

As in the Old Days: Aspects Regarding the Ways of Using Tradition(ality) in Today's Estonia

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The article has been written on the basis of the projects, entitled “Estonian Traditional Technologies on the Internet” and “Traditional Culture of the Karula National Park. Heritage and the Present Day” carried out by authors in the Estonian National Museum in 2003–2004. Within this article, relying on the mentioned projects, we attempt to analyse some reasons why people in Estonia deal with traditional craftsmanship and the relevant meanings this bears for them. Traditionality here means the so-called second life of the tradition, which means a new circulation of the matter that has been torn off from the initial heritage process and kept in archives. New circulation often takes place in an altered cultural context; also, the mechanism of circulation is different from the initial culture. Relying on empirical material we can point out that traditionality in present-day Estonia is evaluated from the aspect of environmental awareness, enforcing local identities and of economic usage value, obtained by tourism. Accordingly, in this paper we will focus on the relations of traditionality with tourism, environmental sustainability, the ways it is used in building local identities as well as the influence on national and supranational politics.

Keywords: traditionality, local identity, tourism, environmental sustainability.

A new interest has emerged in Estonia towards handicraft and traditional technology, partially facilitated by the spread of the environmentally sustainable worldview as well as the upswing in tourism and the search for local identity. Traditional handicraft is being offered at fairs, tourism enterprises, etc. and regional image creators try to find elements from the history of their home place to emphasise local distinctiveness.

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out by authors in the Estonian National Museum in 2003–2004. Within this article, relying on the mentioned projects, we attempt to analyse some reasons why people deal with traditional craftsmanship and why it is meaningful to them.

The project “Estonian Traditional Technologies on the Internet” aimed at creating a section on the website of the Estonian National Museum, introducing the practical side of different technologies – providing descriptions of making tar in the old days, boiling soap, wattling fences, making wickerwork baskets, etc. As source materials, we utilised the archive library of the Estonian National Museum and the data collected during our own fieldwork. When selecting the topics for the website, we proceeded from the principle that even a beginner would be able to cope with the introduced technology, it would not require specific work tools and would also have a practical purpose today. The informants regarding fieldwork were chosen on the basis of the selected subject matters, i.e. we did not interview people dealing with any type of handicraft but only those who used technologies or materials relevant for the website. The project was financed by the Cultural Endowment of Estonia and the Estonian Fund for Nature.

The initiative for the project “Traditional Culture of the Karula National Park. Heritage and the Present Day” came from the Karula National Park. Their aim was to obtain an overview with regard to the Karula parish-related items preserved in the Estonian National Museum and to find ways of using them to protect and promote the cultural heritage in the National Park. An overview of the objects, photographs, drawings and fieldwork materials of the Karula parish, within the collections of the Estonian National Museum, was completed as a result of the project. In addition, ethnographic fieldwork was carried out in the summer of 2004, focusing on the protection of cultural heritage carried out by the National Park and the lifestyle of its inhabitants today. The project was financed by the state programmes “Language and Culture of South Estonia” and “Estonian Language and National Memory”.

These mentioned projects were not aiming at providing answers to the questions raised in this article. While implementing the projects, we were primarily focused on instructional know-how. However, relying on completed fieldwork, it is possible to point out certain conspicuous, distinctive characteristics. In the following, we proceed from the empirical material of the fieldwork and do not apply generalisations encompassing all of Estonia.

Tradition

When commencing our work, we found a large number of practitioners, however, the concept of traditional folk culture was relatively problematic from the very beginning as it has been used variously in different research traditions and eras. Traditionality of technologies was also problematic as this often meant the revival of a technology which had already been forgotten. Frequently the particular technology had been renovated or adapted in order to meet the requirements of modern times.

When defining tradition, Lauri Honko, a Finnish folklorist, has differentiated three important aspects of this general concept:

1) Tradition as something handed down in a continuous process of transmission.

2) Tradition as the something out of which cultures (folk cultures, oral cultures) are made and which is deposited in archives as traditional culture.

3) Tradition as a certain qualitative marker, representing a social group (probably based on selection made by some member of the group or by some other agent) (Honko 1988: 9).

According to the first of these definitions, tradition is naturally, almost imperceptibly, existent in society. It is not noticed and people are not conscious of it nor render value to it because tradition is an organic part of everything that is taking place and going on. Elements of traditions fulfil their functions in a cultural system (see Honko 1998). From among our interviewees, this model is represented by a farmer, Toomas (b. 1939), from Läänemaa, who weaves baskets. Toomas learnt wickerwork as a child, from his relative. He still weaves willow-twigg baskets pursuant to the needs of his household, making two or three potato and apple baskets a year. Although he generally does not make baskets for sale, he has occasionally gifted some baskets to his relatives or people from his home village. For him, the skill of making wickerwork baskets does not mean conscious maintenance of cultural heritage or an expression of his worldview, but instead, proceeds from a simple practical need (the interview is in the possession of the authors of the article).

It is not always possible to make a clear decision whether a certain skill has been handed down as a constant process of transmission. For instance, the hobby and subsidiary income for Urve (b. 1948), a Tallinn inhabitant, is to make and sell handicraft soaps made of lard and caustic soda. She has mainly elaborated her own recipes on the basis of books, though, she also remembers how her mother boiled soap at home in the 1950s (EA 249: 195). At the same time, she does not remember exactly as to

what recipe her mother had used and thus, the majority of her knowledge originates from literature and personal experiments. Ragner (1970), living in Põlvamaa, deals with the construction of log houses and is a member of a NGO which, among other matters, aims at studying and promoting old techniques in building log houses.

Once we had been dealing with the construction of log buildings for a couple of years, we went to South Estonia to look for old master builders of log houses. Such a need occurred because we had no person to learn from. We made a tour in South Estonia, searched for craftsmen, took photos and examined old houses. It was indeed somewhat useful – for example – we are currently using the corner linking learnt from these old masters (EA 249: 116).

He also finds that traditional knowledge deserves to be implemented due to its functionality.

In the old days, nobody would even think of felling trees for construction in summer. This is rubbish what they say in today's industry that there's no difference, whether the trees have been cut in summer, spring or winter time, that the timber would still be good. They should be taken to such a house that has been made of logs cut in summer and to another one made of trees felled in winter. There's a very big difference. The thing is that summer log gathers all kinds of damage and rots a lot more easily. There are some tests made about this matter, too. But the main thing is visual – the logs cut in summer, spring and autumn have very many fissures in them (EA 249: 116).

Nevertheless, a number of our informants cannot be determined as the bearers of tradition in this meaning as the knowledge and skills have not been persistently passed on from generation to generation – there has been an interruption. In Tõrvaaugu village, Järvamaa, tar is being made in the old-fashioned manner. In order to build the tar kiln and learn the technology of tar-making, information was collected, in addition to other sources, from the Estonian National Museum and archives, similarly, articles published in the Finnish press have also been of help. Both the construction of the kiln and the burning technology have by now been tested by way of trial and error. For the last four years, the members of the Lihula Lions Club have organised an event, *Lihula miil* (Lihula charcoal burning), on the Lihula stronghold hill, the main attraction of which is a week-long charcoal-burning. The idea itself, and the majority of instructional know-how, originates from the fellow organisation in Finland –

the members of the Finnish Club also assisted in the organising the first charcoal burning. By today, the organisers of the Lihula *miil* have furthered the technology of charcoal burning by relying on their own experience.

Such use of foregone information may be treated as the second life of the tradition, which, in Honko's words, means a new circulation of the matter that has been torn off from the initial heritage process and kept in archives. New circulation often takes place in an altered cultural context; also, the mechanism of circulation is different from the initial culture. It almost never means the amalgamation of the matter into the original process of tradition, although it may still continue in a certain format. Instead, new impact spheres are being opened; usually, wider groups of people become familiarised with the tradition. Although the situation of passing on the tradition matter may strive to become close to the original culture, make it understandable, the conditions are different from that of the traditional communication from where the material initially originates (Honko 1998). This observation associates with the newer academic treatment of tradition, where tradition is seen as a cultural construct, which has been invented at a certain moment of time due to certain circumstances. This thesis, regarding the invention of traditions, was circulated by Eric Hobsbawm in the 1980s (Hobsbawm 1992: 1). Honko has recognised that there is no sense in drawing borders between the first and the second life of a tradition and that it is more sensible to evaluate and study the tradition's second life events pursuant to their undoubted cultural value (see Honko 1998).

Making a living

Some of the implementers of traditional technologies tried to make a living with their activities. One of our interviewees, Ragner, is a party in an enterprise which builds and sells log houses. Merike (b. 1962) and Mati (b. 1947) run a family company in Tartu trading in agricultural products. Likewise, Jüri (b. 1965) and Triinu (b. 1978) have a company in South Estonia engaged in making and selling of clay plaster. Similarly, the sale of home-boiled soaps is a substantial additional income for Urve.

According to our informants, their clientele mainly comprises town people and foreigners. The log house builder, in the Põlva County, mainly exports to Norway (EA 249: 115). In the words of Mart (b. 1966), residing in Läänemaa, the relatively expensive thatched roofs are usually ordered for installation on the houses that have been taken into use as summer cottages during the last years or decades. Estonian roof-makers often go to

study abroad as thatched roofs are not being made in Estonia on an ongoing basis so that the apprentices would constantly have enough work to learn from. There is another reason to learn the North-European styles – to find a job in other countries, as the number of thatched roofs made in Estonia is not sufficient to provide the doers with ample work and, when working in other countries, it is necessary to follow the local traditions. Similarly, reed is being sold abroad (EA 249: 192–193). Also, Merike and Mati, who trade in farm products, have a lot of foreign customers, the reason being that foreigners have greater knowledge and interest regarding healthy nutrition.

And yet it also depends on the fact that healthy nutrition and such a culture is a lot more advanced in these countries. And respect towards oneself is very important. We don't respect ourselves. [—] They are definitely a generation ahead of us. And a generation is considered thirty-fourty years (EA 249: 176).

According to tar burners in Järvamaa, their activities are, as a rule, attractive for town people, because

rural people are busier in their homes. But for town people, it is all something unknown (EA 249: 185).

Merike and Mati, with the prices of their sales articles being lower than the average price level, mentioned that, nevertheless, the majority of their customers are middle-class people and populace who cannot be careless with money.

There are also some really rich ones who are aware of healthy nutrition. But the majority is the middle-class and rather the poor ones, pensioners, who love such products of their young days (EA 249: 168).

The only undertakings, which primarily saw the local inhabitants as the target group of their activities, were workshops (e.g. on traditional building works), seminars and also village parties regularly organised by the Karula National Park. During the summertime village parties, arranged by the National Park, people perform old dances and local food is offered at events.

Tourism and entertainment

Frequently, traditionality has been harnessed to service tourism or entertainment. In the case of charcoal burners, the initial impetus for the undertaking was the wish of the local Lions Club to find an attractive event that would enliven the joint activities of the organisation, and, on the other hand, would be suitable to participate in the summertime festival aimed at the promotion of the homely neighbourhood.

The point was that the Lihula Lions Club is five years old. And when we started five years ago, then the first year we spent on thinking of a kind of star event for our Club, that would be like a... That could be used as a basis for raising funds and [—] carrying out support projects (EA 249: 123–124).

Likewise, the Järvamaa tar burning kiln has been set up for entertaining purposes. The fire is lit in the tar kiln on Midsummer's Day, during local neighbourhood days and forest workers' days or at occasions when a more substantial tourist group is about to arrive.

Many of the doers saw traditionality as a possibility to lure tourists and, together with them, money to their home area. In the case of traditional technologies, that have been turned into a tourist attraction, gaining economic profit is not of prime importance. Instead, consideration is given to the historic authenticity and the spectacle of the activity and the traditionality is being used to create the preterite environment. For instance, before the construction of the tar kiln, work was carried out in archives and the kiln was actually built on the spot of the former tar-burning kiln of the local manor. And indeed, the way of making the tar is correctly traditional.

We are not doing this for the tar, we are doing it for the show (EA 249: 184).

Lihula charcoal burning is a theatrical event, in the course of which people wear special linen clothing, inspired by the “old times”. Changing clothes for charcoal burning is, on one hand, functional, as by doing so, everyday clothes would not be damaged. On the other hand, it is a ritual activity in the course of which charcoal burning is clearly being distanced from everyday practices and is defined as something from the past.

Production outcome may be used for the manufacturing of souvenirs. Self-made tar is used for making the so-called “scented trees” for saunas or cars.

It was only yesterday when we made a souvenir from our tar – tar cloths. It

is little piece of cloth with a drop of tar on it, packed in a plastic bag – it is possible to hang it up for exuding odours, for example, in a car or anywhere else. Instead of a Chinese lemon smell, we have Estonian tar. Another variant, that I have tested myself, is that you put the tar in the sauna water thrown on the heated stones and it gives a good smell. In the beginning, I just tried to drop tar in the sauna water, but it sank in the bottom and spoilt the containers. But this tar cloth, it has a string attached to it and has just a proper amount of tar on it to provide some smell. So, we have distributed these things here (EA 249: 183).

On the other hand, economic rationality is indeed involved in souvenir production. Tar burners take into consideration that the charcoal, created as a side-product within the burning process, would be suitable to be utilised as grill charcoal and they also reckon that too much tar would not be used on the manufacturing of one souvenir.

We used to bring clay mugs from Siimusti, but this was too expensive as it took too much tar to fill them. Then we looked for an opportunity how to get the same smell with a smaller amount of tar (EA 249: 183).

Likewise, the Lihula charity organisation has supported the hobby activities of local children with the finance obtained by way of selling the charcoal produced during charcoal burning.

In addition, it is an entertaining leisure time activity for one's own pleasure. Charcoal burning in the Lihula Lions' Club is an all-the-year-round club event for all the Club members, both men and women. In winter, it is necessary to prepare the wood to be burnt – to fell, dry and store; and the drying and the sales of the charcoal has to be organised after the burning process.

A certain bunch comes together, ten or twelve people and sometimes also women and children and... In the first year, on a winter day, they drove horses and... [—] So, one has to say that this event joins and keeps the club together. And if trying to replace it with something else, it would be difficult to find anything of similar value (EA 249: 125; 149).

Environmental sustainability

In the course of the fieldwork, we noticed that, for people, the concept of traditionality was closely associated with such keywords as closeness to nature, clean environment and a sustainable economy. The nature-friendly or ecological values do not make up a single and clear-cut ideology, “ecological” rather means different flows of thinking and social move-

ments, which are connected by a concern for the global environmental crisis. Among our interviewees, there were one or two conscious supporters of such a worldview, whereas quite a lot of people shared values such as environmental sustainability and healthiness and tried to associate them with their field of activity.

Although the idea of environmentally sustainable production does not tacitly presuppose relying on local traditional handicraft, but also accepts contemporary ecologically sustainable materials, technological solutions and design, the concept of nature-friendliness associates, for many people, with a nostalgic idea of lost harmonic life in unison with nature. The prerequisite of using local renewable materials and the precondition that the product (e.g. a building) should fit in local climatic conditions, supports a thought that the model for an ecologically sound lifestyle could be found in the past of one's own country.

An understanding that it is characteristic of local culture, to be intertwined with the local environment, has been conspicuously treated in the Norwegian ecological tradition. This way of thinking presumes that in order to protect the natural environment, it is also necessary to protect local cultural tradition, which values and supports the mentioned environment. When describing a local cultural worldview, an apt concept, *bioregionalism*, has been used that indeed emphasises the connection between the local culture and local natural environment (Maran 2002: 89). Hence the interest, shown by the supporters of an ecological worldview, towards local handicraft, buildings, food or landscapes.

Yet, we cannot say that our informants followed this trend very persistently. For some of them, the locality of the tradition was of greater relevance, for some, of a smaller focus. For the latter, it is not of prime importance that the used technology would namely originate from their domestic heritage. Several people admitted that they had an interest in the Estonian traditions, but due to relative lack of information with regard to Estonia, it is easier to procure knowledge by way of the Internet, foreign books or magazines and personal contacts. Once the material and the technology are suitable, the foreign origin of the know-how is of minor importance.

The concept of environmental awareness, most of all, associated for the interviewees with such keywords as healthiness, nature protection and beauty of natural materials. These standpoints were best articulated by Merike and Mati from Tartu, who market and advertise farm products. They sell cereal products of different farms in the Tartu marketplace – flour, groats, grits, and also linseed oil, propolis, etc. In addition, they

participate in fairs and farm days all over Estonia. According to their words, their driving force has been the sense of mission – on one hand, they help Estonian farmers in selling their produce and on the other hand, make domestic goods available for purchasers.

Well, ten years ago, we hurried for western, beautiful packages and advertisements. Now, many people have ruined their health. And all this food with preservatives, colourful, over-abundantly polluted with synthetic colour and flavour additives, artificial food – this has had such a bad impact on people's health so that many people are allergic and cannot... Then they have all kinds of health problems. When we have offered Estonian stuff, they are surprised there is no allergy and they feel good and are getting better if they use oils and... So there is the idea of healthy life here, too (EA 249: 167–168).

Healthiness was also highlighted by Andres (b. 1972) and Maria (b. 1973) who summer in Karula:

Maria: We don't want a farm-like lifestyle. We wouldn't be keeping a farm even if we lived here all the time. And yet, I have been thinking that something could be done with these hayfield plots, to grow something there.

Andres: When parents pass away, maybe then we would grow, because of eco-reasons, organic produce. At the present, when buying goods in the shop, it's almost impossible to trace back how it has been grown, whether it's clean.

Question: To buy from organic farmers?

Andres: Yes, indeed. Food is of prime importance from the standpoint of maintaining one's health, avoiding allergy. (Field notes.)

Triinu and Jüri in Orava rural municipality renovate an old inn to be their home, according to the principles of ecological building – e.g. as a finishing material on interior walls, they have used clay plaster and casein colours. They manufacture clay plaster for sale, and, with their product samples (clay plaster and reed mats for insulation), have attended different fairs. Regarding the values of ecological construction, they also first of all mentioned healthiness and also cheapness and availability of the material (field notes). Ragner who builds log houses, pointed out one more virtue of natural materials – they are beautiful.

About chip roofs, I just wanted to say that a wood shake roof simply goes well with a log house. The most awful log houses are those with some

modern type of roof material (EA 249: 119).

Tiiu (b. 1936) from Läänemaa said the same about mats made of reed. In winter, she uses reed mats for covering hotbeds and for protecting the stems of fruit-trees, and to her mind, in a snowy garden, a reed mat does not seem to be such an inappropriate substance as some modern artificial covering materials (EA 249: 193). Urve did not say that she regards hand-made soaps to be healthy, however, she mentioned that at fairs, many purchasers have considered handicraft soap as being more healthy, skin-friendly and keeping away allergies and dermatology disorders (EA 249: 195–196).

Local identities

Relatively often, emphasising traditionality aimed at intentional or unconscious maintaining and demonstration of local cultural heritage. By way of such activities, people defined their cultural identity,¹ primarily their connection with a particular place, its resources and certain way of thinking.

Swedish ethnologists Jonas Frykman and Nils Gilje underline that local identity is created in connection with the place and the activity, using both local traditions and social life as well as the material potential of the landscape (Frykman & Gilje: 10–17; Frykman 2003: 176). Subjectivity and materiality are not mutually exclusive, but rather presuppose each other. On the one hand, history is used for constructing something personally important out of the past. On the other hand, identity is worked out in relation to an existing environment, to objects and to places. Local nature and material culture: forest, sea, houses, activities and all kind of “things that we have here” are also being encompassed within the local cultural identity. For example, the centre of Karula National Park in Ähijärve is a certain place where it is possible to act in a traditional or an environ-

¹ In social sciences, identity is seen as a certain collection of values and treatments, which helps people to differentiate themselves from others. It is a so-called social landmark in order to determine oneself with regard to others (Runnel 2002: 24). According to Swedish ethnologists Jonas Frykman and Nils Gilje identity is what people are building in some kind of bricolage as an individual response to the demands of the complex society. People in complex societies are actors that must find paths to walk. They are forced into a spectrum of individual solutions – both in space (different places) and in time (changing with phases in the life-cycle) (Frykman & Gilje 2003: 9).

mentally sustainable manner, where the “identity” can happen. Similarly, the charcoal and tar burners underlined the relevance of the place in selecting their activity – both its physical characteristics as well as related history.

We have such a very ancient Lihula stronghold on the Lihula [?] hill. (Archaeologist) Mati Mandel has been a great enthusiast of this and he argues that this is Estonian Pompeii and that such charcoal burning would very well fit in this historical environment and, on the other hand, would bring the old activity, and how it was done, back to people (EA 249: 124).

A tar kiln was erected in Kabala forest district, for the 160th anniversary of the village; tar-burning was made into a festive event, participated in by local people and foreigners and the burnt tar was sold at an auction.

Question: How did someone come up with this idea just to make tar for the anniversary?

Answer: But we are Tõrvaaugu (Engl. Tar Hole) – what could have been better? (EA 249: 184).

Traditional activities had as a rule, been undertaken in the form of citizens' initiative. Only in the case of the Karula National Park, the process functioned in a contrary direction. In Nordic ethnology, the perspective “from below” has been explained by the fact that in times of unrest a longing for something ‘authentic and genuine’ is always created – something that can give a foothold in a world of floating signs and symbols (Frykman & Gilje 2003: 15–16). Nostalgia plays an important role in the construction of common goals and a sense of belonging to something larger than oneself (Hofman 2001, online). Our informants, too, underlined the need to retain their originality.

Merike: There are very many interesting things in Estonia, which are just like... the so-called singing-dancing culture is also one, let's say, the making of things, handicraft... [—] Work culture, products. This is actually something that is in the verge of extinction after some time once the super European Union will be here and those requirements and directives... (EA 249: 170).

In everyday practice traditionality is used as a kind of social identity strategy that helps to maintain individual allegiances to cultural heritage (Hofman 2001, online). These pursuits are regarded as leisure social activities and are not for the sake of living a “traditional” life. Rather they

are an expression of interest in Estonian cultural history. Partaking in activities hosted by the cultural society could be seen as a way of getting in touch with one's cultural roots.

Influence of national and supranational politics

Focusing on handicraft and the production utilising traditional elements would naturally not be adequate for describing the dynamic and contingent character of identity negotiation, which comprises extremely different strategies and also depends on very different contexts. The formation of local cultural identity is associated with the manipulation of sentiments and nostalgia, historical memories and other highly symbolic expressions of collective identity as well as with national and supranational politics (see also Siivonen 2002). As the objectives of our projects were applicable rather than scientific, we did not focus on opportunities for human communication and possibilities of interaction with the physical surroundings, also technological resources. Neither did we study consumers during the carried out projects. Likewise, different institutions, in connection with power, economy, religion and ideologies, should also be objects to study in this question. Several undertakings, examined in the course of our fieldwork, had come to life by way of citizens' initiative, however, often with support provided by local governments, using national as well as EU funds and cultural heritage programmes. On the basis of these programmes, cultural distinctiveness is accordingly stressed more than before, fitting the development plans of the particular programme. On one hand, this brings along the decentralisation of the planning and decision making from the central to the local level, but also recognises the acknowledgement of local distinctiveness as merit (Siivonen 2002: 64). In the future, the role of different funds will probably increase and their profile and requirements influence the activities undertaken by way of local initiative. Similar thoughts were also expressed by our informants.

In the present day discussion, cultural heritage usually represents a collection of stories and objects, but misses out how it is constantly reshaped and reorganised in new and meaningful forms. The tools for this cultural construction of rooted cultural identities are mostly found in the archives and museums found by ethnologists in the 19th and 20th centuries. Through a cultural heritage drawn from the most static of popular cultures – the peasantry – a virtual dream world is constructed, being a world that meets the demands of the present (Frykman 2003: 170–176). The administration of the Karula National Park tries to stand for not having the so-called unsuitable elements in the local landscape, e.g., preference is

given to log houses covered with wood shake roofs with a certain incline, as they were built at the beginning of the 20th century. With the example of the Karula National Park, we also saw that the phenomena, which are important for different funds and organisations, do not always have relevance for local population. For instance, the inhabitants of the National Park are in general not interested in training sessions, instead, the producers and employees of other national parks take part in them. Despite the fact that the local population does participate in, e.g., maintaining and restoring old architecture, and values the retaining of the elements of former peasant culture in the landscape, people are critical about making the region into a museum and are of the opinion that even within a protected cultural heritage area, there should be a possibility to live a life considering the demands and possibilities of today. Local inhabitants are less concerned with enacting culture through obligations as with living culture on individual terms.

To sum up, we can state that despite seeing, during our fieldwork, the handing down of tradition from generation to generation, we actually more often came across the re-conceptualisation of the tradition. Instead of underlining a concrete cultural artefact, more emphasis was given to the event or the story, associated with the artefact. The share of personal interpretation was large and often old cultural phenomena had been given a new content, remarkably different from the earlier one. Traditionality was evaluated from the aspect of environmental awareness, enforcing local identities and of economic usage value, obtained by tourism.

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