviks could reconcile with the bourgeoisie (the so-called new economic policy NEP), they could even cooperate with the nobility (war specialists in the frontline of the Civil War). But the starving uneducated people in control could by no means understand a farmer who had food in his storehouse but who was not eager to give it to the new people's power.

According to the material studied so far, it seems that the first of our kin people who experienced the violence of Bolsheviks were the Mordvins in the former Samara guberniya. During a short period of time, the so far very viable Mordvin settlement in Samara guberniya had relatively decreased by 65 000 people (consequently, every fifth Mordvin in Samara guberniya was forced to leave his/her homeland, see drawing) whereas in the more distant regions of Russia, the number of Mordvins has increased by more than 120 000 persons.

We do not have the regional history of Samara guberniya in the same manner as the history of the Mordvinian Autonomous Soviet

Socialist Republic covers the Mordvin settlement areas in the former Penza and Simbirsk guberniyas. That is why it is difficult to ascertain the concrete circumstances of the resettlement. When talking about the year 1920, local elderly people (who actually were born during this year or even a bit later) mention the Czech connection. An unexpected explanation can be found in the commentary to the Estonian edition of Jaroslav Hašek's feuilleton "Demonstration of Faith": during these years, Hašek, being not familiar with the local situation, was the commandant of the centre of Bugulma volost, with a Mordvin population (Hašek 1966: 288). Consequently, it was nothing to do with a raid of Czechoslovakian White Guard corps against the local peasantry, instead, it was an active action of a Czech communist for the well-being of Bolshevik power far from his homeland. This was a good example about the international solidarity of workers against the peasantry.

The statistical data of Soviet Russia that have become accessible to researchers in recent years enable to make a much deeper analysis of the ethnic processes of Finno-Ugric peoples, including the development and reasons for urbanisation.

I have analysed the migration of Mordvins and Maris from traditional villages to towns on the basis of the 1926, 1939, 1959, 1970, 1979 and 1989 census data. The data of the first two censuses concerning the main residential areas of Mordvins and Maris, have been transferred to a more stable administrative division after World War II (see Sarv 1996). It turns out that the emptying of traditional villages was most intensive among Mordvins in the Mordvinian Autonomous Republic and in the territory of Penza in 1926–1939 when 178 000 Mordvins (about 1/3 of Mordvin rural population) left their villages and among Maris in the Mari Autonomous Republic in 1959–1970 when 53 000 Maris left their villages. In both cases, people did not resettle in the towns of the same region, but in urban settlements in farther regions of Russia.

The reasons for the dramatic resettlement of Mordvins were probably the mistakes of the Soviet power in the collectivisation of farming. For example, the districts of Mordva and Penza signed a treaty "On socialist competition in the reconstruction of farming 1929–30" according to which Mordva undertook to collectivise 70 per cent of

the farms in one year, whereby the per cent of collectivisation had to be higher in Mordvin and Tatar villages than in Russian villages (*Istoriya Mordovskoy*... 1981: 149). In practice the main attention was paid to the liquidation (*raskulatschivanye*) of wealthier farms. Every farmer who did not want to join a collective farm was regarded as a prosperous exploiter (*kulak*) (Bukin 1990: 142).

The reasons why the Mari villages became empty in the 1960s were the concentration and specialisation of agricultural production. The Autonomous Republic of Mari was one of the initiators of the industrialisation of cattle-breeding in those years (Sanukov 1985: 10). This brought about unemployment. At the same time the industrial enterprises in towns preferred qualified labour from other regions to local unqualified workers.

In an ethnically alien urban environment linguistic assimilation became an inevitability. The consistent decline of the number of persons for whom their national language was their mother tongue is a vivid characteristic of Finno-Ugric peoples in Russia in the years of Soviet power (Sarv 1994).

Urbanisation by Finno-Ugric peoples in Russia in the 20th century is not a natural result of social-economical development of their regions of habitation. The process was caused by repeated false steps by the Soviet power. Often these steps were considered to be wrong only a few years after they were made. At the same time, no ideas have arisen as to how to compensate the results of these false steps to the peoples who suffered. While this problem remains unsolved there is not much difference between such national policy and mere genocide.

According to the coastal people of Western Europe, the greatest achievement of the second millennium is the discovery of America and the demolition of the local indigenous cultures, whereas the indigenous people in the mainland of Eastern Europe could develop an effective cultural-ecological symbiosis between the nations of different confessions, maintaining and developing their national identity in the rural culture. Due to the incapability of the communist regime, trying to find solutions only to the problems of urban environment (*proletariat*), in communicating with these cultures, it is problematic whether this symbiosis can possibly be restored in the post-communist society.

Abbreviations

mdE – Erza-Mordvin; mdM – Moksha-Mordvin; mdE&M – common Mordvin (both Erza and Moksha)

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Translated by Mall Leman

The people's story. On the collection and analyses of autobiographical materials

Stefan Bohman

Introduction

Among the most sought-after archive materials in the Nordiska museet are the "Workers Autobiographies" (*Arbetarminnena*). This collection was begun in the early 1940s by Mats Rehnberg, an etymologist with a strong interest in social history. He drew partly on the trade union press, and the collection includes the writings of many different types of manual workers, e.g. sawmill workers, printers, carpenters, municipal workers and sharecroppers. At the same time, the museum has acquired a vast quantity of autobiographical material in the form of answers to questionnaires regarding particular subjects. Both the autobiographies and the replies to the questionnaires are collectively referred to here as life stories.

Although the material is much in demand and frequently quoted, astonishingly, not much use of it has been made for research purposes. This, indeed, applies not only to the Nordic Museum but also to institutions in other countries with similar material. This is partly due to lack of proper methods of handling and analysis.

The Nordic Museums work with correspondents commenced in 1927. The number of correspondents was built up during the years and ranged from 200 to 500 persons. Today, we have just under 500 correspondents. The textual input is now approximately 200 000 pages.

We have asked about almost every aspect of life – dress and food habits, relationships with friends and relatives. Our latest questionnaire is about homecleaning. We then also cooperate with "Etnologisk gransking" in Oslo which sends the same questionnaire about homecleaning to their correspondents. We will be able to compare Swedish and Norwegian homecleaning.

The rest of this paper is thus about principles and methodological questions we find important, both for the collecting and analysis of autobiographical materials.

One's Own Life or Other People's?

It is usual in the Dig-Where-You-Stand Movement and presumably in Oral History, as well for those involved that they find their *own* lives uninteresting from a "scientific" viewpoint. They wish to collect facts about general conditions from transactional records, circulars and books and possibly from elderly people with good memories. The authors of several life stories tone down their personal experiences in view of observations about general conditions, such as pay and conditions of service.

This justifies an appeal to people writing down their life stories to describe their own lives, experiences and values, and an appeal to this end is in fact made by the Nordic Museum in the course of its collecting activities. If life stories are dominated by a knowledge of other people's circumstances, "local conditions" etc. then researchers are obliged to treat them as secondary sources, which greatly limits their value.

Narrative or Statement

Life stories can be analysed as literature or as a source, as a narrative or as a statement. They become narratives if they are taken to refer to the time *about* which the informant is writing. This becomes a source material, if it is taken as a manifestation of the time in which informants are writing. Consider, for example, the following quotation from a sawmill worker born in Nedertorneå, in the far north of Sweden in 1878: *I have always regarded union membership as the first duty of a worker.*

Does this mean, for example, that at the age of 20 he felt it was natural, right and proper for workers to organise themselves? If so, we have a narrative or literature about a state of affairs at the end of the 19th century. Or, does it mean that he is expressing a dominant value? If so, his utterance is more a statement or a source about the man at the time when he is writing.

This is another argument for the plausibility, when analysing the life stories, of alternately viewing them as narratives and statements. Reverting to the example already quoted, union consciousness may possibly have been high in the Nedertorneå crofter family in the 1890s. *At the same time* the informant gives this an air of self-confidence because he felt, at the time of writing in 1947, that he was expected to do so.

Facts or Values

Mats Rehnberg meant as follows concerning the collection of the autobiographies: *The intention has been, not to call for exact particulars about hourly rates of pay, working hours, commodity prices etc., all of which can be verified much more efficiently from other sources. The aim has been to experience descriptions of everyday life, ways of life and human destinies in the industrial age.*

Another Swedish professor of ethnology, Nils-Arvid Bringéus said: *We can go elsewhere for the facts, but not for the subjective value.*

This is the approach usually adopted by ethnologists. The greatest merit of the material is not as a corpus of facts but as chronological, class-related perspectives. But historians do not always view the material in these terms. Many exponents of oral history would like to see this material contrasted with other sources. The same type of interest in the veracity of the material is shown, for example, by the economic historian Bo Gustafsson in his book on sawmill workers in the north of Sweden, "Den norrlandska sågverksindustrins arbetare 1890–1914". In this opus, he compares the data supplied in the sawmill workers' autobiographies with available statistics, and he finds that the workers' information concerning such matters as working hours and rates of pay is relatively correct.

Selective Life Stories

Another problem regarding methods concerns the mechanisms governing the structure of life stories. There are three distinct reasons for the informant giving the life story a particular form:

A. People remember what, for private reasons, they want to remember (e.g. only "the pleasant parts").

B. People describe what they believe the reader wants to know (e.g. nothing but humorous anecdotes).

C. The questionnaire is designed in a particular way (just as an interviewer can ask particular questions and have a distinctive style).

Mikkelsen observes, concerning the collection of Danish working class autobiographies, that the wording of the questionnaires induced the workers to write about earlier times. In the case of Swedish printing workers' and sawmill workers' autobiographies, questions are certainly asked about their early years, but nothing like in proportion to the exhaustive detail in which these topics are described in the answers. Perhaps, quite simply, the informants themselves prefer to recall and write about earlier times, added to which they believe that this is in which their readers will be most interested.The museum's aura of being a historical institution can also carry more weight than the wording of the questionnaires. The informants may not believe that a museum can find the present very "interesting".

The conditioning mechanisms of the life stories are best analysed ad hoc. There is no *universal* explanation for the way they look, e.g. the structure of the questionnaire or powerful conviction concerning what the institution *actually* wants. The most important thing is for these life stories to have been critically scrutinised before being used.

The Representative Status of the Life Stories

Are the autobiographies representative of anybody but their authors? How universal are they? Do they exhibit any particular kind of bias, which is important to take into account? This could be such as a preponderance of town-dwellers, the informants having had more schooling or advanced further in their various jobs than others, and so on.

So-called "snowball strategy" involves collecting informants who, in turn, refer one to new informants, and so on and so forth, until "cognitive saturation" occurs, i.e. a point is reached at which further life stories serve only to confirm what is already known. Beartaux and Wiame believe themselves to have achieved this kind of saturation after analysing the autobiographies of 15 bakery workers and 30 master bakers. "Saturation" of this kind, however, cannot be judged solely in terms of the number of stories. The historian Edward Bull, for example, also inquires whether quality and unanimity are important factors in the assessment of representative status.

Summing up, workers' autobiographies may possibly be biased with respect to active trade unionism, and this should be borne in mind when using them. What is representative of this will then depend very much on the approach adopted by the individual researcher and the questions he has to ask. Representative status can be looked for on several planes, e.g. the geographical, social, age-related or sex-related. The number of life stories needing to be used is connected, for example, with the character of the investigation in hand. Have various types of sources been used, with the life stories serving to illustrate or confirm tendencies already known from other material? Or, are life stories the main source from which tendencies or contexts are to be analysed and identified?

Summing up, the life story conveys a more distinctly idealised image, profoundly influenced by the difficulties involved in expressing oneself in writing. But this in itself can invest the life stories with a special value. More or less overtly idealised images are worth studying, for example if one is interested in the culturally conditioned norms governing the way in which people like others to see them.

Analysing the Life Stories

The foremost purpose of the life stories, as seen Edward Bull, is that they *arouse the imagination, indicate problems to be investigated, suggest hypotheses to be rerified.*

The life stories are frequently regarded in these terms, i.e. primarily as a source of inspiration. But there are other approaches as well. Very simply, there are three possibilities:

A. Formulating problems and presenting hypotheses
B. Solving problems and responding to hypotheses
C. Illustrating problems and hypotheses solved/formulated previously

The boundaries between these three fields are flexible, but one can still safely say that A and C in particular have figured in discussions concerning the use of the life stories. There has been less question of the material also being useful in the terminal phase of analysis. Different methods of analysing life stories therefore need to be discussed more thoroughly.

In my own work, I have tried to combine a holistic approach with a quantitative approach resembling Bull's. Firstly, I have looked for *key words*, i.e. concepts that appear to be vitally important to the informants, and which recur frequently in the life stories. "Responsibility" and "interest" are words of this kind in the case of printing workers.

Secondly, I have looked for *themes*, i.e. certain subjects that appear to be of central importance and recur more frequently than others. These include, for example, stories concerning rites of initiation for young sawmill workers or the destructive influence of piece rates on the *esprit de corps* of food industry workers.

Thirdly, I look for general *tendencies* in the life stories, i.e. the basic attitude regarding different questions emerging from the life stories as a whole. This tendency is apparent not only from what people write, but also from what they do not write. One tendency, for example, is the way in which the printing workers describe a respectful attitude towards their employers, a different attitude, for example, than that of the sawmill workers. One interesting tendency, which sometimes appears among food industry workers, is that the *elderly* ones say how much easier work has been made by mechanisation, while the *younger* ones refer to the tedium of mechanised work.

Summary

Oral History is a wide-ranging concept, and in practice, the difference between an oral source and a written one is unclear. There is a

more distinct line of demarcation between material written down by the collector/researcher and material written by the informant personally. This article deals with questions relating to the latter kind of material. Some of the observations made are as follows:

- The informant must primarily write about *his own life*, even if he always does so in relation to other people's times and lives.
- The researcher must realise when the life stories are being used as a narrative or as a statement.
- The life stories are above all a source concerning people's values.
- The collecting situation always helps to condition the information volunteered in the life stories. A description and appraisal of the data collection procedure, therefore, must form part of the actual analysis.
- The collecting situation helps to govern the representative status of the life stories. What they represent depends above all on the researcher's perspective and questions.
- Compared with diaries, the life stories are to be valued as the relatively undisturbed "ideal image" of himself, which the informant can ponder and refurbish.
- One central consideration when analysing the life stories is whether one is looking for themes which the researcher has formulated or themes which are of central importance to the informants themselves.
- Qualitative and quantitative analyses of the life stories can be used in combination.
- One fruitful analytical method is that of looking for tendencies, themes and key words in the life stories.

It has only been possible here to give general consideration to various methodological aspects of the collection and analysis of life stories. The general approach advocated involving the treating of life stories as relations of different kinds. First and foremost, this means the relationship between the informant and his own story, but it also means his connection with the collector/researcher and, not least, the researcher's links with the people who read the result.

Dependenssianalyysi ja sääntöanalyysi kylätutkimuksen työvälineinä

Ilmari Vesterinen

Kylä tutkimuksen kohteena

Milteipä kaikkialla maailmassa yhteiskunnat ovat viime vuosikymmeninä käyneet läpi perusteellisia muutoksia eikä muutosprosessi ole suinkaan laantumassa. Muutoksia on näkyvissä yhtä hyvin kaupungeissa kuin maaseudulla. Maaseudulla peruselinkeinoja maanviljelyä ja kalastusta harjoitetaan yhä, mutta tuotantokohteet sekä viljelyvälineet ja kalastustavat ovat osittain toiset kuin sukupolvi sitten.

Tätä muutosprosessia on eri tieteenalan keinoin tutkittu monelta kannalta. Tutkimuskohteen helppouden ja läheisyyden takia kylätutkimukset ovat pysyneet suosiossa. Koska kylät ovat usein pieniä ja tässä mielessä ihanteellisia yhteisöllisen organisoitumisen yksikköjä, lähes kaikissa maissa, missä opetetaan kulttuurintutkimusta, ne ovat olleet jo kauan tutkimuksen kohteina. Raymond Firth kirjoitti (1971: 47): "*What emerges from many of the scientific community studies in the West is the comparatively undifferentiated character of the small community, its strong solidarity, and the close integration of its social, economic, and other activities.*" Ronald Frankenberg kirjoitti (1969: 11): "... *I believe that such community studies – as they are known – can be a most fruitful source of knowledge about our society.*" Ilmar Talve sanoo (1963: 135): "Kylä on ... kansankulttuurin tutkijalle erittäin arvokas objekti." Veikko Anttila kirjoitti (1972: 79): "Aihepiiriltään ja menetelmiltään [kansatieteellinen] tutkimus on monipuolisimmillaan silloin, kun sen kohteena on alueellisesti rajattu paikallisyhteisö, jollainen on esimerkiksi kylä..." Aikanaan siirtomaaviranomaiset tarvitsivat tietoja hallitsemiensa maiden

asukkaiden arvoista ja tavoista, ja antropologit tarjosivat hallituksilleen apua (Kluckhohn 1959: 150; Kuper 1973: 123–149; Karsten 1945: 159: "*Sådan vi hos oss känna sociologien, anse vi att den egentligen uppkommit i England i sammanhang med den engelska kolonisationen i främmande världsdelar.*"). Myös neuvostoetnologit hankkivat hallitukselleen tietoja kylien elämästä (Dunn and Dunn 1967: x). Itä-Euroopan maiden kylistä on yleensäkin tehty runsaasti tutkimuksia, vaikkapa siitä, miten kylät muuttuivat kommunismin tulon myötä (ks. Halpern, Kideckel 1983: 383–384; TVOV 1970: 127: "Before the Revolution, social life in all Russian villages was characterized by backwardness.").

Etnologilla ja kulttuuriantropologilla ei ole kylätutkimuksen monopolia, mutta siinä missä taloustieteilijät, sosiaalitieteilijät, väestötieteilijät ja maantieteilijät tutkivat tieteenalansa kannalta relevantteja kysymyksiä, kulttuuriantropologit tutkivat kylää kokonaisena. Erityisen paljon antropologien tekemiä kylätutkimuksia on ilmestynyt Intiasta, mutta myös muista maista, vaikkapa Kiinasta. Vaikka Kiinan maaseutu ei kiinnostanut vieraita hallitsijoita läheskään yhtä paljon kuin Intian maaseutu, Kiinan kylät houkuttelivat koko joukon eteviä tutkijoita 1920- ja 1930-luvulla. Suuri osa selvityksistä on tehty Kiinan omin voimin; monasti tutkijat kuvasivat synnyinkyliään. Maailmalla tunnetaan hyvin sellaiset tiedemiehet kuin Fei Hsia-t'ung, joka tutki sukulaisuutta ja taloutta Yangtselaakson kylässä (1930), ja Martin Yang, joka tutki perhesysteemiä ja tapoja kotikylässään Shantungissa (1945). Runsaasti huomiota kohdistettiin Etelä-Kiinan klaanikyliin. Myös länsimaiset ja japanilaiset tutkijat ovat kirjoittaneet Kiinasta. Tyhjentävin käsiini sattunut kylätutkimus koskeekin juuri kiinalaiskylää, nimittäin amerikkalaisen Cornelius Osgoodin selvitys Hongkongin erään saaren hakkakiinalaisten kyläyhteisöstä, *The Chinese: A Study of a Hong Kong Community* 1–3 (1975).

Tässä ei ole mahdollisuutta eikä tarkoituksenmukaistakaan käydä läpi Euroopan tai Aasian maiden kylätutkimuksia tai edes osaa niistä. Riittänee, kun totean, että niitä on tehty paljon.

Kylätutkimusten abstraktiotasot

Asetelmiltaan kylätutkimukset ovat olleet kylien kokonaisanalyyseja ja joidenkin erityisongelmien selvityksiä. Klassisen kansatieteen

edustajat ovat yleensä liikkuneet konkreettisella tasolla ja tarkastelleet aineellisen kulttuurin piirteitä, joskin myös muuntyyppisiä tutkimuksia on tehty, vaikkapa kontaktitutkimuksia. Selkänojana kansatieteilijöillä on periaate, että kentältä kerätty materiaali on liitettävä historialliseen aineistoon. Kulttuuri- ja sosiaaliantropologisesti suuntautuneet tutkimukset ovat kosketelleet politiikkaa, uskontoa, sukulaisuusjärjestelmiä ja yksilön elämää. Painopiste on ollut nykytasossa ja historiallinen näkökulma on jäänyt taka-alalle. Antropologiassa on keskusteltu kaiken aikaa historiallisen selityksen välttämättömyydestä. Ongelma on ollut, että antropologien on täytynyt selittää nykyisyyttä nykyisyydellä ja etsiä selityksiä tutkimiinsa kysymyksiin nykyisten piirteiden välisistä merkityksellisistä suhteista.

On kiintoisaa huomata, että tutkimukset ovat olleet hyvin samanlaisia eri puolilla maailmaa. Samantapaista kehitystä tapahtuu maailmanlaajuisesti. Kulttuurin muuttuminen ei ole irrallista vaan se on sidoksissa yhteiskunnassa tapahtuviin muutoksiin – sota, maaltapako, talouden lasku- ja nousukaudet, koneistuminen ja sen myötä vaikkapa hevos- ja härkäkulttuurin häviäminen jne. Kulttuurintutkijat ovat nopeasti vastanneet haasteeseen ongelmien kiehtovuuden takia, mutta myös siksi että valtiovalta tarvitsee tietoa siitä, mitä on tapahtunut ja mitä on parhaillaan tapahtumassa. Juuri muutosten tutkiminen on ollut viime vuosiin asti kylätutkijoiden yhteinen nimittäjä. Amerikkalaiset ryhtyivät heti sodan jälkeen tutkimaan Japanin kyliä. Korealaiset ja ulkomaiset tutkijat ovat selvitelleet Korean kylien muutoksia. Suomalaiset ovat tutkineet kylien muutoksia, samoin virolaiset, ruotsalaiset, norjalaiset, saksalaiset. Kylien tutkimuksessa käytetyt abstraktiotasot ovat vaihdelleet tutkimuksesta toiseen kuten terminologiakin. Vanhat kirjoitukset kylistä ovat oikeastaan materiaalikokoelmia. Jostakin nimenomaisesta paikasta ilman selkeää systeemiä kerättyä aineskokoelmaa voidaan kutsua kylätutkimuksen nolla-asteeksi, sillä kyseessähän on satunnaisten tietojen muistiin merkitseminen. Tutkija ei tee siirron yhteydessä tulkintoja. Kun tutkijalla tai kerääjällä on selkeä päämäärä työssänsä ja systeemi aineistonsa kokoamiseksi tietystä kylästä kyläläisten elämän ymmärtämiseksi, työtä voidaan kutsua ensimmäisen asteen tutkimukseksi. Jotkut etnologit ovat tosiasioiden kokoajia, eikä heitä kiinnosta näiden tosiasioiden tulkitseminen. He paneutuvat kiintoi-

saan osa-alueeseen, mutta ovat haluttomia suhteuttamaan sitä laajempaan yhteyteen. Tämänkaltaisia kuvauksia, kylätutkimuksen ensimmäisen asteen tutkimuksia, ovat vaikkapa suomalaisen U. T. Sireliuksen johdolla 1920-luvulla tehdyt kylätutkimukset. Ensimmäisen asteen kylätutkimuksia ovat myös japanilaisen Kunio Yanagitan vuonna 1937 ja 1938 tehdyt japanilaisten maatalouskylien tutkimukset ja kalastajakylien tutkimukset. Kyliä ei tarkastella kokonaisuuksina, vaan kutakin osasta tarkastellaan erikseen. Vertailuja kylien kesken ei myöskään suoriteta. Kun kuvaus liitetään laajempiin yhteyksiinsä, historiallisiin ja alueellisiin konteksteihinsa, ja kun tutkija etsii säännönmukaisuuksia sekä yksilöllisiä piirteitä ja kun hän perustelee väitteensä ja osoittaa lausumien metodologisen perustan, noustaan kylätutkimuksen portailla toiselle askelmalle. Kylä on, niin kuin mikä tahansa paikallisyhteisö, kokonaisuus; tämä kokonaisuus rakentuu monimutkaiseksi järjestelmäksi, jonka muodostavat eri kerrostumien, yhteenliittymien, alistumien ja muiden yksityisten osien välillä vallitsevat jännitteet ja riippuvuudet. Jotta olisi mahdollista ymmärtää kylää juuri kokonaisena, on ymmärrettävä kylän osan ja osien väliset suhteet ja riippuvuudet. Toisen asteen tutkimuksessa suoritetaan siirron yhteydessä tulkintaa ja analyysia. Toisen asteen tutkimus voi siis olla vaativa ja taitoa kysyvä suoritus, ja tämän tutkimustason töitä ovat olleet monet pohjoismaiset kylätutkimukset.

Kylätutkija nousee kolmannelle portaalle, kun hänellä on selkänojanaan selkeä teoria. Ylemmät kylätutkimuksen tasot vaativat selkänojakseen aina alempia tasoja ja selkeää etnografiaa. Tutkijan on osattava sulattaa kaikki tieto omaksi henkilökohtaiseksi pääomakseen. – Suomessa kansatieteelliset kylätutkimukset ovat olleet yleistyksiltään ja lainalaisuuksiltaan korkeintaan keskitason teoreettisia pohdintoja. Useimmissa tapauksissa on seurattu esikuvia, ja töissä on käytetty samaa tai lähes samaa menetelmää. Eroja on yksityiskohdissa ja juuri teorian hyväksikäytössä.

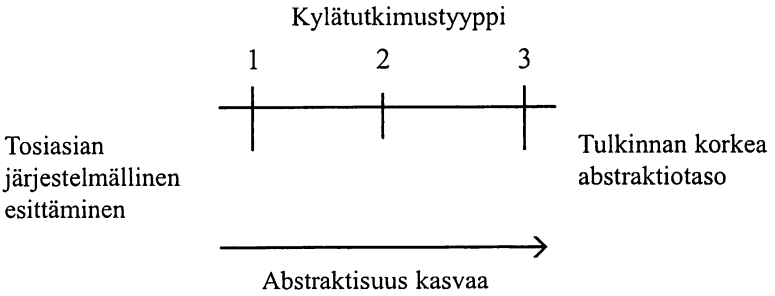
Kylätutkimuksen kolme astetta voidaan esittää kokoavasti seuraavaan tapaan:

1. Systemaattinen etnografinen kuvaus kylästä. Tutkimus liikkuu konkreettisella tasolla. Asiat ilmaistaan yksinkertaisiin ryhmiin sijoitettuina.

2. Kylästä esiin nostetut seikat liitetään historiallisiin ja/tai alueellisiin yhteyksiinsä. Etsitään säännönmukaisuuksia ja erityisiä piirteitä. Asiat ilmaistaan kuvauksin, tilastoin ja vertailuin.

3. Edellisen lisäksi tutkijalla on selkänojanaan teoria. Asiat on järjestetty teorian tai selkeän ja julkipannun tutkimusotteen edellyttämällä tavalla. Mukana on syviä yleistyksiä.

Kylätutkimustyypit voidaan esittää kaaviona. Mitä alemmalla tasolla liikutaan, sitä konkreettisempi työ on:



Abstraktisuuden kasvu kylätutkimustyypeissä

Lienee sanomattakin selvää, että ylimmällä tasolla liikuttaessa on vaarana kirjoittaa tieteellisen teoksen asemesta taiteellinen teos. Alimmalta ylemmälle tasolle siirryttäessä systemaattisuuden vaatimus kasvaa. On myös selvää, että korkea abstraktisuus ei ole missään työssä yksin arvon mitta. Eduksi ovat yksinkertaisuus ja luonnollisuus, konkreettisuus; ne saavat myös vaikeat asiat näyttämään helpoilta. Aineistolähtöiset tutkimukset voivat tarjota tuleville tutkijoille paljon enemmän pohdittavaa kuin pelkät teoreettiset pohdinnot. Ajatellaanpa vaikka U. T. Sireliuksen väitöskirjaa *Über die Sperrfischerei bei den Finnisch-Ugrischen Völkern* (1906), jonka abstraktiotaso on hyvin alhainen. Muutamista vanhentuneista päätelmistään huolimatta teos säilyttää arvonsa myös tulevaisuudessa ehtymättömänä aineistokokoelmana. Outi Lehtipuro sanoo (1977: 5): "Huolellisesti koottu primaariaineisto säilyttää arvonsa ja avautuu tarpeen vaatiessa uusille tulkinnoille."

Analyysin lähtökohtia

Kylää (tai kaupunkia, toria, katua, kerrostaloa) voi lähestyä monella tavalla. Kylä on muuttuva ja pysyvä tila. Seuraavassa esitellään, miten kylää voidaan tutkia riippuvuussuhteiden ja kyläelämää ohjaavien sääntöjen kautta. Työvälineenä ovat dependenssianalyysi ja sääntöanalyysi.

Riippuvuutta on kaikkialla. Biologiassa ja elinkeinoelämän tutkimuksessa voidaan puhua riippuvuudesta. Tuman ja soluliman välillä on olemassa riippuvuussuhde. Edelleen voimme nähdä, että hinta- ja palkkataso ovat riippuvuussuhteessa keskenään. Kielessä adverbi etsii verbiään. Dependenssinäkemystä voidaan soveltaa myös kulttuurintutkimukseen, sillä kaikissa kulttuureissa, niin kuin kielessäkin, on vaaliheimolaisia: perheen piirissä lapsi tarkkailee suhdettaan vanhempiinsa, vanhemmat lapseensa, sisarukset toisiinsa; paikalliskulttuurissa perhe tutkailee suhdettaan toisiin perheisiin. Ihminen tai sosiaalinen ryhmä edellyttää ympärilleen muita ihmisiä tai ryhmiä ollakseen yhteisössään täysivaltainen ja hyväksytty jäsen. Japanissa talo tai kotitalous ei voi olla ilman perillistä. Jos lapsia ei ole, paikka on täytettävä ottolapsella, tytöllä tai pojalla. Tämä voidaan ilmaista myös niin, että ihmisten yhteenliittymät avaavat ympärilleen paikkoja, jotka täytyy täyttää toisilla ihmisillä tai ihmisryhmillä. Kun kylänjohtaja jättää virkansa, on sijaan saatava uusi. Kun ihminen, kuka hyvänsä suvun jäsen, siirtyy esi-isien valtakuntaan, on koko sukulaitos uudelleenjärjestelyn edessä. Kulttuuri on siis eriarvoisten ja tasa-arvoisten ihmisten jatkuvaa ja säännönmukaista yhdessä esiintymistä.

Elämää ohjaavat sekä tiedostetut että tiedostamattomat säännöt. Perhe, suku, organisaatio ja kylä ovat yhteisön lajeja, ja ne kaikki koostuvat yksilöistä, joiden elämää ohjaa sääntöjen järjestelmä. Claude Lévi-Straussin mielestä kulttuurin suorastaan määrittelee sääntöjen esiintyminen: kulttuurin taso on saavutettu siellä, missä on sääntöjä (1969). Kyläläiset eivät muotoile itse kaikkia sääntöjä – monet säännöt ovat tiedostamattomia, monet ovat periytyneet kaukaa, monet säännöt liittyvät kylänulkoisiin tekijöihin – eivätkä kyläläiset hahmottele kyläänsä sosiaalisten ja taloudellisten ryhmien, sääntöjen, rajojen ja toimintojen kokonaisjärjestelmänä, vaikka he elävät kyläänsä kokonaisena. Tiedostamattomien rakenteiden ja

sääntöjen paljastaminen sekä kokonaisuuden hahmotteleminen ovat tutkijan tehtäviä. Mitä enemmän on sääntöjä ja mitä selkeämmäksi ihmisen tajunnassa kylä muodostuu, sitä vähemmän siinä jää ihmiselle liikkumavaraa; yksityisten ratkaisujen on sopeuduttava koko muuhun struktuuriin.

Säännöt, jotka määräävät kyläläisten elämää, ovat suhteellisen suppeita määräyksiä, miten kylässä on meneteltävä, mitä seikkoja toiminnassa noudatettava. Monasti kyläläiset eivät itse osaa pukea sanoiksi niitä menettelytapoja, joiden puitteissa he elävät. Sääntöjen määritteleminen on tutkijan tehtävä. Sääntöjä laatiessaan tutkija pukee sanoiksi kentällä näkemänsä ja kokemansa siitä, miten kyläläiset toimivat; tutkija tarkkailee, miten jotkin ilmiöt tapahtuvat ja riippuvat toinen toisistaan ja mitä seikkoja, perusajatuksia, jokin kehitys tai toiminta noudattaa. Säännöissä on kyse yleisistä totuuksista. Kylätutkijan tulisi tarkastella ainakin seuraavia sääntöjä: rakennesääntöjä, aluesääntöjä ja toimintasääntöjä. Rakennesäännöt paljastetaan dependenssianalyysin keinoin. Toimintasäännöt paljastetaan talon yhteisistä ja talokohtaisista toimista kylässä. Aluesäännöt paljastuvat, kun tarkastellaan kylän alueen käyttöä ja hyödyntämistä.

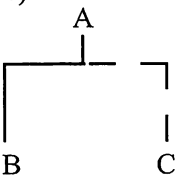
Dependenssianalyysin mallit

Kulttuurintutkimukseen hahmottelemani dependenssimallin juuret johtavat siis kemiaan ja kemian kautta strukturaalikielitieteen haaraan, dependenssikielioppiin. Ihmisten yhteenliittymät muodostavat riippuvuudet. Päämääränä on saada selville, miten kylä toimii ja miten talojenväliset suhteet – joita monasti kyläläiset eivät itse tiedosta – muodostavat kylästä toimivan kokonaisuuden. Jo tässä vaiheessa on painotettava sitä, että tarkoituksenmukaista on ottaa tutkittavaksi vain talojen – kotitalouksien, ruokakuntien – kokoiset yksiköt ja jättää syrjään talon yksityisten ihmisten suhteet. Dependenssianalyysissa kyseessä on siis talokokonaisuuksien tarkasteleminen riippuvuussuhteissaan.

Dependenssianalyysin keskeinen käsite on riippuvuus. Riippuvuudella ja riippuvaisella henkilöllä tai talolla tarkoitetaan tässä sellaista, jonka täytyy toiminnassaan ottaa joku tai jotkut huomioon; riippuvuudesta on kyse myös silloin, kun joku on jonkun määräys-

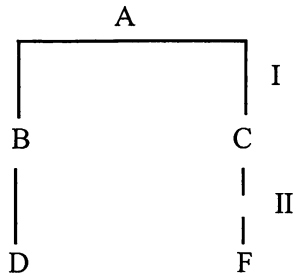
vallassa tai jonkun alainen. Voimme puhua riippuvuudesta, kun kulloinkin kyseessä olevia yksikköjä (yksilöitä, taloja, muita ryhmiä) sitovat yhteen taloudelliset, uskonnolliset tai sosiaaliset seikat. Riippuvuutena voidaan pitää sitäkin, kun talo – perhe, liikeyritys jne. – on lahjojenvaihtosuhteessa toisen talon kanssa. Suomessa taloudellista riippuvuutta esiintyi torpparisuhteessa. Riippuvuussuhdetta ei sen sijaan esiinny sellaisten naapureiden välillä, jotka käyvät kyläilemässä toistensa luona aika ajoin vaikkapa siksi, että sattuvat olemaan naapureita. Dependenssianalyysi ei siis paljasta naapuruussuhteita.

Kolmen, hypoteettisen, talon riippuvuudet voidaan kuvata seuraavan kaavan mukaan (A, B, C = talo; —— = vahva riippuvuus; — — = heikko riippuvuus):



Esimerkin puudiagrammi voidaan tulkita dependenssimallin mukaan seuraavasti: riippuvuussuhteiden strukturaalisena keskuksena toimii A-talo; jos sitä ei olisi, ryhmä hajoaisi kolmeksi eri osaksi. A:ta voidaan pitää riippuvuusytimenä, dominanttina, johon muut osaset, denpendentit, yhdistetään konneksiolla. A on siis riippuvuussuhteiden ydin tai napa, jonka ympärille riippuvuussuhteessa olevat talot B ja C ryhmittyvät. Kimpun komponentit ovat A, B, C ja niiden väliset konneksiot. Myös A ja B sekä A ja C muodostavat omat kimppunsa.

Kaavio pyritään laatimaan niin, että se pystyy mahdollisimman hyvin havainnollistamaan riippuvuussuhteita, niiden syvyyksiä ja kytkentöjä. Kuvatusta mallista nähdään esimerkiksi, että riippuvuussuhde on vain yhden asteen syvyinen: B:llä ja C:llä ei ole itsellään yhtään riippuvuussuhteessa olevaa taloa. Esimerkki olisi voitu tehdä tietenkin kaksi- tai useampiasteiseksi, jolloin B- ja C-talolle olisi merkitty omat riippuvuussuhteessa olevat talonsa. Seuraavassa esimerkissä on puudiagrammi, johon on merkitty kaksi ensimmäisen asteen suhdetta sekä kaksi toiseen asteeseen kuuluvaa taloa (suhteita on yhteensä neljä).



Haluan painottaa, ettei kemiassa käytettävää valenssikäsitettä eikä kielentutkimuksessa käytettävää anlyysia voi soveltaa orjallisesti kulttuurintutkimukseen – se olisi kunkin tieteen erilaisen luonteen vuoksi mahdotonta. Jatkossa käytetään muutamia kulttuurintutkimukseen soveltamiani valenssi-käsitteen sellaisia periaatteita, jotka antavat mahdollisuuden pureutua kylien elämän selvittämiseen.

Analyysin eteneminen askel askelelta

Dependenssianalyysin avulla etsitään kaikki kylän relevantit taloja yhteenliittävät riippuvuudet ja ne kuvataan typologisesti. Seuraavaksi riippuvuudet abstrahoidaan konkreettisesti kuvatuista tosiasioista asteittain ja laajenevan yleistyksen kautta. Abstrahointi tapahtuu päättelevän ajattelun tietä. Kustakin suhteesta rakennetaan pelkistetyt muodot eli stemmat. Reaalinen stemma näyttää suhteen todellisen, kylässä esiintyvän muodon. Virtuaalinen stemma operoi symboleilla. Sen edelleen yksinkertaistettu muoto on pelkistetty virtuaalinen stemma. Pelkistetty virtuaalinen stemma voi poiketa jonkin verran reaalisesta ja virtuaalisesta stemmasta korkeamman abstraktiotasonsa takia. Siitä voi näkyä ryhmän todennäköinen, mahdollinen, muoto, mikä ei puolestaan voi käydä ilmi reaalisesta tai virtuaalisesta stemmasta. Kun kaikki talojen väliset suhteet on analysoitu, niiden pelkistetyt virtuaaliset stemmat kootaan yhteen. Tämä antaa pohjan kylän kokonaisrakenteen muodostamiselle.

Tutkimuksen vaiheet ovat seuraavat:

1. Tehdään alustavat toimenpiteet (kuvataan kaikki talot; selvitetään kylän konkreettiset ja symboliset rajat jne.).

2. Etsitään suhteet, jotka täyttävät riippuvuuden kriteerit (ne voivat olla sosiaalisia, taloudellisia tai uskonnollisia).
3. Kuvataan nämä suhteet (rakennetaan suhteista tosiallinen kuva eli reaalinen stemma).
4. Nostetaan analyysin abstraktiotasoa (todelliset, kylässä tavattavat suhteet muutetaan symboleiksi). Abstraktiotason nostossa on kolme vaihetta: esitetään konkreettinen rakenne, tästä siirrytään symbolien käyttöön ja rakennetaan virtuaalinen stemma, ja lopuksi yksinkertaistetaan mutkikas kuvaus (abstrahoidaan perkistetty virtuaalinen stemma).
5. Kun tarvittavat tiedot on koottu ja kylästä on saatu kokonaiskuva, tietoja verrataan alueen muihin kyliin kyläteorian rakentamiseksi.
6. Muodostetaan suhteiden perusteella ja kylän alueen käytön perusteella (tämä työvaihe liitetään mukaan) ne säännöt, joiden puitteissa kyläläiset elävät.

Seuraavassa havainnollistetaan operaatioita ja niiden vaiheita. Esimerkit on poimittu aineistosta, jonka keräsin pohjoisjapanilaisista kylistä vuosina 1984–1985 sekä 1995 ja 1996 (ks. myös Vesterinen 1995).

Alustavia toimenpiteita: kylän talojen kuvaus

Tutkijan esimmäisenä tehtävänä on kerätä tiedot kaikista tutkittavan kylän taloista. Kylä ei siis saa olla liian suuri. Tämä on ymmärrettävää, sillä, niin kuin antropologisissa tutkimuksissa on osoitettu, kylän muoto ja myös se, miten kylän rakennukset on sijoitettu maisemaan, vaikuttavat moniin kylänsisäisiin asioihin. Kolmenkymmenen talon joukkoa jo voidaan pitää suurena intensiiviseen tutkimukseen. Kreikkalaista kylää tutkinut Juliet Du Boulay piti tärkeänä oppia tuntemaan kyläläiset nopeasti, ja hän piti 144 hengen yhteisöä tässä mielessä osavana (1979: 4).

Seuraavassa kriteerit, joita voidaan käyttää talojen luonnehdinnassa:

(a^1) = yksinäiset eläkeläiset. Eivät ota osaa tuottavaan työhön, mutta voivat olla mukana joissakin kylän elimissä.

(a^2) = aktiivinen talo. Talossa voi olla koulunsa päättäneitä lapsia, jotka auttavat toimeentulossa. Isovanhemmat voivat auttaa kotitöissä. Talossa on alaikäisiä lapsia, jotka eivät voi olla mukana vielä kylän elimissä. Talo käsittää yleensä – vaikka ei aina – neljä sukupolvea. Kyseessä on seuraavaan tyyppiin verrattuna "senioritalo".

(a^3) = aktiivinen talo. Talossa voi olla alaikäisiä lapsia, ja siihen voi kuulua eläkeläisiä. Talotyyppi on edellistä nuorempi, "junioritalo". Sukupolvia on enintään kolme.

(b) = yksin asuvat, aktiiviset, naimattomat aikuiset. Voivat olla mukana kylän elimissä. Vanhemmat kuolleet.

(c) = naimaton keski-ikäinen aikuinen. Voi olla mukana kylän elimissä. Asuu yhdessä vanhempiensa kanssa (a^2, a^3).

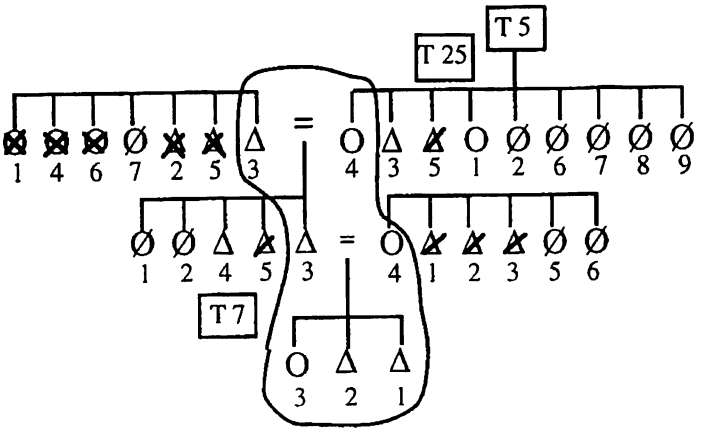
(d) = alaikäiset lapset.

Talojen kuvauksessa kullekin talolle annetaan numero, jolloin taloa on helpompi käsitellä. Numerot voi antaa vaikkapa siinä järjestyksessä, missä talot tutkitaan, esim. T 1 = talo n:o 1, T 2 = talo n:o 2 jne.

Esimerkkejä talojen kuvauksista:

Talo 1: a^3d. – Talo on yksi kylän nuorimmista, ja se sijaitsee lähellä rantaa. Talon vanha päämies (kuvassa: ylhäällä vasemmalla synnyintalonsa kolmanneksi vanhin lapsi) saapui sodan jälkeen kylään etsimään työtä. Hän oli taitava kirvesmies, jollaisia tarvittiin kaikkialla maassa jälleenrakennuksen vuosina. Koska töitä riitti esimerkkikylässä sekä naapurikylissä, mies asettui kylään pysyväisesti. Hän nai kylän tytön (T 5:n sisarussarjan neljäs lapsi), ja alkoi rakentaa itselleen taloa. (T 5:n vanhin lapsi on naitu T 25:een.)

Nykyisin talossa asuu kolme sukupolvea: päämies ja hänen vaimonsa, heidän nuorin poikansa, joka opiskelee kaupungissa, vanhin lapsensa ja tämän vaimo (naapurikylästä naitu talon neljäs lapsi) sekä lastenlapset. Miniä oli työssä naapurikaupungissa konttoristina ennen avioitumistaan ja muuttoaan tutkittuun kylään. Talolla ei ole riisipeltoja; pihapiirissä ja hieman kauempana ovat pienet puutarhaviljelmät. Toimeentulo saadaan rakennusfirmasta: kirvesmies tekee poikansa (rakennusmestari) kanssa pieniä urakkatöitä lähiympäristössä.



T 1: Δ = mies, O = nainen. Numero symbolin alla osoittaa ikäjärjestystä sisarusparvessa. Viivan sisällä ovat talon jäsenet. Vino viiva, esimerkkinä ∅, osoittaa, että jäsen asuu kylän rajojen ulkopuolella. X = kuollut. T 5:n päämies on talon kolmanneksi vanhin lapsi; vanhin lapsi on naitu T 25:een. T 7:n päämies on lapsuudenkotinsa, T 1:n, neljänneksi vanhin lapsi.

Talo 2: a^3 + c. – Talon päämies on työssä alueen postikonttorin hoitajana. Konttori sijaitsee naapurikylässä. (Esimerkkikylässä ei ole omaa postikonttoria.) Mies on alkuperäisiä esimerkkikyläläisiä. Hän on kuusihenkisen perheen vanhin poika. Ensimmäinen lapsi oli tytär. Hänen vaimonsa on tokiolainen, mutta tuli kylään vuonna 1957. Talon päämiehen äiti on syntyään esimerkkikyläläinen, jonka mies tuli naapurikylästä adoptiopojaksi. Postimiehellä ja hänen vaimollaan on kolme lasta. Poika, vanhin lapsista, jo 26 täyttänyt, asuu kaupungissa. 24-vuotias poika ja 21-vuotias tytär asuvat kotona. Peltoja ei ole. Kodin vieressä on pieni vihannestarha. Rannassa on pieni moottorivene, jolla käydään kalastamassa ja keräämässä merilevää omiin tarpeisiin.

Kun edellä luetellut eri taloustyypit lasketaan yhteen, saadaan vaikkapa seuraavanlainen taulukko:

a^1	a^2	a^2d	$a^2 + c$	$a^2d + c$	a^3	a^3d	$a^3d + c$	$a^3 + c$	b
3	4	9	2	1	1	14	6	2	0
	$a^2 = 16$				$a^3 = 23$				

Esimerkkikylän kotitaloustyypit

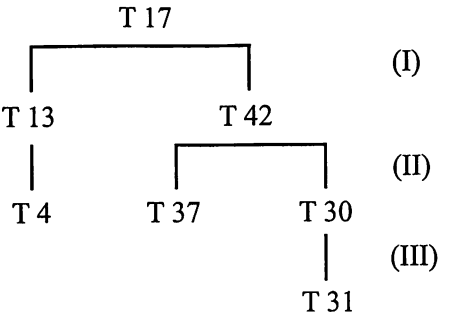
Kun silmäilee esimerkkikylän kaikista taloista tehtyä taulukkoa, huomaa, että "junioritaloja" on jonkin verran enemmän kuin "senioritaloja". Vaikka tässä esseessä ei olekaan tarkoitus esitellä tarkemmin japanilaisia kyliä, voidaan selkeyden vuoksi kiinnittää huomio b-tyyppisten talojen puuttumiseen mainitussa kylässä. Tässä kirjoituksessa tyyppi on otettu mukaan vain siksi, että se on mahdollinen, vaikkei sellaista kylässä ole. T 38 on hyvin lähellä b-tyyppiä, ja on mahdollista, että siitä sellainen kerran tulee, jos talon aikamiespoika ei ota itselleen puolisoa.

Esimerkkejä riippuvuussuhteista 1:

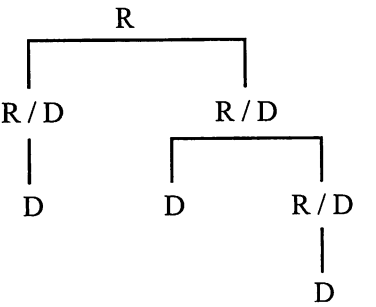
Seuraavassa otetaan muutamia esimerkkejä dependenssianalyysilla paljastetuista taloja yhteen liittävistä suhteista. Alla on kuva HB-suhteesta; käytän jatkossa siitä nimitystä HB-ryhmä. (Honke-bekka = päätalo–sivutalo-niminen talojen yhteenliittymä. Talot ovat hierarkkisessa riippuvuussuhteessa; taloja sitovat yhteen useat velvoitteet, esim. nykyisin avioliitosta käydään neuvottelemassa päätalossa. Ennen velvoitteet olivat moninaiset, ne olivat taloudellisia ja sosiaalisia.) Esimerkin ryhmä on kolmen asteen syvyinen, ja siinä on kuusi liittymää.

Koodit: R (dominantti, päätalo eli honke), D (dependentti, sivutalo eli bekka). Kylässä kutsutaan koko ryhmän päätaloa, kuvassa ylinnä, ôhonkeksi eli suurpäätaloksi. Alla olevassa stemmassa sitä ei ole merkitty erikseen.

Reaalisesta stemmasta näkyy, että T 17:llä on kaksi dependenttiä T 13 ja T 42. Näiden kolmen talon välillä vallitsee ensimmäisen asteen konneksio.



Reaalinen stemma:



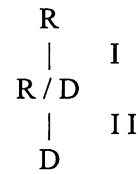
Virtuaalinen stemma:

T 13:lla ja T 42:llä on kummallakin dependenttinsä; edellisellä on yksi, T 4, ja jälkimmäisellä kaksi, T 37 ja T 30. Näiden talojen välillä vallitsee dominantista katsottuna toisen asteen konneksio. T 30:llä on yksi dependentti T 31; heidän välillään oleva suhde on III asteen konneksio. Koko organisaatio on seitsemän talon kokoinen ja kolmen asteen syvyinen. Virtuaalisesta stemmasta näkyy, että sama talo toimii toisessa suhteessa päätalona (dominanttina) ja toisessa suhteessa sivutalona (dependenttinä).

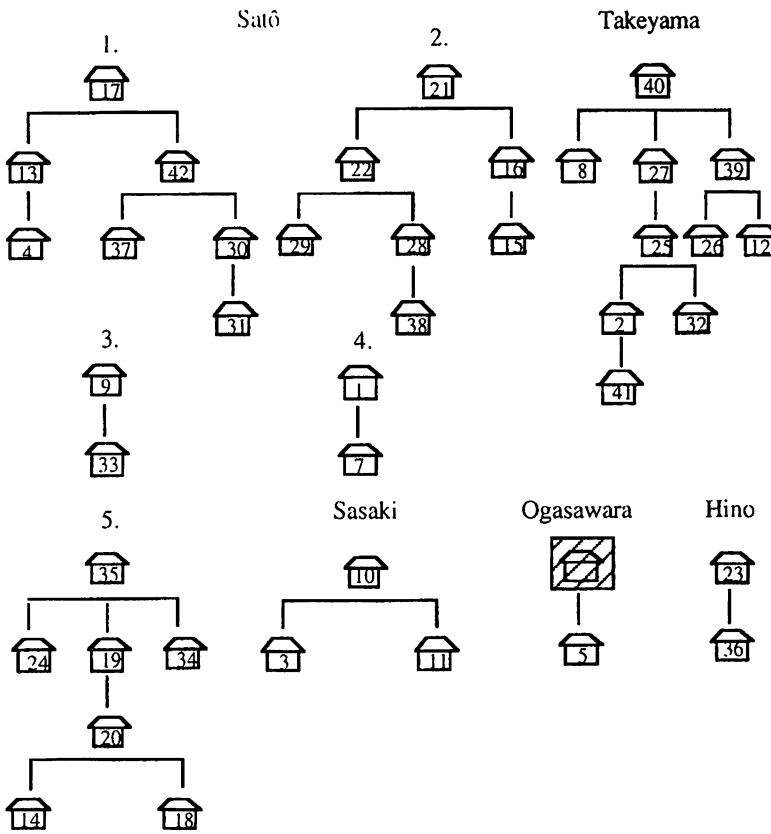
Seuraavassa on kuvattu HB-ryhmän pelkistetty virtuaalinen stemma: ensimmäinen konneksio on obligatorinen; tämä tarkoittaa, että suhteessa mukana olevien talojen täytyy kuulua HB-ryhmään. Siitä ei voi erota. Toinen konneksio on fakultatiivinen, siis vapaaehtoinen; toisaalta, niin kuin T 5:n tapaus osoittaa, I konneksio voi joissakin tapauksissa jäädä vajaaksi eli dominantti voi puuttua. T 5:ttä pidetään yhä sivutalona (alla olevassa typologisessa kuvassa Ogasawaran alla oleva talo, siis T 5; Ogasawara on sammunut, ja

tämä osoitetaan viivoin); kyseessä on siis tietynlainen "haamusuhde": päätalo on sammunut ja sivutaloa pidetään edelleen sivutalona, eikä suinkaan itsellisenä päätalona, dependenttinä.

Pelkistetty virtuaalinen stemma:



Kylän kaikkien talojen HB-suhteet voidaan esittää seuraavan typologisen mallin mukaisesti:

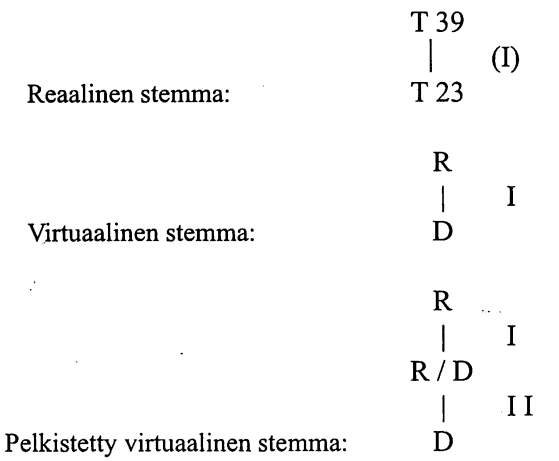


Esimerkkikylän HB-ryhmät typologisesti esitettyinä

Esimerkkejä riippuvuussuhteista 2:

Seuraava esimerkki on rituaalisesta sukulaisuussuhteesta; se täyttää riippuvuuskriteerin vähimmäisvaatimuksen. Alla olevista kuvista näkyy esimerkkikylästä paljastetun yhden rituaalisen sukulaisuussuhteen, oyakosuhteen, esiintyminen (reaalinen stemma). Suhde on yhden asteen syvyinen. Keskimmäisessä kuvassa on oyakoliiton virtuaalinen stemma. Alimmassa kuvassa on pelkistetty virtuaalinen stemma. Vaikka esimerkkikylässä ei esiinny kahden asteen syvyistä rituaalisen sukulaisuussuhteen ketjuuntumista, sellainen on periaatteessa mahdollinen. Esimerkkikylässä toteutuu siis vain pelkistetyn virtuaalisen stemman yläosa.

Koodit: R = dominantti, oyabun; D = dependentti, kobun.



Vaikka tässä esseessä ei ole tarkoituksena esitellä japanilaiskylien sosiaalisia suhteita tarkemmin kuin analyysimetodin esittely vaatii, jokin sana lienee paikallaan tarkennukseksi. Monet japanilaiskylien suhteet, niin kuin esimerkkinä käsitelty rituaalinen sukulaisuussuhde, syntyivät ja olivat elinvoimaisia vain kyläyhteisön rajojen sisäpuolella ja monesti käytännössä vieläkin pienemmällä ja maantieteellisesti tarkkaan rajallisella alueella. Maanteiden, jokien ja peltojen lohkomat alueet olivat omiaan synnyttämään erilaisia talojenvälisiä riippuvuus- ja naapuruussuhteita. Oli myös rituaalisia sukulaisuusliittoja, jotka solmittiin vain yhtä tehtävää silmällä pitäen.

Vuonna 1937 tunnettiin ainakin 37 tällaista oyakosuhdetta eri puolilla maata; suhteet säilyivät kuitenkin läpi elämän. Heso-oyan tehtävänä oli katkaista vastasyntyneen napanuora; eboshi-oya johti aikuiseksituloriittiä; nakôdo-oya järjesti avioliiton; yori-oya hankki nuorukaiselle työpaikan ja huolehti tämän elämästä muutenkin; warajioya esitteli ryhmän ulkopuolisen sisäryhmäläisille (Yanagita 1937: passim luvut 9 ja 21.)

Kylien säännöt

Dependenssianalyysi paljastaa kylän organisaatiot, talojen väliset kytkennät ja kylän organisoitumisen yleensä. Sääntöanalyysi näyttää ne fyysiset ja sosiaaliset rajat, joiden puitteissa kyläläisten on elettävä. Seuraavassa tarkastellaan näitä kyläsääntöjä. Niin kuin alussa todettiin, kyläläiset eivät kykene pukemaan kirjalliseen eivätkä sanalliseen muotoon sääntöjä, jotka ohjaavat heidän elämäänsä. Kyläläiset vain tekevät niin kuin on tapana tehdä. Tutkija tarkkailee kyläläisten toimintaa, kyselee ja katselee ja tekee päätelmät kokemastaan; tutkija tekee vieraasta tutun. Kussakin kylässä on omat sääntönsä, jotka tietenkin ovat samalla kulttuurialueella saman mallin mukaan tehtyjä. – Alla olevat säännöt on poimittu esimerkkikylistä, ja ne heijastelevat erään Itä-Japanin perinnealueen kylien elämää. Sääntöluettelossa ovat ensinnä ne kylän rakennesäännöt, jotka on paljastettu dependenssianalyysilla. Sen jälkeen on kyläläisten toimintasäännöt. Ne ovat tässä vain esimerkkeinä eikä niitä käsitellä tarkemmin. Lopuksi esitetään kyläläisten aluesäännöt; niitäkään ei ole ollut mahdollista käsitellä tässä tarkasti.

A. R a k e n n e s ä ä n n ö t
(Selvennyksiä: pienin yksikkö on ie (talo, edellä myös T, siihen kuuluvat sekä elävät että esi-isät), suurin yksikkö on K (kylä); muodostuu (→); Os = pakollinen suhde; Ov = vapaa suhde; HB = honke–bekka-suhde, oyako = rituaalinen sukulaisuus; kai = laaja-alainen yhteenliittymä; kumi = kapea-alainen liittymä; yakei = yövahtiliitto; a = aktiivinen liitto; p = passiivinen liitto; keiyaku-kai = kylän johtoelin.)

1) $K \rightarrow O_s + O_v$ – Tämä on rakennenormi
2) $O_s \rightarrow$ HB-ryhmä + oyako (rituaalinen sukulaisuusliitto)
3) $O_v \rightarrow$ {keiyaku-kai^2 + yakei$^{1\sim\varnothing}$}
4) [HB-ryhmä, oyako, keiyaku-kai, yakei] → ie
5) ie (talo) → elävät + kuolleet – Tämä on ie-normi
6) elävät → konsangviiniset jäsenet + affinaaliset jäsenet
7) konsangviiniset jäsenet → perijät (jäävät taloon) + poistujat (poistuvat talosta)
8) affinaaliset jäsenet → liittyjät (vaimot ja aikuiset ottolapset)
9) kuolleet → esi-isät

B. T o i m i n t a s ä ä n n ö t
1) Talo on toimiva, kun sillä on korporatiivinen struktuuri ja kun se toimii kylän rajojen sisällä ja koostuu ainakin yhdestä miespuolisesta jäsenestä sekä yhdestä tai useammasta esi-isästä.
2) Talo on ulkoisissa suhteissaan toimiva, kun siinä on sekä miesettä naisjäsen (eri sukupuolet edustavat taloa kylän eri elimissä).
3) HB-ryhmä on toimiva, kun sivutalo kunnioittaa päätaloaan.
4) Hyvin hoidettu keiyaku-kai (kylän hallintoelin: periaatteessa kustakin kylän talosta yksi 20–50-vuotias edustaja) on kylän toimivuuden edellytys. (Sen olemassaolo osoittaa, että kylää johdetaan demokraattisesti.)
5) Esi-isien palvonta sitoo kylän talot tasavertaisesti yhteen.
6) Kylä on toimiva, kun siinä on vapaita ja sidoksissa olevia organisaatioita.
7) Kyläläisyys on yhtä kuin osanottaminen kylän toimintaan. – Tämä on toimintanormi.

C. A l u e s ä ä n n ö t
1) Kylän rajat ovat selkeät ja kaikkien tiedossa.
2) Kyläläiset jakavat alueensa sekä horisontaalisesti että vertikaalisesti.

3) HB-ryhmä toimii vain kylänrajojen sisäpuolella.
4) Oyakoliitto (rituaalinen sukulaisuusliitto: toinen, alempi, on riippuvainen toisesta, ylemmästä) toimii vain kylässä.
5) Yövahtijärjestelmä (talot liittoutuneet pareiksi) toimii vain kylässä. Kylän asukkaiden velvollisuus on olla mukana yövahtijärjestelmärenkaassa. Kylän "vanhojen" rajojen ulkopuolella olevat talot eivät ole mukana.
6) Keiyaku-kai, kylän hallintoelin, toimii vain kylän rajojen sisällä. Liittoon kuuluu eräin poikkeuksin kaikista taloista 20–50-vuotias jäsen. Jäsenten kotipaikka tulee olla kylässä.
7) Vain ne, jotka asuvat kylän rajojen sisäpuolella, ovat mukana kaikissa organisaatioissa.
8) Kaikkien kylän kansalaisten virallinen kotipaikka täytyy olla kylässä. – Tämä on aluenormi.
9) Kylän rajoilla liikuttaessa ilmenee rajakitkaa; kitkan voittamiseksi tarvitaan ylimääräistä energiaa.

Tietojen siirtokelpoisuus

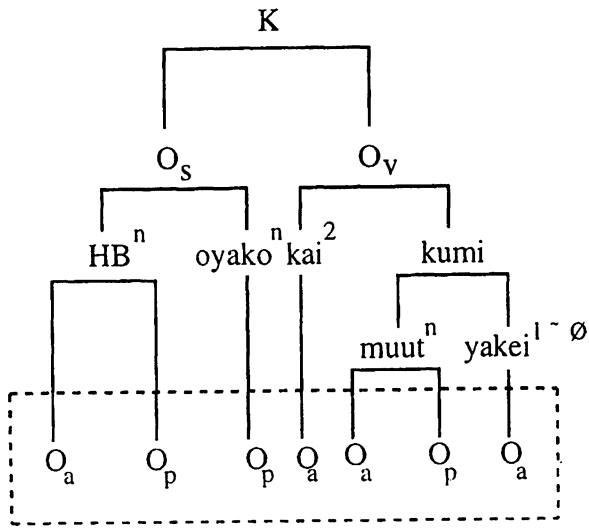
Vaikka yksi kylä voi kertoa paljon jonkin maan kulttuurista, voiko se antaa yleiskuvan maan kaikista kylistä? Miten siirtokelpoisia yhdestä kylästä poimitut asiat ovat? Tällaiset kysymykset ovat itse asiassa vanhoja, ja ne palautuvat aikaan, jolloin sosiaaliantropologit alkoivat tutkia monimutkaisia yhteiskuntia. Mihin yhdestä kylästä poimittuja tietoja sitten voisi peilata? Jeremy Boissevain joutui omassa kylätutkimuksessaan ajattelemaan kysymystä, ja hän ratkaisi asian niin, että hän asui jonkin aikaa myös toisessa kylässä ja teki vertailuja kymmeneen muuhun kylään sekä kahteen kaupunkialueeseen; kuitenkin, niin kuin hän sanoo, tutkimus koskee vain yhtä kylää eli hänen varsinaista tutkimuskohdettaan (Boissevain 1980: 2). 1960-luvulla kreikkalaista kylää, Vasilikaa, tutkinut Ernstine Friedl tekee tutkimustuloksistaan yleistyksiä ja pyrkii vastaamaan kysymykseen, millaisia kreikkalaiset maaseudun paikallisyhteisöt ovat olleet. Edustaako Vasilika muita Kreikan kyliä? Onko se kreikkalaisten kylien joukossa jollakin tavalla keskivertokylä, niin kuin Friedl näyttää olettavan. Lienee selvä, ettei Vasilikaa eikä mitään muutakaan kylää missään maassa ole mahdollista pitää keskivertokylänä, jos kylää ei ole valittu tarkkoja tilastollisia menetelmiä hyväksi käyt-

täen. Näin ei tehnyt Friedl. Tulosten yleistettävyys on aina heikko, jos vertailuun ei oteta muita kyliä.

Olisiko sitten järkevää etsiä tutkittavaksi tilastollinen keskivertokylä? Ilmeisesti ei. Jos näin tehtäisiin, monille kylille ja monille alueille luonteenomaiset mutta erikoiset ja siksi juuri kiintoisat piirteet karsiutuisivat pois ja tutkimukseen tulisi kylä, josta saatavia tietoja ei olisi sen paremmin yleistettävissä; keskivertokylä on tilastollinen harha. Sellainen toki löydettäisiin, niin kuin on mahdollista löytää keskivertovirolainen perhe ja keskivertojapanilainen perhe, mutta onko antropologi kiinnostunut tutkimaan tällaisen virolais- tai japanilaisperheen elämää? Jos kulttuurintutkijat olisivat kohdistaneet tutkimuksensa keskivertoperheisiin tai keskivertokyliin, monia kiintoisia asioita ei olisi koskaan saatu selville. Monista Japanin kylistä puuttuu esimerkiksi keiyaku-kai, organisaatio, joka johtaa kylää suhteellisen demokraattisesti. Tällaisten seikkojen löytäminen ja tutkiminen on kiintoisaa asioiden itsensä vuoksi, vaikka saatavia tietoja ei voisikaan yleistää. Yksi kulttuurintutkimuksen päämääristä on tuoda nähtäväksemme ihmiselämän ja kulttuurien moninaisuus.

Lyhyesti voi siis sanoa, että yhden paikkakunnan tutkimukset menettävät helposti suhteellisuutensa, ellei niitä aseteta laajempiin yhteyksiin. Jotta työlle saataisiin suhteellisuutta, yhdestä kylästä kerättyjä tietoja on verrattava muista kylistä saataviin tietoihin. Tutkijan seuraava askel onkin verrata keräämiään tietoja alueen – perinnealueen – muihin kyliin kokonaiskuvan saamiseksi. Tehtävänä on siis verrata toista totaliteettia – kylää kokonaisena – toiseen totaliteettiin. Tutkijan on asetettava itselleen seuraavat kysymykset: onko muillakin tutkittavan alueen kylillä esimerkkikylän dependenssianalyysin keinoin hahmoteltu rakenne ja säännöt? Jos kylissä on eroja, mistä erot johtuvat? Vasta huolellisen vertailun jälkeen on mahdollista rakentaa jonkin nimenomaisen alueen kokonaiskuva, kylien teoreettinen malli tai – jos niin halutaan – kyläelämän kielioppi.

Seuraavassa on denpendenssinalyysin keinoin hahmoteltu kuva erään itäjapanilaisen alueen 14 kylästä:



Dependenssianalyysin avulla rakennettu kuva
erään itäjapanilaisen perinnealueen kylistä

Tässä ei ole aiheellista kommentoida eikä tehdä johtopäätöksiä kylien organisoitumisesta. Sen verran voidaan kuitenkin sanoa – siihen dependenssianalyysin esimerkit antavat aihetta –, että työnjako, siitähän edellä koko ajan on ollut kyse, ei ainoastaan edistä itsenäisten persoonallisuuksien kehittymistä, vaan se samalla saa aikaan, että kylän rakenne muuttuu yhä monisyisemmäksi ja lujemmaksi. Sosiaalinen differentioituminen ei siis suinkaan merkitse vain erottautumista vaan samalla yhdistäytymistä ja organisoitumista.

Rippuvuusanalyysin ja sääntöanalyysin rajoitukset

Esitellyt analyysimenetelmät eivät ole tyhjentäviä. Monet seikat jäävät käsittelemättä jo pelkästään siksi, että tutkijan huomio ei voi kiintyä samaan aikaan kovin moneen asiaan. Yksin dependenssianalyysin keinoin kylästä ei saada kokonaiskuvaa. Tässä esiteltyjä analyysimenetelmiä tulisikin käyttää muiden menetelmien rinnalla. Riippuvuusanalyysi näyttää yhden puolen kylästä, mutta jättää toiset seikat koskemattomiksi. Kokonaisvaltaiseen analyysiin pyrkivän tutkijan on muistettava myös ottaa huomioon ekologiset tekijät. Eko-

logiset erot ovat aina alkuperäisiä, ja ne muodostavat kulttuurin perustan, kun taas sosiaaliset eroavuudet, joihin päästään käsiksi dependenssianalyysilla ja sääntöanalyysilla, ovat ihmiskätten työtä ja muodostavat kulttuurin rakennuksen. Jos tutkii vain ekologista perustaa, ei voi päästä selvyyteen, millaiseksi sosiaalinen päällysrakenne tulee muodostumaan – päällysrakennelma sisältää monilta alueilta, monista kulttuureista ja monista historian kerroksista kasautuneita elementtejä –, mutta ilmastolliset ja maantieteelliset olosuhteet panevat kyllä kulttuurinkehityksen mahdollisuudet omiin rajoihinsa. Ekologiset tekijät muovaavat monella tapaa kyläläisten elämää. Näihin seikkoihin ei tässä kirjoituksessa kuitenkaan ole mahdollisuutta kajota. Aikanaan strukturalistit tuskailivat, mitä sitten tehdään, kun rakenne on paljastettu. Dependenssianalyysin käyttäjä ei jää tuskaiseksi, koska hän käyttää muitakin menetelmiä. Dependenssianalyysi ja sääntöanalyysi ovat menetelmiä muiden menetelmien joukossa. Ne antavat tutkijalle mahdollisuuden systemaattiseen tutkimustyöhön. Riittävän huolellisesti suoritettu dependenssianalyysi paljastaa aktiivisten suhteiden lisäksi uinuvat suhteet ja joissakin tapauksissa myös sammuneet, sellaiset suhteet, jotka kerran olivat olemassa. Analyysi antaa välineen siis myös menneisyydestä kiinnostuneelle kansatieteiljälle. Tutkijan on kaiken aikaa muistettava, että kylän todellisuus, jota antropologi koettaa ymmärtää ja tulkita, muodostuu vain kuluttajista ja symboleista. Riippuvuus ja rajat ovat olemassa vain tutkijan kautta. Kun tutkija antaa ihmisten tekemisille nimet, hän paljastaa riippuvuudet, ja kun tutkija osoittaa säännöt, joiden puitteissa ihmiset toimivat, vieraasta tulee tuttu. Tutkija lukee kylää, koska kylä on tekstiä, se on semanttinen järjestelmä.

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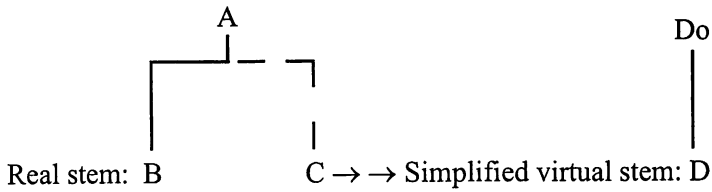
Dependency Analysis and Rule Analysis as Tools for the Study of Village Culture

The following is an account of dependency analysis as a tool for the study of the totality of a village culture. Dependency is the key conception underlying the analysis. The target is the relationships which exists between the village's various households. The main goal is to discover how the village functions, and how the inter-familial relationships – which are often not well understood, even by the principal actors themselves – between the households make up the village as a whole. It would be wise to restrict the scope of the study to the relationships between households, and put aside the relationships between single individuals. We can talk about dependency where there are economic, or religious, or family responsibilities, or if a family has to follow rules for (for example) the exchange of gifts or services. There exist two kinds of dependency: the equal, and the hierarchical. Dependency analysis also reveals the degree of equality involved.

The main concepts of dependency analysis are: the stem (the real, i.e. physically existing stem; the virtual stem; and the simplified virtual stem); the nucleus of dependency; the actor; the dominant; the dependent; and the connection. – In the course of dependency analysis, concrete entities are given an abstract representation. The first step is to represent the real stems of the households and organisations which exist in the village. The real stem shows the actual form of the organization, or the household relations; and the virtual stem uses symbols. The simplified stem is an even more abstract form. In the simplified virtual stem can also be seen a hypothetically-existing form, which cannot be seen in the real stem. When all the relationships between the households are analysed, all the virtual stems are combined. This gives a basis for the holistic analysis of the basic structure of the society of the village.

In the following, we can see the real stem and the real simplified virtual stem of three households (A, B, C = household; dependency connection:__ __weak, ____ strong; Do = dominant; D = dependent).



The tree diagram shown above can be interpreted as follows: the structural centre of the dependence relationship is household A. If A did not exist, the whole relationship would split up into three independently-functioning units. A is the dependence nucleus. The other units are connected by the virtue of their common relationship to A. The components of the whole system are A, B, and C; together with the connecting ties which units them. A and B, and A and C, also make up separate units. – The above hypothetical example could have been extended, to show B and C, in turn, with further entities dependent on them.

Dependency analysis helps to create a total picture of a small society based on a specific location. Today, an important task for the modern researcher is to uncover the hidden mechanisms which unite different households. The researcher who adopts a holistic approach as his fundamental research method tries to discover the hidden, unwritten rules according to which people function. These include regional, operational, and structural rules.