Editorial

Culture, environment, nature

The articles of the current volume of *Pro Ethnologia* could be classified as belonging to the domain of cultural ecology, especially, if the open nature of the concept is acknowledged. The texts illustrate the fuzzy quality and interdisciplinary nature of the debate in the broad tradition of ecological anthropology. This situation is represented in this volume by the fact that the articles are written by ethnologists, folklorists, and human geographers who share the same concern for human beings' relation to the environment although the interpretations are different.

We want to return once again to the culture-environment relationship, central in the articles, and to the interactionism of these concepts in the analyses. Environment which is always with us, relative, incomplete and dynamic as we are in the centre and we live it through (Ingold 2000: 20). Therefore, culture and environment are bound together. Human beings, being a part of nature and creating culture, define their relationship with the outer world in different ways and from various perspectives. The relationship between culture and nature is dealt with in the articles by using various aspects like landscape, identity, cultural perceptions of the environment and culturally constructed environments.

A great deal of discussion in ethnology departs implicitly, or explicitly, from the idea that nature and culture are separate entities. These notions are today more disputable than ever. Actually, such opposite categories are often complimentary and integrated for the people we study in the field. The recognition of this fact by the ethnologists has contributed to the deconstruction of this dichotomy. The articles in the volume show that nature and culture are sometimes perceived as continuous (Rakowski, Ruotsala) and sometimes as discontinuous (Rattus and Jääts). Helena Ruotsala's article is a good example: she goes on with the current lively nature/environment-culture/humanity debate, which has been a central topic in anthropology for the last few decades.

The authors, however, have chosen culture as a starting point, showing the way in which various human cultures structure or make use of their surroundings or how environment/space only becomes an abstraction in people's minds. The latter detaches the environment from the daily needs of the people, which was the initial approach in cultural ecology as a part of traditional anthropology.

Although the relationship of human beings and nature tended to be reduced to people's adaptation to the environment, then especially studying the people disconnected from their initial living environment shows how the relationship is multidimensional. On the one hand, environment is an imagined, abstract space, which is constituted textually, existing only in the form of various concepts, for example, the concept of 'homeland' for the diaspora population, for whom the contact with the physical space is not available (Jürgenson). This kind of environment existing only in the imagination of people is, in a way, an adapted, domesticated nature. The same multidimensionality is also visible when studying human-nature relationships through tourism, which is a way of constructing wilderness (Ruotsala) so as to make it part of private activities or individual imagination.

On the other hand, the meanings connected to the environments, living-spaces of particular groups, are not only created by the local community and their structured activities. Environments are inherently public, in the sense that besides the local community, various powers, starting from the state authorities and visitors up to the other-worldly powers' structure and create meanings though which a particular space is perceived. The publicness is also stressed in approaching environments as spaces of exchange (between community and outside agents, but also between human beings and the cosmological system through which particular spaces are organised).

When studying the symbolic, ideological and cognitive aspects of environmental practices, it is possible to show how the cultural perceptions of the environment are born both on the level of practices and ideology, and how they, in turn, influence behaviour, decisions and self-identification.

Tomasz Rakowski writes in his essay about a small reindeer herding group called Tsaatans, who live in the taiga area of Northern Mongolia. This group, which consists of over 30 families, is suffering from the deterioration of the economic environment (loss of reindeer), but at the same time is going through a spiritual revival. Tsaatans are told to follow shamanic rules and traditional cosmologies as they did "before". Rakowski describes the Tsaatans' natural and spiritual environment, which is full of magic links. According to him, environment is in a close relationship with the Tsaatans' view of change and continuity in time. Shamanic practices, which are central in the Tsaatans' dealings with the spirits, function on the basis of the idea of bargaining. The idea of exchange, similar to the Maussian concept of gift, is also at the core of the hunting activities

although it is not always fairly intentioned but meant to be a cheating relationship. Rakowski reveals convincingly the idea that communication and exchange play a significant role in nomadic and hunting cultures. Rakowski concludes with the somewhat unexpected idea that misunderstanding in the ethnographic fieldwork is an essential part of the communication with the members when eliciting meanings.

Helena Ruotsala takes up the question of the Sámi and other reindeer herders' (in Finland and the Kola Peninsula in Russia) relationship with their environment under more and increasingly tight pressure from the outside. Ruotsala proposes the study of the relation of landscape as a cultural construct and a reality. She approaches the issue through naming, specifically through geographical names, as a part of mental management of environment. This is a question of control for reindeer herders both with and within Nature and in the opposition to other interest groups as tourists or environmental agencies. The image of *tunturi,* as a recreation space for outsiders, is very different from the ideas of the local people. Tourists imagine the reindeer herding area as a wild, uninhabited territory and also as a space of the past. As a recreation area it belongs to one's private sphere (as the studies reveal, people feel interrupted, when meeting somebody else in the area). Therefore "wilderness" is a primarily cultural concept, belonging to the world of visitors. For local inhabitants the same areas are pastures, inhabited, spiritual and lived spaces. This multilayered space dictates its own way as to how to behave in it. Traditional tacit knowledge is an essential part of managing this landscape: it differs in many ways from a scientific way of dealing with it.

Hannes Palang and **Kadri Semm** outline in their article a particular approach to the southeastern area of Estonia, Setumaa, based on the concept of lived-in cultural landscapes – a common starting point for research done by cultural and human geographers. The authors focus on identifying "typical" life-ways of the Setus and the meaning of their surroundings, by applying the method of indexed relationships, which enable the understanding of culture, as a series of symbols and signs containing meaning, by dividing it into different time layers. The Setu area, rich in cultural traditions, undergoing constant modernisation throughout the 20th century, has become the subject of tourism especially during the last decade. The visitors to the area expect to see and experience things, "characteristic" of the Setus. The authors also discuss the role of different actors in the landscape through the example of tourism, claiming that the representation of the landscape might create circular reference between representation and "real" life. The visitors expect to see the image, familiar

to them from the tourist brochures. To avoid their disappointment the real landscape is re-arranged to match the representation.

Alexander Chuvyrov focuses in his article on the animistic and totemistic conceptions of tree worship among the Komi-Zyrians. He classifies the texts about trees into four categories taken from the texts that he and other ethnologists have collected in recent years: growing trees either in holy groves or alone, trees in buildings, trees in curative rituals, and trees in funeral and wake rituals. Tree worship reflects interestingly enough the fact that Old Believer, Orthodox as well as 'pagan' traditions rely on the same symbols. Trees have their own life history similar to animals and human beings. As a rule, people form relatedness with trees, as they are perceived to be powerful. Trees embody both benevolent and malevolent powers. Chuvyurov's text clearly illustrates that the distinction between culture and nature doesn't exist as such everywhere, as western academic writing has long taken for granted.

Valeria Kolosova deals with the semiotics of plants. She offers us an insight into the Slavonic oral tradition of the specific plants, called *ivan-da-marja*. Those flowers represent in etiological legends, for example, forbidden love, incest, healing. The two colours of the plants' organs are probably the reason for creating the oppositions of brother and sister or day and night. These plants were used for magical purposes in several contexts. Kolosova exemplifies, in her detailed analysis, that nature is an infinite resource for people who use it in the daily creation of texts.

Perception of the surroundings is, at the same time, a construction of surroundings and vice versa. A good example to illustrate this is the concept of homeland with its variations in different cultures. In Eastern Europe we can find very intriguing ideas on home (homeland, fatherland and motherland), a spatio-temporal category with a huge emotional loading. **Aivar Jürgenson**, departing in his article from the Estonian diaspora in the East, studies the concepts of home, homeland and fatherland (Estonian: *isamaa*), looking upon it as textual representations, a kind of abstract space for the early Estonian settlers in Siberian villages and in the written sources published in Estonia during the national awakening period in the last decades of the 19th century, beginning of the 20th century. Home and homeland are seen as central concepts of the territorial identification spaces and especially the concept of homeland has been in constant change. According to Jürgenson, particularly at the turn of the century, nature was a strong part of those concepts among Estonians, which is, in itself, not unique, as it is represented internationally in fiction and other writings at that time.

Kristel Rattus and **Liisi Jääts** have raised a question about the relationship of newly emerged traditional handicraft practices and the environmentally sustainable worldview in contemporary Estonia. In their article, giving an overview of them project, they regard them in conjunction with the creation of local identities and tourist activities in Estonia. The article is based on the fieldwork carried out in the Karula National Park in 2004 and on the materials of the archive library of the Estonian National Museum. The concept of tradition is analysed from three different aspects relying on Lauri Honko's ideas of tradition as a continuous process as something deposited in archives and as a social group's qualitative marker.

We wish to express our gratitude to Andreas Kalkun for his advices to specify the names of the Setu holidays.

References

Ingold, Tim 2000. *The Perception of the Environment. Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*. London and New York: Routledge.

Pille Runnel, Laur Vallikivi

The Gift, the Taiga, the Shaman's Ritual. A Tribute to the Ethnography of the Tsaatans

Tomasz Rakowski

The Tsaatans (the Dukha) are a group of Tyvan reindeer breeders who stayed behind with their herds after the closing down of a collective, kolkhoz-like enterprise in Northern Mongolia. For decades, they functioned within the framework of a people's state and the economy of the kolkhoz. In the 1990s, when all the state companies folded up, this group of Turkish-language reindeer farmers become an attraction 'on-duty' in the emerging democratic Mongolia as well as almost the main target for various charities and NGOs. In this paper, the Tsaatans' experience of social and spiritual reality is the very subject of the authors' consideration. Such categories as gift, social exchange, ecology and local knowledge are used in order to describe the circulation of meanings within their world. The description of the culture, as it turns out, derives to large extent from pastoral knowledge and shamanist praxis/knowledge.

The Tsaatans, (the Dukha), are a group of Tyvan reindeer-breeders who stayed behind with their herds after the closing down of 'negdel', a cooperative farm in the district, (*somon*), Caagan Nuur in Northern Mongolia.[1] These people first came to Mongolia in the 1940s, when they fled the conscription into the Red Army and famine, moving from Russian Tyva, their homeland, across one of the ranges of the Sayan Mountains. For decades, they functioned within the framework of 'the people's state and kolkhoz' economy. In the 1990s, when all the state companies folded, their life style again became more traditional. At the same time, they became an easy 'victim' of state and international ethno-tourist agencies as well as a target for all sorts of charitable organisations. When the barriers of the socialist state had been removed, this group of Turkish-language

[1] The article is based on the fieldwork I did among the Tsaatans in the years 1996 and 2003. That was a part of a wider project conducted by researchers from the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at Warsaw University.

reindeer farmers become an attraction 'on-duty' in the emerging democratic Mongolia. Internet portals are full of information about trips to the Tsaatans, the help provided for them, their life and the Taiga where they live. One especially fascinating topic is their magical rituals and shamanism. They experienced quite a renaissance of their beliefs after the political transformation (Mróz & Wasilewski 2003). Not long ago, any such practices, or just possessing any objects connected with them, risked repression.

The Tsaatans are a group made up of over thirty families (the *urcs*, i.e. tents in which a family lives). They live in the mountains of the Red Taiga. Herds of the reindeer, that they look after, are animals acquired by them for a token price during the privatisation in 1995 (at the moment, there are less than 600 of the animals left). Other occupations of the Tsaatans are hunting, tanning, gathering. During the *negdel* times, they also worked as fishermen and dealt with fish processing (Mongolians did not use to eat fish – the state *rybkombinat*, a fish plant was one of the typical absurdities of the socialist economy).

The breeders' world has been subjected to a serious change for the last few years. For the last dozen or so years, the reindeer, raised by the Tsaatans, have been suffering a progressing deterioration – the animals are plagued by infectious disease and their number has been declining year after year. This is, to a large degree, the result of neglect and poor farming standards, but also of the result of poor access to veterinary care and lack of subsidies, which has taken place after the collapse of the *negdel*. The change is, at the same time, an external process – local institutions are changing, land and property law and new initiatives of privatization still occur. However, a particular pattern of living is present there as well as a particular relationship with the Taiga, animals, spirits of place and spirits of ancestors. The world, in its local mode, seems to still rest on the rules of the shamans' beliefs and cosmologies.

On the one hand, those breeders are still a little bit frightened about their beliefs, they still remember the oppressions and besides they are ashamed of what they believe and practice. (The shamanic beliefs were used by the former authorities as an argument to highlight the "primitive nature" of the breeders.) On the other hand, the breeders seem to not want to say much about that theme or even they know too little (or they are not capable of saying much). Then the theme of the pastoral, based on the shamans' worldview medical knowledge, and a field I would call ecology, may serve as ground for further interpretations and re-constructions. This is a picture, a transcript of a rapidly changing, one could say declining,

cultural environment. Then, the knowledge I gain must have been built on pieces and fragments of traditional medicine, economic attitudes, beliefs, rituals of everyday life, shepherds' and hunters' codes, customary law and its relation to the official.

Change and continuity: environment

It should be assumed that whoever uses shamanism for profit punishment will then reach him and their *urc* will be worse-off because of it/will get poorer. If someone cuts off the antlers of a reindeer with blood still circulating in the beast, the blood will make joints swell painfully. If somebody picks one of the most powerful healing herbs *wam sumbru* (Sussurea) in sunlight, they will bring about rain- and hailstorms. Crucial is the obviousness and regularity of the consequences. James G. Frazer presented such forms of magic action as a series of action and reaction, as a sort of magic automatism (1967). Putting aside the controversy of these problems, I would just like to say that 'causes' and 'results' are used here out of necessity coming out of the European formula "if A – then B" (Clifford Geertz has assumed that – after Franz von Benda-Beckmann – at the starting point of his essay on fact and law in comparative perspective and on local knowledge (1983) they continue/evolve as kinds of asymmetric necessities). There is in it some local concept of change and continuity, on which I will try to expand.

The image of the change or passage of time is closely connected with the Taiga, the world inhabited by the herdsmen.[2] It is a world filled with the presence of beings for which it is hard to find an expression in the language I use. Spirits, the *ongons*, are, at the same time, a type of the powers of a family and a person, guardian spirits, shamanic idols; but also colourful ribbons sewn into a shaman's costume or just hanging in a consecrated place inside a tent (*urc*). Not showing respect to them, by revealing them before a stranger or directing one's feet to them when in bed, may result in illness. In a similar way, all eczema and rashes can be caused by polluting a river by taking a bath in it, or throwing waste in it or burning rubbish in the tent's hearth. A common denominator would be the polluting of ongon or a consecrated place, because all of the above actions

[2] The Tsaatans living in the Taiga are the reindeer breeders and there are also those who live on the steppe, near the *somon* center, and breed other, typical "Mongolian" animals as cows, yaks, sheep and goats. Both groups breed horses.

are a kind of 'infringement of the power' – how it would be likely called in the language of phenomenology of religion. And the rule, when broken, undoubtedly takes place: the reaction of the Tsaatans happens at the level of an automatic gesture, it can be a movement of the hand that stops me from moving to the left or a sudden, quick covering of the ribbons after we enter the tent; 'a gesture does not require of me to think', wrote Maurice Merleau-Ponty in his behaviour analyses (1999). The rules of everyday behaviour of the Tsaatans do not leave any doubt, which means that when they are applied the riverbed *is* the resting place for ancestors and spirits/souls, it is a river of time, so to speak: the winding streams remind them of snakes or the ribbons of the *ongons*. The streams, the river, I was told, get together and reach a great sea-source and that's why any dirt, any waste can not contaminate the floating water.

Inhabitation of the Tsaatans in the Taiga can be presented as a set of daily repetitive activities – the Tsaatans collect herbs, cut trees, search for pastures which get worn out, then kill their animals and hunt. Their connection with the surroundings is most of all a kind of dynamic and renewable structure. The herbs of the Taiga such as *wam sumbru, gawsraa, czionyn uws* and several others species appear in particular places year by year. The Tsaatans claim that when young people, who do not respect the proper rituals of collecting plants, pick them it can happen that the herbs disappear. However, the cause – as they explain – is purely mechanical: the youngsters forget to leave a part of roots in the soil and in such a way the colony degrades. Definitely, it is not connected with any fatal or non-comprehensible phenomenon. *There are very rainy years and other not so rainy, it changes… sometimes there are not many herbs, sometimes there's a lot, but they do not disappear and their power does not weaken… it's impossible* – a 34 years old Otgonbajar assumes (she is one of the best experts on the healing herbs which grow in the Taiga). The situation of weather changes looks similar. Clouds, storms, winter frost proceed differently in particular years, but, in general, as phenomena they do not cause anxiety or lack of comprehension. The statements concerning weather change depend on a concrete situation or a speaker. In addition, it seems that the Tsaatans do not pay special attention to it.

On the one hand, the changes of the world surrounding them like the Taiga or climate seem not to have the first rank significance, on the other – a rainy summer or too cold a winter can decide the shepherds' success, therefore the phenomena are thoroughly observed and discussed. Water here has the same characteristics: healing springs, rivers and streams flow constantly and never change. The water of the stream, river or spring can

never be polluted by people. *One cannot pollute the water, which doesn't freeze in winter* – a 36 years old shepherd says. Polluting the place by throwing rubbish into the river or leaving it by its shore causes the change of water characteristics, but it is treated as a kind of active rule – the anger of the water deity *lus*, the pollution of the absolute pureness of the flowing water. Rivers – as the Cataans state – gather in Yenisei to flow into the sea and no rubbish should reach there. The streams changing their run in the opposite direction also do not cause anxiety as a phenomenon, especially because Menge Bulag River, in one section, reverses its run depending on the level of waters. A non-comprehensible change, the one that would prove for the arrival of a new, different time, seems to not happen here. It's worth noting at this point that in numerous researches on the groups of the Mongolian nomads they were defined as "the culture of continuity". In pastoral Mongolia, the majority of maintained ritual activities[3] are the ones that aim at keeping the continuity or even constancy – of time, territory, vegetation and family (Szynkiewicz 1981).

Ritual and bargain: ecology

Then, the sense of continuity and change can be seen through the structure of ritual or, to put it in another words, through the way the Tsaatans deal with the ongons, their deities. It is usually connected with such notions as "illness", "lack" and "failure". The ongons, which are worshipped with drops of milk, thuya's smoke (*arc*) and a prayer, help to fight weakness. At the same time, through a shaman's lips, they demand an offering. The Tsaatan shaman decides the form of a gift, but this giving is very often a kind of bribing or even an out-witting. A shaman assigns a reindeer for an offering, he regales the spirit with it and buys successive concessions like access to the knowledge about an ill person. Ongon is also encouraged to settle within the ill child, the offered reindeer (*seter*) becomes its mount – and in future it will participate in rituals and healing fortune-telling. It is a very concrete knowledge. The ability to exchange goods or information makes the shaman's craft. It is impossible to acquire this knowledge. I would insist that we deal here with a specific game. Shaman Bajra Moko

[3] The spatial symbolic representations of Mongolian yurta (Wasilewski 1985) and Caatanian tent (*urc*) (Minkowski 1999) are maintained in an especially intensive way. The rules of construction, the rules of setting directions and the rules of circuitous movement are constant, renewable structures – they are a transcript of a particular cosmology.

explains that he can induce, by entreaty, several months of life for a terminally ill person if he prepares, for the ongon, a tripartite pole plaited with black and red ribbon. The pole will stand for the life of this person and *for the ongon* – as Bajra says – *this person will be already dead*. The motive for out-witting and exchanging goods, especially the motive of exchange, is particularly clear in the synchronic analyses of the shamanic ritual. The Russian shamanologist Yelena Novik showed in her book, on the structure of shamanic rituals, that the dialogue between shaman and deity is a kind of game and bargain (Novik 1984). A shaman exchanges with the spirits three kinds of goods: info-knowledge, the causative power and finally material goods – food, animals, etc. The game, developing on most sophisticated levels, is a constant movement. Novik presents it as a kind of "wrestling", a "fight". A shaman visits the settlements of ongons – spirits, establishes a dialogue with them and asks for information – recipes; he offers and he cheats. Novik refers here to the invariant motives of fairy-tales analyzed by Vladimir Propp, i.e. she finds in the shamanic ritual analogical motives and those are the pairs of activities such as "interview-payment", "request-agreement", "indigence-liquidation". She presents these motives as a kind of dynamic arrangement of particular goods within a series of differences, which originate in "harm", "damage", but also "gift" and "offering". The first movement is causing the difference, unsettling balance, however these are not the best words for it as this movement is constant – Nowik writes about the "zero" movements, which are often opposite to the regular functions of subjects (bad spirits *abaasy* heal, and protective spirits bring indigence, etc.). This is a particular kind of dynamic (a)symmetry. In the Russian shamanologist interpretation, this is a record of incorrect movements in the sphere of language or myth as well as the social sphere. What is an interesting fact is that the analyses of Jacques Derrida (1992), concerning exchange and gift in the sphere of language (this subject needs further attention, of course), aim at the similar direction. Those are the aspects of culture observed through the acts of communication.

To emphasize the social dimension of beliefs and behaviours, I will recall now the events of powerful obviousness, all of them connected with breaking the rules (autonomy) of the ongons, the evil deities/spirits (*lus*/*savdak*) and hosts of a place (*edzene*). The results of such activities are immediate. A rash, according to the breeders, covered our hands just after washing them in the stream. *Savdak* of the meadow causes the reindeers to have their horns grow crooked and twisted. One of our interlocutors, having told us about his grandfather and his uniquely strong ongon, was

instantaneously thrown off by a horse (at first he explained it with the fact that the saddle moved to the front, but then it turned out that the reason for the accident was that he told the strangers what he shouldn't have said and moreover his horse used to sometimes transport the drum and the shaman's suit of his grandfather). The movement of consequences, or its illusion, has been frequently described by the researchers of magic. Those "consequences", in the case of the Tsaatans' culture, refer to the process of collecting the most powerful healing herbs such as *wam sumbru*, *nojen orchotoj* and *altan gagnur* roots. They should be collected just before the dawn, necessarily "without sun" (if an herb plant remains in the sphere of sunshine one should built a small tent over it to pick it and some people even say – which can be an arbitrary development of this ban – that after having consumed *wam sumbru* one shouldn't defecate in sunshine). Picking the herbs is sometimes accompanied by prayers and offerings of milk and tea. Something, for example a piece of cheese, should be left in the place. Others claim that another plant should be planted there. There are consequences of collecting herbs in the sunshine – and this is a common rule for the Tsaatans – such as rapid deterioration of the weather, storms and hailstorms. When a dynamic order is disrupted, as it can be in the case of collecting herbs, which demands a reciprocation in offering or at least a "cheating" that would stand for it, the consequences are inevitable. The pattern of exchange is an element of broader, dynamic structure and only superficially it can remind of the magical automatism stipulated by Frazer (1967). To a certain extent, the notion of ecology (Rakowski 2004) can serve as a proper guide here. Maintaining a strong relation with the common meaning of this word it will first of all stand for inhabitation. Inhabitation means here also domestication and it is a daily reference to the surroundings, as well as its cultivation. Also the concept of perspectivism/animism/totemism, used by Morten Pedersen (2001), may serve as a transcript of the sphere and its social dimension: Pedersen wrote about the ontologies of the North Asian indigenous people revealed by the exchange – of knowledge, power, goods etc. between human and non-human (animals, environmental objects) entities. [4]

[4] The category of animism coined by P. Descola can be used here: Pedersen, in his article, writes about the Tsaatan hunters' interchangeability with a non-human – with a bear while hunting which proves for the animic ontology (Pedersen 2001: 415). It does not mean that Tsaatans' ontology cannot comprise both patterns of social/environmental relations, i.e. animism as well as totemism.

Hunting as an exchange: communication

Hunting, concerning its craft, rules and rituals, makes an outstanding field for this ethnological-ecological observation. All the spheres of life, laws and rules of behaviour, beliefs, the elements of spirituality and human relations are manifested here. It can be seen as a model image of social exchange as understood by Mauss (1954). Hunting turns out to be a kind of exchange. Obviously, it is regarded as a test of skills, but also it shows luck or its lack in reference to a particular person or family. Hunting has also a great economic significance as the meat of wild animals allows the keeping of reindeer and the skin, as well as other artifacts, like a medicament of bile bladder, can be sold with high benefits. Hunting is, moreover, a kind of secret activity in at least two meanings: it is kept as a secret for the Taiga powers and animals, which will be discussed later, and it is kept as a secret from the authorities, the village people and us, strangers. The latter comes from the fact of the administrative prohibition of hunting for several species, which provokes a specific game with the *somon* authorities. Hunting is one of the Tsaatans' illegalities.

Killing an animal of the Taiga is connected with receiving goods such as meat, skin and bile. Usually it is accompanied by an act similar to exchange: a hunter shares the goods with the others. The act of distribution is especially stressed. The most important organs, bile and the best meat are given to the "most remote" person that is the least related one, a stranger, *if you hunt with us, you would receive bile*, or to the oldest one. Such a person, due to his/her distance from others, is a symbolic representative of the world of the dead – the ongons-spirits, the hosts-spirits. What's more, on return the meat is precisely divided among all the tents. It is especially important in the case of hunting for a bear. Bear is an anthropomorphized deity for the Tsaatans' hunters – and, of course, such a phenomenon within cultures of hunters has been broadly discussed. Each Dukha hunter has another name for a bear, among others those are the words like "sage" or "honorable" – the name is always indirect (which is a typical behaviour in reference to the deity whose name shouldn't be uttered). After killing a bear, one cannot damage its head. A Tsaatan touches a head of the killed animal with his hand and then gives it to the oldest person or a stranger. The head is boiled and each person from the village is treated to the soup made of it. No one can refuse to try it. Let me add that while hunting for other animals like elk the rules are a bit "weaker". The most valuable part, that is *uc* (haunch), is given to the oldest and the least related kinsman. The communication with the Taiga, or rather the contact with its deities, develops according to the rules of

passing goods. Goods are distributed towards the alive ones, that is they are given away in the group of *urc*s encamped together and they are distributed towards the dead when they are given to a stranger met by accident, the oldest one or the least related kinsman. A gift demands a counter-gift, an offering for the Taiga. It is often a piece of meat or milk, dedicated to the hosts, before leaving a place of encampment. This contact through exchange reminds us of the shamans' communication with the spirits, described by Yelena Novik. It is a kind of offering, out-witting and "wrestling" with the taiga as the hunter's trophy is never guaranteed and any attempt to gain it can end with a failure. The "out-witting" often appears as an element of hunting. Arkadij Anisimov, in his famous work, describes a pantomime of Tungus hunters who pretend to be ravens (which eat the carcass) so that a bear's soul believes that it was not killed by men, that the bear had already been dead (1971). The Sámi convince a bear that it died by its own fault, because it played with a gun or they simply accuse a gun directly. The Tsaatans, similar to the Sámi, after killing an animal, utter the following formula: *I didn't want to kill you, it was an accident, it is a bad gun's fault and it killed you*. This is an out-witting which does not clear the fault away. This is a game of giving and receiving, of seducing and gaining. This is a kind of shaman's dialogue described by Yelena Novik: during the healing séances a shaman pretends that he has extremely valuable goods and he tries to "out-wit" the spirit of illness. Here also appears the motive of a sacrificial pole homologous to a trident used by the shaman Moko from Caagan Nuur to appease (or rather out-wit) the ongons. *Setting out for hunting one should prepare* – 34-years old Badral explains – *a bough with seven twigs. Pieces of fat and meat should be stuck on their sharpened ends. Such a bough should be set close to the settlements so that birds and little animals from the neighborhood could eat it*. Obviously, in shamanic rituals birds are carriers/images of spirits. A shaman often takes the shape of a bird and birds' figures escort him on his way towards higher worlds. The exchange accompanying hunting is then the exchange with souls and the dead. Therefore, it does not seem strange that the eyes of killed bear are put by the cauldron and called "stars" so that its soul can see that the meat is eaten with respect meaning – shared with everybody. The obligation of sharing meat is strictly obeyed in the case of any big animal as the condition of the goods' exchange, a primary act of distribution. The transfer of goods and intentions occurs also through leaving bones. After killing an animal, a hunter takes its skin and meat – what is left, the bones, go back to the Taiga. Bones are a typical example of a counter-gift for spirits/powers of the Taiga. It is worth adding here that

the bones are, in the shamans' vision of the world, a settlement of one of the three souls which inhabit the animal body as well as the human body (Purev 2003). Bones reflect the "most inner" souls, they are the reincarnating life of beings. This is a very general rule for the hunting cultures (Wasilewski 1985; Eliade 1989). It is not strange then that the Tsaatans, while talking about the past herds of shapely reindeer, which they had, use the word *bony*, they say *bony splendid deer* or *those reindeer had strong bones and also thanks to good fur they were strong*. Bones serve as a carrier of good luck and wealth – it is enough to mention the wishes for children in Mongolia: "may you never be short of marrow" (from the materials of J. S. Wasilewski). In this way, circulation and exchange of goods, among people, spirits of the dead, animals and the Taiga, takes place. There are elements of offering, game and out-witting and everything happens within a certain fundamental structure: gifts – benefits – wealth of the Taiga and man gaining them and giving them (the bones for instance) back.

***

The mask of a native, whom we ask countless questions of, is a complete mask. As has been shown by the contemporary ethnology, it is impossible to see through it or to penetrate it, because our language fails where the other's truth begins. During a research, one can surely expect one thing: misunderstandings. However, misunderstandings prove the primary acts of communication – taking into account the exchange. On the Mongolian-Tyvan border, the exchange seems to be the fundamental act: each meeting in a tent (*urc*) begins and ends with gifts hardly conceived by a researcher. Communication – the exchange, the activity of first-rank importance for the Tsaatans, can be defined in this perspective as the turnover of meanings, the circulation of culture. During our research, the gift and exchange became the main interpretative categories – even if this was the result of our linguistic incompetence or poor condition of the breeders' knowledge. Distribution, exchange, gift and counter-gift have made a space, almost the Mauss' "social fact" which seemed to comprise "everything": words, gestures, emotions, skills, objects, the spirits of the Taiga, spirits of the ancestors.

References

Anisimow, Arkadiusz 1971. *Wierzenia ludów Północy (wybór pism)*. Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza.

Derrida, Jacques 1992. *Given Time: I. Counterfeit Money*. Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press.

Eliade, Mircea 1989. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*. London: Arkana.

Frazer, James George 1967. *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*. London, Toronto: Macmillan.

Geertz, Clifford 1983. Local Knowledge: Fact and Law in Comparative Perspective. – *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*. London: Fontana Press.

Mauss, Marcel 1954. *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*. Essai sur le don. English. Glencoe, III: Free Press.

Merleau-Ponty, Maurice 1999. *Proza świata. Eseje o mowie*. Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Minkowski, Marcin 1999. Ludzie Tajgi. O Caatanach – hodowcach reniferów (computer print). The Archive of Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, University of Warsaw.

Mróz, Lech & Jerzy S. Wasilewski 2003. Regressing to Nature, Revising Tradition, Building Ethnicity. A Case of the Reindeer-breeders of the Mongolian Taiga. – *Between Tradition and Postmodernity. Polish Ethnography at the Turn of the Millenium*. Ed. by Lech Mróz and Zofia Sokolewicz. Warszawa: Studia Ethnologica DiG.

Novik 1984 = Новик Елена Сергеевна. *Обряд и фольклор в сибирском шаманизме: Опыт сопоставления структур*. Москва: Наука.

Pedersen, Morten A. 2001. Totemism, Animism and North Asian Indigenous Ontologies. – *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*. Vol. 7: 411–427.

Purev, Otgony 2003. *The Religion of Mongolian Shamanism*. Ulaanbaatar: Admon.

Rakowski, Tomasz 2004. Anthropology of Poverty. Setting Culture in the Body. – *Ethnic Culture: Traditions and Innovations*. Kaunas: Vytautas Magnus University.

Szynkiewicz, Sławoj 1981. *Rodzina pasterska w Mongolii*. Warszawa: Ossolineum.

Wasilewski, Jerzy Sławomir 1985. *Podróże do piekieł. Rzecz o szamańskich misteriach*. Warszawa: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza.

In the Reindeer Forest and on the Tundra. Modern Reindeer Management and the Meaning of Local Ecological Knowledge

Helena Ruotsala

Keywords: Reindeer herding/reindeer management, traditional environmental knowledge, Sámi, Kola Peninsula, environment, landscape

Reindeer herding is a natural source of livelihood, which during recent decades has had to adapt to both external and internal transformation. Many of these changes have been directed at the environment in which reindeer herding is practiced. Other interest and user groups have moved into the same areas with needs that differ from those of reindeer herders. The reindeer herding working environment is called the *reindeer forest* in Finland, whereas it is *tundra* or *taiga* in the reindeer herding communities in Russia. In humanistic sciences, such as ethnology, nature and environment, it has become an object of several studies. Also, the meaning of these concepts is under lively discussion. In ethnology, nature and environment can be seen as cultural concepts; they are culturally constructed and defined. However, nature also exists without our cultural constructions and classifications. Different groups use and understand these concepts from their own traditions and perspectives. These concepts are not even known or used by all. The significance of nature and environment comes to us via the experience of use and cognition or concepts, i.e. understanding, classifying, thinking and perceiving senses (Ingold 1992: 115; Ellen 1997: 3). A descriptive example of this is how the reindeer herders incorporate the qualities of productive land and pasture into their geographical names.

By managing and possessing the environment I mean, besides concrete use – walking amongst nature and exploiting its resources – also the mental management and possession. Mental environmental management

means knowledge about the environment; to know this and to possess different skills to use it and manage there (Bromley 1991: 22; Oksanen 1998: 80–81). To manage the environment is different depending on the sources of livelihood. In this article, I will study how different groups can take control of different areas in different ways. However, it is not my purpose in this exposition to slice up the environment, as a subject for study, into a domain consisting of too many user groups, because I shall later focus on the reindeer-herding environment from the viewpoint of the reindeer herder. What does the environment consist of, and what sort of control does the reindeer herder have over this? Finally, I consider the various forms and changes, in traditional environmental knowledge, related to reindeer herding. The importance of traditional local knowledge is still great, despite development in technology and other changes, because it is through this that the reindeer herder is able to control the reindeer forest, tundra, or taiga, being the herders' own working environment. I have studied reindeer herding in two different ecological areas and societies, that of Finnish Lapland and of the Kola Peninsula in Russia.[1] The reindeer herders' association, *paliskunta*, of Kyrö is situated in the fringe area of Sápmi[2] and Finnish Lapland. The majority of the reindeer herders are Finnish and the Sámi reindeer herders speak Finnish as their mother tongue. The reindeer herders of Kola belong to three main ethnic groups: Sámi, Komi and Nenets.

We experience, observe, and treat our environment in many different ways. On the way, based on activities and usage, the method is to divide the environment into living, working and free time environs. If we take the work environment as a case in point, which is that the environment, in which the individual is working, his realm of knowledge and environmental experiences form a part of the essential research materials. This subjective information, a compilation of knowledge received through enculturation, one's own experience, impressions, values and beliefs, influences the use of the environment and also is reflected in relations between the individual and the environment. Growing up in a particular

[1] This paper is based on my PhD-thesis on reindeer herding in transition. See Ruotsala 2002.

[2] Sápmi (Sámiland, Lapland) is the area which is traditionally inhabited by the Sámi people. It is called the home territory of the Sámi. Sápmi crosses the borders of four nations, Finland, Sweden, Norway and Russia and it includes the northern parts of Scandinavia and Finland with the Kola Peninsula in Russia.

environment, we receive, as a "legacy", the knowledge of how to benefit from the resources of that environment. We also receive the cultural pattern of how to experience, appreciate and interpret our own living environs. We see our environment or landscape through our own cultural filter. To outsiders, for example, to hikers from the south, Lapland's mountains, in Finnish *tunturit*, mainly give aesthetic experiences, or a feeling of victory, in conquering the top of the mountain. To local reindeer herders, who have worked, sweated and frozen there, the environment has, however, another meaning. The empirical experience has a decisive role; this is only revealed through their personal experience and knowledge (Sarmela 1994: 53–54; Anderson 1996: 96).

Local inhabitants and visitors experience place and landscape in different ways, and this has been studied e.g. in human geography, where landscape is an important concept. A landscape is understood either as an area, which is limited by certain criteria, a subject of protection or planning or personally as a part of the subjective experience world (see, e.g., Karjalainen 1996: 8–13). Ethnological studies emphasize that the landscape is both in our minds, and is also a physical reality and so we have to study the relationship between the physical and mental landscape.

In recent studies, such concepts as space and place have been widely used. Space is regarded as a multidimensional and ambiguous concept, which can refer either to an astro-space or a bounded physical, geometrical and material space. It is also connected to locality, width and situation. A space can even contain many aspects and can include and bear cultural meanings. Space is abstract and empty. Environment, on the contrary, is not ready, but it is a relational concept for those whose environment is the target of the study (Ingold 2000: 20). Matti Sarmela has critically commented that, often when space and environment are used in the studies concerning worldview and mentality, the knowledge about everyday ecology and ecological conditions is missing (Sarmela 1994: 107).

Place transforms personal space. Yi-Fu Tuan (2001: 12) sees that the personal relation to the environment – where she/he knows to belong – is more important than the physical situation. Images transmit, beside personal experiences and memories, also information about the place. When we are studying the memories concerning places, we have to keep in our minds, that these are interpreted from the present. In spite of all the changes that have happened in these places, time often "gold-plates" the memories. Places get their special meaning through different situations in life and the meaning can even change according to age and time.

In my study (Ruotsala 2002), I have used the concept of environment,

because it also includes the collective relationship of environment and our experiences. The concept of perceived environment of cultural ecology corresponds with the meaning of landscape. In this article, it equates with the reindeer herder's environment.

From reindeer forest to wilderness

On the linguistic level, outsiders and reindeer herders also distinguish the same places and areas. When the local people are speaking about reindeer forests and their different pastures the tourists or authorities are speaking about wilderness. How does wilderness differ from the reindeer forest? Wilderness is a cultural- and value-bound concept, which has several meanings. For different groups it means different, even opposite things. Wilderness is connected with Lapland both in tourism and several studies, although the concept of wilderness does not belong to the vocabulary of reindeer herders, especially Sámi reindeer herders. Wilderness studies exclude culture outside the wild, almost tamed wilderness (Nash 1982: 233; Saarinen 1999: 84). Human beings, with their traditional functions, belong to the Finnish wilderness, but the questions, as to who really belongs to the wilderness, which persons can use it and how it can be used, differ.

The wilderness law opened a discussion and created studies on the content and use of wilderness areas. In the discussion, there are to be seen two ways to interpret what a wilderness is and what does belong to it. The local empirical wilderness interpretation differs from the translocal wilderness interpretation (Valkonen 2002: 43–55). In Lapland, demands have been still more strongly presented as to how to limit or forbid the local and traditional ways of using the wilderness, such as reindeer management, hunting, and fishing in the name of environmental protection. On the whole, the concept of the wilderness can be seen as ethnocentric and without history because it does not take into consideration those who have already used it, but emphasizes the integrity and uninhabited nature of the area. The significance of the wilderness is different for the local inhabitants, because these areas which now have been labeled as wilderness, have belonged to the traditional Sámi villages, *siidas*. They have neither been uninhabited, nor separately as loose places, but these others' wildernesses are cultural environments where human traces are visible. The use of wilderness is an essential part of everyday life; it has been our "lived space". On the other hand, more attention is now paid to the significance of the locality and local needs in the environment plans and the need to take local voices into consideration has

been emphasized in the environmental use and planning. Most of the demands are aimed especially towards the Finnish Forest and Park Service, which controls the majority of the wildernesses of Lapland.

In this discussion concerning the wilderness concept – whether it is local or translocal – the core question is also to whom these areas belong, who may use them and to what purpose. Can different purposes be preferred/ranked? The classifications concerning the utilization of nature restrict the possibilities of local people. The local ways to use nature, which does not belong to natural sources of livelihood, tourism or industrial use, are understood as recreation use and in the recreation use local or other users are not regarded as separate groups. The important criterion in this discussion has been the so-called uninhabitedness and the need to preserve it is caused by the tourism functions of wilderness. In tourism, a wilderness can be either a silent or a service wilderness. The silent wilderness belongs particularly to the tourist's or environmentalist's area and according to a report (Kajala 1999: 118) more than even half of the tourists experience that they are being disturbed when meeting, in the wilderness, other people, who especially use such motor vehicles as a snowmobile, a four-wheeler, or a helicopter. The majority of these people are local inhabitants, reindeer herders, fishers, hunters, or the staff of the border guard detachment. Different services, for example, cottages, saunas, hiking routes, bridges, and campfire places, are built for the needs for tourism or environmental protection.

When the tourists arrive in Lapland and its wilderness they make the journey both in space – from south to north – and time, because Lapland is seen as "a past in the present" (Knuuttila 1994: 124). A modern reindeer herder, who uses modern technology, who is dressed in goretex clothes, drives all kind of terrain vehicles and is living in a modern house, does not fit in with this romantic picture held by tourists. To meet such a modern nomad in the wilderness can cause disappointment. Although a reindeer herder uses this environment for his daily living, his actions do not fit in with the picture, which is given about him to the tourists.

Locality does not alone define wilderness and the local opinions about the wilderness are not seen as alternative uses of wilderness or to define it (Valkonen 2002: 51–52). The silent wilderness or wilderness as a tourist area are self evidently seen as alternatives and for these purposes it is justified to control the functions of local users in wilderness. The conservation of wilderness needs concrete acts, which show related value – whose needs are more preferred than others. E.g. the cabins, which are built for reindeer herders, hunters, fishers and hikers, have now been

pulled down. The purpose of this is to limit the unwanted use of wilderness, but as an act it tells more.

How to look at the reindeer forest?

The reindeer herder's environment can be explained from two perspectives. The starting point for this is that environment sets the borders, according to which a human being makes her/his cultural choices. This is how we can understand how the environment impacts reindeer herding in different ecological areas as in the forest or on the tundra.

Firstly, we can evaluate what does the environment mean to the reindeer herder and what different kind of work activities or meanings does his environment contain, and what exploitable resources are included in this reindeer herder's environment. The relationship between that individual and the environment may be examined in two ways. Partially, the environment is influenced by how the individual exploits it, – i.e. the material part – and partially by how our environmental impression influences cognitive and symbolic ability – i.e. the spiritual and intellectual part. It is not necessary, nor is it desirable, to distinguish these two positions, the material and the symbolic or spiritual, in the environment (Ingold 1992: 53; Addison Posey 1999: 4–5). It is important to remember the reciprocity, which is included in the reindeer forest; methods of how to behave in reindeer forest have either a concrete or symbolic impact on the environment.

Secondly, the reindeer herder does not use his environment alone, other parties – actors and users – must also be taken into account in this environment. A question is what needs do they have in their relationships with each other and reindeer herding? Are their activities in harmony or conflict with the environment? At the same time, we could also use various other labels, such as productive environment, recreational environment or experience environment, and ask what are the relationships between these environs.

It is well known that profitable reindeer herding requires a special knowledge of the environment as well as a sense of responsibility for it. The work of the reindeer herder is guided by his knowledge of the environment. Different environs require different kinds of knowledge on how to manage and use them. It means that a reindeer herder must be a professional if he wants to be able to exploit the natural resources of his environment. This does not change even though the environment around him may change. His knowledge comes only by adapting to changes and in this crucial situation research also enters from the outside. He must be able

to react and make decisions based on his professional skills also in new circumstances. For example, in the winter 1996–1997 reindeer herders had to make decisions that influenced how the reindeer would survive the harsh winter; would they bring the reindeer into fences, and if so, then when? Where these fences should be made? Where would they get extra food and how should it be given to the reindeer, some of which were already in weakened condition? Another important skill to learn is how to cope with media attention that would blame reindeer herders whenever a predator happened to make a kill, whenever overgrazing occurred or reindeer starved. E.g. according to the environmental review of the OECD too large reindeer herds is the greatest threat for the ecosystem and biodiversity of forests in Lapland (*OECD* 1997: 98, 142).[3]

The components of the reindeer herding environment

Reindeer forest or tundra is a place of many environments and all kinds of resources. It is also a concept with which the reindeer herder has taken his own working environment in his possession. In reindeer herding, the meaning of the forest is a more ambiguous term than the word of the standard language because the forest can be also treeless because there the reindeer forest is also situated on treeless tundra on the north side of the conifer limit. The different tasks in reindeer herding such as marking calves, collecting reindeer, separation and herding are made either in the *reindeer forest* or merely in the *forest* even if the work even takes place factually, for instance, on the tundra or on the mountains. The same area, reindeer forest, can also be used for other purposes, such as a bird forest, elk forest or berry forest. Tim Ingold (2000: 177, 199) has used here the definition of taskscape.

In Russia, for example, on the Kola Peninsula the term, which corresponds to the reindeer forest, is tundra. In ecological or botanical geography it is defined as a treeless area, but in everyday life and in reindeer herding tundra means a place, where reindeer herding work is done. In other words, tundra refers to that environment, space or landscape from which people earn their living. For them the tundra always

[3] See more these kind of articles: Tahkolahti 2001: A11; Väänänen 2001; Karhun palvelus (Jälkiartikkeli) 2001); Karhun salakaato Inarissa on suurempi uutinen kuin miestappo Hämeenlinnassa 2001.

means a non-built up space, not controlled or measured by the administrative power.

As already stated, the reindeer herder's working environment consists of, depending on the resource to be used, many different work environs distinguished one from each other by different definitions. The names refer to the activity. In addition, time will affect the assignments and the definition, however, in turn depends on the task because when the picking of the berries is taking place in the same regions, being the *cloudberries*, *hillassa*, the *blueberries*, *mustikassa* or else *gathering shoe hay*. Gathering feed for the animals by stripping off birch leaves or making bunches of leaves is done either in the *leaf forest* or the *leaf bundle forest*. Based on the fishing methods one speaks of setting out the *nets*, *seines*, or *jigs* etc. In the autumn, the same place will serve as a *lintumetsä*, bird forest or *hirvimetsä*, elk forest. The place may happen to be the same or nearby, and the practised operation determined different naming.

The same environment, of course, may even provide recreation for the reindeer herder; one is "released to the mountains". The motor sledging is important for the locals even though one does not want to interpret it as a hobby, which the tourists consider it as. The local people do not usually hike on the mountains without a proper reason. The mountain is not visited because of beautiful landscapes. In many descriptions of Lapland, the authors indeed reveal how they have wondered: who is crazy going on foot to the mountains and even without cause?

In the reindeer forest, in addition to the working environment, other environments can also be found. Earlier the reindeer herders' relationship to the environment contained many features, which now are considered mystic. The folk religion has been used in the protecting of the environment and teaching and transferring traditional environment knowledge to the next generations. Particularly, the success of the reindeer herd was vital and it has determined religious behaviour. It includes, for example, the seeing of omens and the performing of certain rites to reach "reindeer luck" in order to secure survival. Reindeer herders have not been passive harvesters but engaged in the complicated business of maintaining the world around them to ensure that its produce is bountiful. Food is secured through the respect that herders and hunters show to the land in general and to the animals in particular (Brody 2000: 112–113). Herders and other people, earning their living using natural resources, understand very deeply the reciprocity between the environment and their own ecological behaviour. However, there are also examples how the reindeer herder's empirical traditional ecological knowledge may be different from

his actual ecological behaviour, which may be in conflict with nature's carrying capacity (Krupnik 1993: 233–39).

Seitas, sacred places of worship have been an essential part in the reindeer herders' environment. The sacred places still have an influence, although they are not either generally mentioned or told to outsiders. This environment can also be called a mythological or ritual environment. Swedish ethnologist Rolf Kjellström (2000: 66–68) calls this a landscape of feelings. In turn he includes, for example, the sacred places of worship and memories which are related to the different events in a historical environment.

Even moving about without company the reindeer herder was by no means alone, because in the reindeer forest, as an essential part, belonged supernatural beings, such as the spirits, *haltija*, gnomes, *maahinen* and goblins, *staalo*, for which the oral tradition has been kept alive up to the present day although the rational worldview has displaced these beings gradually. Nonetheless, a cautious attitude is still taken towards certain places and things. One does not camp or make fires on a trail in order that gnomes may come and go in peace. Building fires and making coffee are linked to other beliefs; as an example the cooking may not be taken from a growing spruce tree, but preferably from a birch or a spruce tree that has fallen to the ground. Otherwise, there will be a fear that you will lose your personal reindeer luck. These kinds of beliefs connected with the reindeer luck still exist, although my informants told of them with a smile on their face. E.g. the reindeer meat must not put into an empty pot.[4]

The historical environment is another of the reindeer herders' environs and it pertains both to the choice of profession and passing on of the profession. Often an important factor is that this is a profession passed down from one generation to the next, primarily from father to son, which is carried on in the same place as the previous generations. In Lovozero on the Kola Peninsula, a young reindeer herder chooses his brigade on the basis that the brigade's pastures formerly belonged to his parents' and grandparents' *siida*. Another middle-aged reindeer herder spoke about his brigade: "There on the shores of this lake my grandfather and grandmother are buried. It is my home region."[5]

[4] TYKL tutkimusarkisto 1.6.27/3b, 5b, 12, 13.
[5] TYKL tutkimusarkisto 1.6.27/50.

The significance of the reindeer herding environment reaches more widely than only to the reindeer herding families because the local historical significance related to it is important to the identity and personal well being of the individual. It helps younger people to see and to appreciate the work of the previous generations. This nearby environment linked to oral tradition is transferred to the children.

The location and existence of an environment or landscape are not essential, but its significance is, because the environment or the landscape can be also invisible or merely as a memory. For example, the places, which have been submerged by water regulation or left under construction of roads or settlements, are still such significant places. Either ones' own or ancestors' memories, connected to these places, have been told to the next generations.

The traditional environmental knowledge in reindeer herding

The reindeer management, as well as other natural sources of livelihood in the north, have been based on the scope of the enjoyment area and on higher mobility.[6] These in turn have set special demands for environmental knowledge. The different environments require different information about how they are controlled and used (Ruotsala 1994: 63).

A cognitive map can be used to clarify the individual use and moving of the environment. The cognitive map contains the internal models, images and experiences, which direct the action of the human being (Greverus 1994: 51). The members of a community, who do not know or have maps, have learned to control their environment from a memory, with the help of their empirical experiences. They construct their environment as a network of places, which are in a hierarchical relation to each other. The information concerning the environment is comprehensive. The precondition for knowing the environment and finding the road is going and moving by yourself. The terrain has been taken into possession and has been mapped mentally by going .

Hugh Brody (2000: 107) has described the hunter-gatherers' area, that "this was a place with no beginning and no end. Something such as the world of hunter-gatherers' seems boundless, reaching seamlessly into the distance and the very distant past." According to Anna-Leena Siikala, the

[6] *Nautinta-alue*, enjoyment area refers here to the area of "positive prescription based on immemorial use."

sphere of activities in natural sources of livelihood is widely perceived and the directions, the significant places and connections such as paths, roads and water routes are more important than its borders. The paths and roads – as well as waterways – serve as the routes to connect the important places for maintaining of life. They also form an area, which is loosely known compared to more strongly perceived space (Siikala & Ulyashev 2002: 164; see also Weiner 1991: 37–38).

Reindeer herders and other people, who earn their living from the natural sources of livelihoods, manage this area cognitively and they know how to move there, whether it is a mountain, tundra, forest or waterway, but the authorities are not satisfied with this information. They need maps to control the area. If there are no maps available, they have to be done.[7] Also maps have impact on, and can change, a landscape because they are used as tools designing projects which change, for example, the environment such as the building of water ways, natural parks, felling or land sales.

Environmental knowledge and efficient utilization of wide areas form the basis of reindeer management. Because the reindeer's annual habits will become familiar to the reindeer herder along the years, he has learned to follow them and the reindeer's natural instincts in his work. These include attempting, among others, to reach the traditional calving areas during the spring time, talent to *palkia*, to stay in certain areas without herding during certain seasons, talent to go to the contrary wind, talent to *tokkautua*, to form herds in order to protect from the mosquitoes and in autumn the rutting season, *rykimäaika*.

In spite of the fact that reindeer management, and the environment where it is practised has changed, the significance of local knowledge has not disappeared. The different environments require different information about how the environment is governed and used. The reindeer herder must also control his environment, when driving a snowmobile, a four-wheeler, travelling by helicopter, as he did earlier when he was walking on foot or driving with reindeer or skiing. When engine powers are used, the observations of the environment changes because the vehicle moves fast and it is loud. If it makes extra turns or even gets lost in the terrain, the trip still remains fast with the machine getting to the right route. During walking or skiing the terrain was observed in a more detailed fashion, as if

[7] See symbolic maps of the Kola Peninsula in Robinson & Karim-Aly 1998, *passim*.

it was “closer”. The time used for travelling has also significance regarding the depth of observations. You experience the environment with your own body and thus also the means and modes of transport affect the individual experiences and further on the observations. The smell of the petrol of the snowmobile conceals, for example, the scents in spring and the voices of the environment.

The snowmobile, mountain bicycle and four-wheeler have distanced their drivers, more symbolically as concretely, from the environment because with their help you can get quickly and easily “to nature”. When a helicopter is used, already the perspective changes, the environment is looked at from above, from the air. The landscapes are passing faster than when using skis or going on foot. The animals also might easily be scared the sound of the motor. When driving a four-wheeler you do not need to find dry routes over the swamp because a four-wheeler can move over wetter places. But its traces stay on the landscape for a long time. Also, the environmental change – new roads and routes, water regulation, felling and forest cultivation – must be taken into consideration. An already retired reindeer herder emphasized the significance to learn to know the terrain and its changes. You will learn to go in the terrain only by doing so. He said that the felling and cultivation might change a landscape so much that you will not even recognize it again. According to him, you have to keep in mind the features of terrain very carefully if you have been walking or skiing there.[8] For younger reindeer herders, the place names might stay unknown when they are following older reindeer herders in a foreign terrain, because driving a snowmobile or a four-wheeler is fast and it is noisy and you easily forget to ask or tell the names. It is also true that some people know better how to walk in nature and to read the environment like others. Even though the older men guide the younger, all do not learn to manage in nature.

The knowledge, which is related to natural resources, is of two kinds and they differ from each other in spite of the fact that both in principle are based on the systematic collecting, classification and handling of empiric observations. Furthermore, and sometimes opposite to, the academic scientific or western knowledge which the authorities and researchers produce, there also exists traditional and local environment knowledge on which the local people establish the practicing of the natural sources of

[8] TYKL tutkimusarkisto 1.6.27/9.

livelihood. Its task is, for its part, to secure the continuity of the community. Even though only a few of the members of the community are experts in environment knowledge, it is holistic and social; it belongs to the whole community (Eythorsson 2001: 20–24). However, everything is not always conceived for others. The environment knowledge can also be hidden because the information signifies power. The best berry picking and fishing places, the nesting areas and the sacred places are often kept as personal information. The reindeer herders' knowledge also differs from the environment knowledge of others, as the neighbours, who work in other professions, do not need that information. Part of the environment knowledge is tacit knowledge, which is learned by following the signs of the nature and the animals' behaviour. All senses, the sight, the sense of hearing, the sense of smell and the sense of feeling are important in tacit knowledge. The knowledge related to the weather can prove to be sometimes even strategic and vital and therefore one wants to know the changes in the weather already beforehand. The snow must be tried so that you can recognize it and feel its composition or quality. However, this knowledge cannot always be explained but it must be learned by trying different ways. It was also difficult for a young reindeer herder whom I interviewed to explain how to choose the breeding reindeer or female reindeer, which will use the bells in the herd:

> You see when you look at the reindeer. I can't explain it. You will see it. To good reindeer cows. It is just like a leader reindeer. I can't say it, you will learn to know it by doing. You will learn to know your own reindeer. I have a good visual memory.[9]

There are different kinds of environment knowledge. A successful reindeer herder has many kinds of knowledge but the visual memory is an important part of it, among others, the individual reindeers' identification and identification of signs. The knowledge concerning the knowing of the terrain and reindeer pastures is wider. The excellent expert of reindeer marks or terrain expert is not necessarily skilled in the reindeer forest because physical labour and ability demand different skills. Other persons in turn are more skilled in animal handling: to teach reindeer to *laijistaa,* to follow by leading and to become a good driving reindeer, *ajokas*. They

[9] TYKL tutkimusarkisto 1.6.27/14.

identify which reindeer would become good leaders of the herd and which reindeer, however, would be good to follow the others in the herd. Other herders are good at recognizing the earmarks thanks to their good sight and memory, and the others, however, are physically stronger in the work in the reindeer forest (Paine 1994: 22–24).

Every reindeer herder's ability, skills and workings in the reindeer forest are the results of long training. In addition to the concrete skills and properties, also the feelings and sensitivity, a kind of intuitive learning and operating, ability to receive and to read the feedback given by the environment are a part of this environment relation. David G. Anderson (2000: 116–117) uses the concept of *sentient ecology* when he is referring to the environmental relation of Evenki hunters and herders. When Evenkis are moving and acting on the tundra, they are aware of the fact that the environment and the animals answer them and their posts. Hugh Brody (2000: 126), for his part, tells how Dunne-Za, like other hunter-gathering peoples, use dreams to locate both the animals they kill and the routes along which they must travel to find these animals. Their system of dreaming allows memory, intuition and facts to intermingle.

The fragmentary quality of the scientific knowledge is regarded as the essential difference between the scientific knowledge and the traditional environmental knowledge. The following features are typical of traditional environment knowledge: 1) it will be classified often in a different way than so called scientific knowledge; 2) it is usually unwritten; 3) its definitions refer to everyday life and everyday use; 4) it refers often, but in a different way to time and place than scientific knowledge; 5) it is holistic and social and belongs to the whole community, even though only some of its members can be experts; 6) it is learned by practicing and by imitating other members of the community; 7) its features can be mythological (Addison Posey 1999: 9; Eythorsson 2001: 20–24).

In spite of the fact that lots of studies regarding traditional environment knowledge have already been done, it is justified to ask if these studies have really had significance for the "owners" of the traditional environmental knowledge? Is the traditional environment knowledge further taken in earnest as the basis of the reports and studies, and finally to the basis of different decisions, or does the monopoly of mainly natural scientists still continue? Paul Nadasdy (1999: 3) who has studied Inuit communities, argues that there are still many different opinions about the role of traditional environmental knowledge. At the other end of the scale there is an opinion according to which the traditional environment knowledge is only used as a political intrigue invented by the native people, with the

help of which they are able to snatch the control of environment resources from the trained scientists. The same opinion is also represented by the ones to whom the traditional environment knowledge in the research plans only creates an entrance ticket to fieldwork regarding the communities of indigenous peoples.

In a similar way, the area ecological plans of the Finnish Forest and Park Service can be criticized. These plans are based, among others, on the discussions where the local people could take part and explain their needs and views. According to the reindeer herders these opportunities have had no practical significance because their views have not been taken into consideration in the plans. When plans are discussed, the reindeer herders and other locals can affect only the details regarding the emergence of felling. The important principal questions, such as of actual cuts and financial goals, are left outside the discussions (Raitio 2000: 59–60).

Could the traditional environment knowledge be the reason for the taboo rules and beliefs of the community? One of the fairy tales of the Kola Sámi namely forbids letting the reindeer graze in the areas where eudialyte, *the blood stone* is found. According to this fairy tale, the red streaks on this eudialyte stone are the blood of Sámi, who were killed by the *tsuudi,* who attacked to the Kola Peninsula. The Sámi have avoided herding their reindeer in the regions where this *blood stone* occurred because they considered those areas dangerous (Fersman 1974: 16).[10] Is there a natural scientific or geological explanation to be found for the grazing taboo? Eudialyte itself is not a dangerous mineral although the radiometers react to its radiation. It is found on the Kola Peninsula, especially on the Hibinä Mountains and in Lovozero. Eudialyte can appear near extremely radioactive elements, such as uranium and thorium, and in a certain geologic process these elements have been separated from the grate of mineral. Thus eudialyte can indicate abundant occurrences of uranium and other radioactive elements in some places. What is the origin of this fairy tale? Have the Kola Sámi noticed that the reindeer do not feel well on these places, calving does not succeed or the animals are restless? The local inhabitants have also stated that in certain places on the tundra of Kola the visitor feels so unpleasant that she wants to leave immediately. It is difficult to explain this unpleasant feeling but is its background the same phenomenon that which David G. Anderson (2000: 116–117) determines

[10] TYKL tutkimusarkisto 1.6.27/66.

as a sensitive environment relation of the Evenkis. Other people experience the environment more sensitively than others.

Weathers and climate change

For successful reindeer management an important part of the reindeer herder's work is, already as a young herder, to learn to identify nature signs, to predict the weather and to follow the variation of the seasons in the environment (see, e.g., Huuskonen 2004). The reindeer herder had to know how to go in different environments during different seasons in different conditions. In a thick fog, *murkku*, the environment looks quite different than in clear air. The knowing of nature signs and the predicting of the weather facilitate work and even may save one from death. If a southerly blew snow from *hanki*, hard snow, the thaw was coming. The jumping of reindeer predicted the snowfall, *pyry*. By following nature and the weather, the reindeer herder knew where he could find the reindeer after the north wind and on which tops of the mountain to collect reindeer for the summer calf marking and in which regions to begin to collect the reindeer in autumn after the rutting season. The reindeer herding work is based on the fact that human beings have learned to utilize the animals' behaviour. For example *räkkä,* the period of mosquitoes moves the reindeer to a herd on high mountain areas because in the wind the mosquitoes do not hamper so much. The mechanism, with which the joining the reindeers' herd reduces drawbacks of *räkkä*, can not, however, be explained totally with the methods of natural sciences. The human being has learned to utilize this natural phenomenon of the reindeer. Still the reindeer will further be found on the basis of the weather:

> From the weather. If the sun shone, they went up on the mountain, and if it rained, they were resting in a spruce copse. (—) This was how it happened, it was depending on the weather. They searched from where the wind came. (—) The reindeer wanted to wander against the wind when there was a lot of räkkä.[11]

The following of climate, weathers and their changes is an important part of the reindeer herder's environment knowledge. Middle-aged and older reindeer herders have an experience of several dozens of years to follow these. They have followed the changes in the direction of the pacifying of

[11] TYKL tutkimusarkisto 1.6.27/9.

the winters and of the cooling of the summers. In the 1990s, there were several snowy winters. Thick snowy mild winters are bad for calves. In 1996, it snowed during two or three days in late winter leaving almost one meter and the reindeer were not able to find food under it. Then reindeer had to be fed either in fenced areas or in the terrain. In the following summer, fewer than half of the female reindeers gave birth. Even the following reindeer herding year was bad in Kyrö because in the early winter, *syystalvi* 1996 it was snowing on an unfrozen ground, the unfrozen lichen under the snow moldy and nearly all the reindeer should be exceptionally moved to the enclosed feeding areas or they should be fed in the forest. According to the reindeer herders, the reindeer smells a moldy lichen and they do not start digging it. In snowy winters, the reindeer would have to be in especially good condition so that they are able to dig the lichen from under the thick snow.[12]

The climate change perceived by reindeer herders – mild winters with a lot of snow have become common – have now been studied by natural scientists. This phenomenon is called the NAO phenomenon (North Atlantic Oscillation) because the locations of low and high-pressure areas in the North Atlantic affect the severity of the winter. When the west winds dominate, the winters are mild and rainy and when the eastern winds dominate, winters will be cold and with little rain. The weather variations caused by the NAO phenomenon can explain, at least partly, the failure years of reindeer management, which have taken place at the end of the 1990s (Helle, Kojola & Timonen 2001: 76–79).

The weather changes do not apply only to Finland's reindeer herding area. The slaughter time of the reindeer herding brigades, of the cooperative *Olenevod* in Krasnoshelye on the Kola Peninsula, has been transferred from November to December during recent decades because, in November, the weathers have been too mild for the slaughter. According to the reindeer herders of the Kola Peninsula, the warming of the winters has begun since the end of the 1970s. In the reindeer herding area on the Kola in the inner and eastern parts of the peninsula there are plenty of lakes, rivers and wide swamp areas. The mild weathers in early winter have also hampered the collecting of reindeer because it is difficult to go in the terrain if the swamp areas and waterways are not covered with ice.[13]

[12] TYKL tutkimusarkisto 1.6.27/66.
[13] TYKL tutkimusarkisto 1.6.27/29.

Place-names as descriptions of the environment

When moving in the reindeer forest it is important that the numerous places in the terrain, such as swamps, *jänkät*, tops, *kerot*, valleys, *kurut*, small lakes, *lompolot*, rivers and creeks, must be separated from each other both in terrain and in speech. In the place-names is seen plenty of terminology which is related both to the reindeer management and to the older hunting period, as *Hangasmaa*, *Hangasjärvi* or *Kaarrejänkkä*. Hangasmaa and Hangasjärvi are named according to the deer hunting – *hangas* means a trap. In turn, Kaarrejänkkä is named according to *kaarre*, a reindeer enclosure at the edge of the swamp, *jänkkä*. A lot of places with beginning of *kiekerö* also are found, for example, *Kiekerökuusikko* and *Kiekerömaa*. In Kyrö *kiekerö* means a pitted snow ground where reindeer have dug lichen. From the place-names, a respectful and aesthetic relationship to nature can be still conveyed. Monchetundra on the Kola Peninsula means a beautiful mountain in Kildin Sámi, but now the mountain slopes have been hollowed out and around the Monchegorsk Mining Center, which was named according to the mountains, nature is dead.

The place-names tell about both the history of the area and its use and users. Place-names also tell about the recent history and it was also possible to name different places of terrain according to events or persons, which are related to the place. They are "thick" descriptions about the environment and place. The place-names have even been called the mental encyclopedias of its users', the corresponding encyclopedias exist also from the species of the environment (Maffi 1999: 28). The oral history forms the basis of traditional environmental knowledge and its management. To facilitate environmental management, places were named according to their typical features, such as *Hirvhanrykimämaa*, which means a place where male reindeer were gathered during the rutting season. Because the reindeer were roaming freely during the summertime, there are fewer names of summer pastures than of winter pastures. Some of the names do not tell of anything today, because the nature of these places has been changed. E.g. Aihkiselkä is now totally different than when it got its name. *Aihki* means an old pine tree. Clear felling was done in Aihkiselkä in the end of 1970s but the name is still in use. When the significance of the place changes, the name will be preserved: the name of *Kirkonmaanrimpi* is still used, although it got its name from an old temporary winter graveyard place and this swamp, *rimpi* has been a field already for dozens of years.

The reindeer herding vocabulary

The link between language and culture is important at many levels. Language tells a lot about an environment, its resources and use. Remembering and new significance and reality are reproduced with the help of language. Also the traditions connected to the profession are transformed by folklore from one generation to another. When the younger generations on the Kola Peninsula can no longer speak Sámi or Komi, as the previous generations did, this has caused a disappearance of traditional environmental knowledge of reindeer herding.[14] Earlier, several reindeer herders were bilingual or could speak even three languages; Sámi reindeer herders knew, in addition to Sámi, also Komi and Russian and the Komi, in turn, Sámi and Russian languages. Of course, the Sámi languages – actually there have been four different Sámi languages – are still preserved in place-names, even though Sámi or Komi are no longer used as a working language on the tundra. Language can be preserved also in symbolic, political or ceremonial use, in spite of the fact that it is no longer used for communication or is not understood.

There is a threat that when language becomes poorer and is disappearing, this means that cultural diversity will become poorer and even disappear. Luisa Maffi (2001: 413–414, 418–419) has remarked that even though much attention has been paid to traditional environment knowledge and use of the natural resources and in that way the language is in a key position in creation, storing, and transferring the traditional environment knowledge, there is not enough attention paid to protect small and endangered languages.The disappearing of languages and cultures, or ethnic groups and their traditions, is not seen as being as serious as the impoverishing of the biodiversity of nature (Pawley 2001: 230; Skuttnabb-Kangas 2001: 397–398). However, linguistic, cultural and biological diversities are dependent on each other. The preserving of the linguistic and cultural diversity should be included in biological protection programs. Several studies show how the indigenous communities and other ethnic groups are some kind of reservations which preserve traditional knowledge about rare, endangered and indigenous species, their properties and possibilities for use, of which even the biologists have not a clue (Nabhan 2001: 151).

[14] When the Komi and Nenets arrived in Kola, in the end of the 1880s, it was evident that the Nenets could no longer speak their own language.

The scope of the lexicon, concerning the source of livelihood, tells the how important is the position in the area. As classical examples have been used the terminology of sand used by Bedouins, the ice and snow terminology used by Inuits and Sámi. In the reindeer herding communities, there are versatile lexicons concerning terrain, nature, weather conditions and reindeer management. As well as in Sweden and Norway, in the reindeer herding terminology, we can perceive the abundant effect of the Sámi language. The different periods in the reindeer-herding year are seen in Sámi language as definitions of several months. May is *miessemánnu*, the month of calves, because the calves are born in early May on the first snow-free places on the mountains. August, *borgemánnu*, has got its name from the reindeers' new hair. October is *golggotmánnu*, in other words the rutting season of male reindeer. These names may have varied according to the area and there have been 13 of them earlier. In addition to the Sámi language, there is, in turn, the effect of the Komi and Nenets languages, also visible in reindeer herding terminology on the Kola Peninsula. In Russia, the reindeer herding terminology is extremely stratified and interesting because e.g. the árkan, which means lasso in Russian language is an old Turkish loan in Russian. The Nenets' similar word would be *tínchyah, tynzja'*, which has been borrowed by the dialects of Russian as a synonym for *tynzéj*.[15]

As one can forecast, there will be thousands of exact terms and descriptive epithets for snow, ice and similar natural phenomena in the Sámi languages and northern dialects. Israel Ruong classifies them as follows: 1) amounts of snow; 2) the composition of snow; 3) the bearing capacity of snow; 4) the surface, level and slide quality of snow; 5) expressions for being covered with snow; 6) untouched snow and tracks in the snow; 7) hoarfrost, frost and other coverings of ice and snow on plants and trees; 8) the melting and disappearance of snow; 9) ice; 10) the appearance of (patches of) unfrozen land; 11) places where the snow remains in the summer; 12) different kinds of winter pasture, incl. expressions for the surface quality of the snow (Kjellström 2000: 65; see also Eira 1994: 54–77; Jernsletten 1994: 234–253).

The reindeers' eating and moving possibilities depend on the properties, amount and quality of snow. It has been possible to use either a

[15] I want to express my gratitude to PhD Tapani Salminen, University of Helsinki, for this information.

human being, a ski stick or a reindeer as a measure when speaking about the amount of snow. For example, there is snow all the way to the knee or along the reindeer's stomach (Itkonen 1984: 478; Ryd 2001: 38–41).[16] Due to the character of reindeer management, the reindeer herder must be able to separate the different weather conditions. He must know how to indicate also the quality of the snowfall, is it *räntä, pyry, raesade*, *maatuisku, lumikuuro, myräkkä* or what kind of snowstorm or blizzard and does the snow cover the trees or not? Does the wind transport snow, where the drifts are formed? The importance of snow knowledge was more important when people were still using skis and reindeer. Nowadays, it is enough to know where to drive with a snowmobile so as not to fall in the water during early winter.

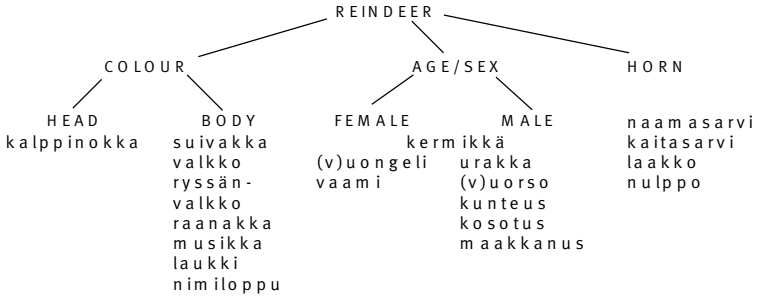
During my fieldwork, I even asked the reindeer herders of Kyrö which terms of snow they did know. Some of them could remember only 10, some of them even fewer different words describing the quality or condition of snow. Some of them belong to the standard language – *hanki, kinos, nietos, sohjo, tykky* and *umpinen* – some of them were special terms as *sevä*. It means a layer of frozen snow on the ground below the snow layers, acting as an ice sheet. This snow formation causes poor grazing conditions (see more Ruotsala 2002: 339–340). My example shows, as Yngve Ryd (2001: 9), who has published a book containing snow terminology of a reindeer herder Johan Rassa from Jokkmok points out, that this kind of work will require as many as several hundreds of discussions with the same informant during a work period lasting many years.

In spite of development of the technology, in spite of new tools and other changes in reindeer management the effect of snow is still large; it is both an advantage and a threat. *Sevä, takkala, nuoska* and *hanki* tell about the properties of snow which are vital to the reindeer management; how the reindeer can dig its food from under the snow and how the reindeer herder can move in the reindeer forest. It is extremely important what kind of a bottom will be under the snow cover; will snow fall on unfrozen ground: "The bad bottom is when the snow came and the ground was wet. Then everything froze over, ice layers were formed. It was very difficult then."[17]

[16] TYKL tutkimusarkisto 1.6.27/13.
[17] TYKL tutkimusarkisto 1.6.27/15.

The reindeer herder still knows the exact definitions of the individuals of his herd according to the sex, age, the quality or position of the horns, the color or quality of the hair/fur, the form of the body, according to the properties of the character or according to another specialty. The names vary in the different parts of the reindeer herding area. In the following figure, I have listed examples of definitions which in accordance to the form of the reindeer's age, sex, color and horns and are known in Kyrö Reindeer Owners' Association.

Figure 1. Examples of the definitions concerning the reindeer according to color, age, sex and appearance.



Finally

Language changes all the time and the reindeer herding language will also adapt to the changes in reindeer herding and its conditions. The continuity of reindeer management and reindeer forest means different things to different groups. For the reindeer herding families and also for a part of the local population, the continuity means that the livelihood will also be obtained in the future from natural resources. From the point of view of environmental authorities and scientists, the continuity means the continuity of biodiversity, the conserving of natural diversity. The third view on the continuity is seen in the tourists' desire to keep Lapland "unchanged", conserving or preserving without new technology and development.

The significance of the traditional environmental knowledge was important especially when herders were still using reindeer, skis or were walking in the reindeer forest. When the motor vehicles, such as snowmobiles, motorcycles and even airplanes and the helicopters have become

common in the reindeer herding work, the significance of the environmental knowledge has diminished but the significance of the technical know-how has in turn been emphasized. If a snowmobile breaks down in the terrain, you must be able to know how to repair it or leave the wilderness without any help. Terminology, which is related to nature is becoming poorer, but language which is related to the technique will get rich when the livelihood changes. Today's reindeer herder cannot perhaps explain the quality of snow with as many terms as his father, but instead he knows the machine and EU terminology. The reindeer herders, who were born between the 1950s–1970s, are able to discuss fluently the Acts on Reindeer Husbandry, the different measures of support and directives of the EU which affect the reindeer management. The know-how of this vocabulary is important because the reindeer herder must know how to speak the same language as the rest of society. Likewise the reindeers' feeding in fences and distress feeding which has increased has changed the contents of the information in their part. More and more measures of support from the government or state are directed to reindeer management and in turn it exposes reindeer management to an increasingly tight control. However, it is not enough, that the reindeer herders knows the desk top reindeer herding and its terminology, because he still experiences that he is getting his living from the reindeer forest, not from Brussels. Without the knowledge of nature and without traditional environment knowledge, reindeer management cannot be practiced without the character of the reindeer management changing totally.

References

Unpublished sources

Raitio, Kaisa 2000. Ristiriidat ja valta saamelaisalueen maankäytössä ja sen suunnittelussa. Pro gradu-tutkielma. Ympäristönsuojelu, Limnologian ja ympäristönsuojelun laitos. Helsingin yliopisto. Unpublished MA-thesis.

TKU/TYKL-arkisto, Turun yliopisto, Kulttuurien tutkimuksen laitos (The Archives of the Turku University School of Cultural Research): TYKL tutkimusarkisto 1.6.27/1–76 interviews and field notes.

Published sources

Addison Posey, Darrel 1999. Introduction: Culture and Nature – the Inextricable Link. – Darrel Addison Posey (ed.), *Cultural and Spiritual Values of Biodiversity. A Complementary Contribution to the Global Diversity Assesment*. United Nations Environment Programme. Nairobi: Intermediate Technology Publications/UNEP, 3–18.

Anderson, David G. 2000. *Identity and Ecology in Arctic Siberia: The Number One Reindeer Brigade.* Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.
Anderson, E. N. 1996. *Ecologies of the Heart: Emotion, Belief, and the Environment.* New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Brody, Hugh 2000. *The Other Side of Eden: Hunters, Farmers, and the Shaping of the World.* New York: North Point Press.
Bromley, Daniel W. 1991. *Environment and Economy: Property Rights and Public Policy.* Oxford, UK; Cambridge, USA: Blackwell.
Eira, Nils Isak 1994. *Bohccuid luhtte. Gulahallat ja ollásuhttit siidadoalu.* Guovdageaidnu: DAT.
Ellen, Roy 1997. Introduction. – Roy Ellen & Fukui Katsuyoshi (eds.), *Redifining Nature: Ecology, Culture, and Domestication.* Oxford, UK; Washington, D.C.: Berg, 1–36.
Eythorsson, Einar 2001. Tradisjonell kunnskap og forvaltningsutfordringer. – Audhild Schanche (Red.), *Naturressurser og miljøverdier i samiske områder: förvaltnings- og forskningsutfordningar.* Dieđut nr 2/2001. [Kautokeino]: Sámi Instituhtta, 20–28.
Fersman 1974 = Ферсман Александр Евгеньевич. *Воспоминания о камне.* Москва: Наука.
Greverus, Ina-Maria 1994. Was sucht *der Anthropologe* in der Stadt? Eine Collage. – Ina-Maria Greverus et al. (Hg.), *STADTgedanken aus und über Frankfurt am Main: der Stadt Frankfurt am Main zum 1200 Geburtstag.* Kulturanthropologie Notizen, Band 48. Frankfurt am Main: Institut für Kulturantropologie und Europäische Ethnologie der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, 11–74.
Helle, Timo, Ilpo Kojola & Mauri Timonen 2001. Lumipeitteen vaikutus Käsivarren porolukuihin: mikä on Pohjois-Atlantin säävaihtelun (NAO) merkitys? *Suomen Riista* 47, 75–85.
Huuskonen, Marjut 2004. *Stuorra-Jovnnan ladut. Tenonsaamelaisten ympäristökertomusten maailmat.* Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia 986. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
Ingold, Tim 1992. Culture and the Perception of the Environment. – Elisabeth Croll & David Parkin (eds.), *Bush Base: Forest Farm. Culture, Environment, and Development.* London, New York: Routledge, 39–56.
Ingold, Tim 2000. *The Perception of the Environment. Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill.* London & New York: Routledge.
Itkonen, Toivo Immanuel 1984. *Suomen lappalaiset vuoteen 1945.* Osa II. Porvoo: WSOY.
Jernsletten, Nils 1994. Tradisjonell samisk fagterminologi. – Dikka Storm et al. (Red.), *Festskrift til Ørnulv Vorren.* Tromsø museums skrifter XXV. Tromsø: Tromsø museum & Universitetet i Tromsø, 234–253.
Kajala, Liisa 1999. Perinteet ja nykyaika – erämaasuunnittelun haasteita Käsivarressa. – Jarkko Saarinen (toim.), *Erämaan arvot: retkiä monimuotoisiin erämaihin.* Metsäntutkimuslaitoksen tiedonantoja 733. Saarijärvi: Metsäntutkimuslaitos, Rovaniemen tutkimusasema, 115–122.
Karhun palvelus (Jälkiartikkeli) 2001. – *Lapin Kansa* 31.1.2001. http://www.lapinkansa.fi/lehdet/uusi/mielipide/main_uuti2.html. Printed 31.1.2001.
Karhun salakaato Inarissa on suurempi uutinen kuin miestappo Hämeenlinnassa. – *Lapin Kansa* 7.6.2001. http://www.lapinkansa.fi/lehdet/uusi/uutiset/main_uuti22.html. Printed 7.6.2001.
Karjalainen, Pauli Tapani 1996. 3 näkökulmaa maisemaan. – Maunu Häyrynen & Olli Immonen (toim.), *Maiseman arvo[s]tus. Seminaari maiseman havaitsemisesta ja arvottamisesta Lahden Mukkulassa* 1.–2.9.1995. Kansainvälisen soveltavan estetiikan instituutin raportteja n:o 1. [Lahti]: [Kansainvälisen soveltavan estetiikan instituutti], 8–13.

Kjellström, Rolf 2000. Samerna och landskapet. – Ingvar Svanberg & Håkan Tunón (red.), *Samisk etnobiologi. Människor, djur och växter i norr*. Studia ethnobiologica 10. Nora: Nya Doxa, 59–70.

Knuuttila, Seppo 1994. *Tyhmän kansan teoria: näkökulmia menneestä tulevaan*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Krupnik, Igor 1993. *Arctic Adaptations. Native Whalers and Reindeer Herders of Northern Eurasia*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, Dartmouth College.

Maffi, Luisa 1999. Language and the environment. – Darrel Addison Posey et al. (eds.), *Cultural and Spiritual Values of Biodiversity. A Complementary Contribution to the Global Diversity Assesment*. United Nations Environment Programme. Nairobi: Intermediate Technology Publications/UNEP, 22–36.

Maffi, Luisa 2001. Language, Knowledge, and Indigenous Heritage Rights. – Luisa Maffi (ed.), *On Biocultural Diversity: Linking Language, Knowledge, and the Environment*. Washington & London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 412–432.

Nabhan, Gary P. 2001. Cultural Perceptions of Ecological Interactions. An "Endangered People's" Contribution to the Conversation of Biological and Linguistic Diversity. – Luisa Maffi (Ed.), *On Biocultural Diversity. Linking Language, Knowledge, and the Environment*. Washington & London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 145–156.

Nadasdy, Paul 1999. The Politics of TEK: Power and the "Integration" of Knowledge. – *Arctic Anthropology* 36(1–2): 1–18.

Nash, Roderick 1982. *Wilderness and the American Mind*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

OECD Environmental Performance Reviews: Finland 1997. [Anonymous] Paris: OECD.

Oksanen, Markku 1998. *Nature as Property. Environmental Ethics and the Institution of Ownership*. Reports from the Department of Practical Philosophy, Vol. 10. Turku: University of Turku.

Paine, Robert 1994. *Herds of the Tundra: A Portrait of Saami Reindeer Pastoralism*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Pawley, Andrew 2001. Some Problems of Describing Linguistic and Ecological Knowledge. – Luisa Maffi (Ed.), *On Biocultural Diversity. Linking Language, Knowledge, and the Environment*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 228–247.

Robinson, Michael & S. Kassam Karim-Aly 1998. *Sami Potatoes. Living with Reindeer and Perestroika*. Calgary: Bayeux Arts, Inc.

Ruotsala, Helena 1994. Luonnon kunnioitusta, petovihaa ja kotiseuturakkautta. Poromiehen suhde ympäristöönsä. – Pekka Leimu et al. (toim.), *Arki ja ympäristö. Matti Räsänen 60-vuotta 8.5.1994*. Scripta Ethnologica Aboensia 41. Turku: Turun yliopisto, Kansatiede, 56–76.

Ruotsala, Helena 2002. *Muuttuvat palkiset. Elo, työ ja ympäristö Kittilän Kyrön paliskunnassa ja Kuolan Luujärven poronhoitokollektiiveissa vuosina 1930–1995*. Kansatieteellinen arkisto 49. Helsinki: Suomen muinaismuistoyhdistys.

Ryd, Yngve 2001. *Snö – en renskötare berättar*. Stockholm: Ordfront förlag.

Saarinen, Jarkko 1999. Erämaa muutoksessa. – Jarkko Saarinen (toim.), *Erämaan arvot: retkiä monimuotoisiin erämaihin*. Metsäntutkimuslaitoksen tiedonantoja 733. Saarijärvi: Metsäntutkimuslaitos, Rovaniemen tutkimusasema, 77–93.

Sarmela, Matti 1994. Ekologia ja kulttuuri. – Tapio Nisula (toim.), *Näköaloja kulttuureihin. Antropologian historiaa ja nykysuuntauksia*. Suomen Antropologisen Seuran julkaisuja. [Helsinki]: Gaudeamus, 91–115.

Siikala, Anna-Leena & Oleg Ulyashev 2002. Henkien maisema. Pohjoishantien pyhät paikat ja niiden rituaalit. – Ildikó Lehtinen (toim.), *Siperia: taigan ja tundran kansoja*. [Helsinki]: Museovirasto, 155–184.

Skuttnabb-Kangas, Tove 2001. Linguistic Human Rights in Education for Language Maintenance. – Luisa Maffi (ed.), *On Biocultural Diversity: Linking Language, Knowledge, and the Environment*. Washington & London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 397–411.

Tahkolahti, Jaakko 2001. Suden taposta epäilty mies vangittiin Inarissa. – *Helsingin Sanomat* 2.2.2001.

Tuan, Yi-Fu 2001. *Space and Place. The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press.

Valkonen, Jarno 2002. Erämaa, paikallisuus, hallinta. – Jarkko Saarinen (toim.), *Erämaapolitiikka: pohjoiset erämaat arjen hallinnan ja tutkimuksen kohteena*. Metsäntutkimuslaitoksen tiedonantoja 827. Rovaniemi: Metsäntutkimuslaitos, Rovaniemen tutkimusasema, 43–55.

Väänänen, Markku 2001. Yksi vangittu Lemmenjoen suden taposta. *Lapin Kansa* 3.11.2001. http//www.lapinkansa.fi/uusi/uutiset/main_uuti4.html.Printed 1.2.2001.

Weiner, James F. 1991. *The Empty Place: Poetry, Space, and Being among the Foi of Papua New Guinea*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Life-ways in the Setu Cultural Landscape

Kadri Semm
Hannes Palang

This paper explores the changing life-ways and cultural landscapes in the Setu region of Estonia. It first builds a landscape model that includes both natural and cultural layers; consists of a series of time layers; and can be handled as a "collection of places" each having its own life-way. Text analysis, a questionnaire and indexical relations are used to study the life-ways, which allows the characterization of the main cultural landscape features of each time layer, but also distinguishes between different meanings the Setu cultural landscape bears for different actors. The paper concludes that the choice between handling landscape, as scenery or as practice, is in real life even more important than in a scientific discussion.

Keywords: cultural landscape, life-ways, indexical relations, Setu

Introduction

The twentieth century has witnessed serious changes in peoples' life-styles. Human development has forced urbanization at the expense of agri-cultural activities. In Estonia, this has also been increased by political turmoil. All this has been reflected in the cultural landscape that has had to adapt to the changes. This paper explores the changing life-ways and cultural landscapes in Setumaa[1] in the border-region of Estonia and Russia.

This paper commences from three theoretical standpoints. Firstly, the cultural landscape should be understood as the interplay of natural and cultural phenomena, not just the landscape controlled by man. Secondly, time is included in the concept of landscape; it frames the development

[1] There are two parallel versions of this name. The Setus use Setomaa, the Estonians Setumaa. Using of the names here follows the quoted sources.

phases of a landscape, and sets non-transparent barriers between the different stages. Thirdly, exploring life-ways could be the way to study the development of cultural landscape through time. In the following, each of these stand points will be explained.

Theoretical frame

The concept of cultural landscape

Cultural landscape is perhaps one of the most contested and misunderstood concepts in (human) geography. The interpretations vary from Sauer's (1925) old (and now re-discovered) notion "culture is the agent, natural area is the medium, cultural landscape is the result" to Cosgrove's and Daniels' (1988) idea that landscape is just a cultural image. Somewhere in between are understandings that cultural landscapes should be understood as area purposefully changed by man, as a palimpsest (see Vervloet 1986), text (Duncan 1990), even as a set of interfaces between different approaches and understandings (Palang & Fry 2003). Moreover, the understanding of cultural landscapes differs between languages, the position of the observer, and the aim of the definition made (Claval 2004a; Cosgrove 1984/1998; Ingold 2000; Jones 1991; 2003; Keisteri 1990; Olwig 2002; 2004; Palang & Sooväli 2001; Relph 1986 (1976); Sack 1997; Setten 2004; Tuan 1974; Urry 2002).

One of the foundation criteria of this paper is the landscape model developed by Keisteri (1990) that could best be suited to a holistic landscape research. She divides the so-called total landscape into three parts. There are material features in the landscape that are easy to measure and describe. Simultaneously, there are non-material features, e.g. cultural and scenic components that are difficult to quantify. Finally, there are underlying processes, i.e. all natural and human processes together with their interrelations. The underlying factors determine the development of landscape. In this model, subjectivity and objectivity complement each other in the evaluation of landscapes rather than being opposite poles. It also enables one to distinguish between the different hierarchical levels. It can be applied to study major regions on a global scale, or in an attempt to combine the examination of areas of different sizes into a multi-level hierarchy.

Time in cultural landscapes

Another major consideration, in this study, is that time is involved in the term cultural landscape. In the early 1980s, Cosgrove (1984/1998), in his Neo-Marxian mode, wrote how every socio-economic formation tries to

create its own landscape, by wiping off the land, the uses and symbolic values of previous formations and replacing these with its own. A formation should here be understood as a set of political, economic, social and cultural conditions prevailing in a society. In Western Europe, the change from one formation to another has been gradual, and transitions (such as from feudalism to capitalism) took decades, if not centuries. In addition, each formation has had time to develop its own landscapes. A political organization defines land use patterns that reflect the legal system of the country (see Olwig 2002; Mitchell 2003). Through arts and communication, a landscape ideal is created, which later becomes the yardstick for policy and tourism. It contains memories of the past and preconditions for the future. These representations also explain whether, for example, a new mine should be understood as a sign of progress or as an environmental hazard. So, we are talking about urban and industrial landscapes, and referring back to the agricultural landscapes of the early 19th century when speaking of traditional landscapes (Antrop 2000; Vos & Meekes 1999).

The recent political changes in Eastern Europe have shown that the changes in socio-economic formations create time barriers in the landscape that are not transparent – younger people who have not lived in the previous formations are unable to understand those landscapes (Palang et al. 2002, 2004a, 2004b). For example, the elements created during the period of collective farms are still visible in the landscape, but their meaning and function remain incomprehensible for the younger generation and people living elsewhere. Both the historical and everyday context is thus significant for landscape study. The shifts in landscape and their understanding by locals are not as sharp and sudden as the political changes. There is a certain time lag, for example, Maandi (2003) argued that the physical traces linger and the stories are passed on to the following generation even if the practice has ceased. A human characteristic is to desire what is not present, especially when people feel that they have been left out and forced into the role of a passive observer or a chess-piece in a decades long political game. Post-modern landscapes provide a multitude of various interpretations, ways of seeing and practicing landscape (see e.g. Jauhiainen 2003).

Cultural landscapes, places and life-ways

Cultural landscape could be handled as a living environment or as a reflection of human actions (Jackson, Smith 1984), observed in its social, political and cultural contexts. This is connected with the Neo-Marxist

explanation where social formations, ideology and symbolic interpretation are important for explaining social behavior and cultural values (Mels 2003). Here, landscape can be understood via a semiotic approach – either as codes, symbols or iconography. For example, in his representation of landscape, Olwig (2002) uses outward appearance and adaptation as a visualization of different political ideologies.

Cosgrove (1984/1988) has written that landscape is a cultural image, which through representation allows showing social preferences of cultural groups. However, twenty years later the same Cosgrove (2003) explains that there are two general ways to investigate landscape, ecological and semiotic treatment. An ecological landscape discourse focuses on the complex interactions of natural processes (geomorphologic, climatic, biological, vegetational, etc.) shaping characteristic land areas, extending its concerns to the ways in which human activity interact with these natural processes. A semiotic approach emphasizes more the context and processes through which cultural meanings are involved and shape a world that is simultaneously natural and human. As Claval (2004b: 2) explains:

> "During the late 90s, some of the criticisms developed earlier against the cultural approach vanished: geographers were discovering that culture was not a set of new and independent forces working in social life, but was the way all the social, economic and political factors were expressed by human groups. As soon as society was conceived in terms of communication, perception, representations, codes and conventions came to the fore. To adapt the cultural approach was not to negate the social nature of human life, but to use the appropriate tools to study it."

Thrift (2002) emphasizes that social structures are characterized by their duality. The social theory tends to recognize either the compositional or the contextual approach. The former is connected with the Marxist approach, the latter with phenomenology and the cognitive approach, where direct time-space bounded placement, human practice, personal wishes, thoughts and material needs are important. This guides us to various places and life-stories.

Soini (2004: 85) suggests coming back to places:

> "Place and landscape are in many ways intertwined with each other, but they do have certain differences. In academic geography, landscapes are seen more as objects of interpretation than as contexts of the experience – as place is typically seen as (Relph 1989). Places are lived in: they

> permeate everyday life and provide meaning in people's lives, whereas landscape is predominantly thought of as a visual concept, as an image. Visual appearance is an important feature of all places, too. However, a scene may be of a place, but the scene itself is not a place, as Tuan (1974) has put it. Accordingly, all place experiences are not necessarily landscape experiences (Relph 1976)"

Buttimer (1993; 2001) departed from Vidal de la Blache's classical concepts of "lifeway", "patterns of living" or "ways of life" to describe the connections between livelihood, social organization and cultural tradition within particular bio-physical settings. Each life-way includes a symbolic world, which is closely tied to group identity and characteristic behavior routines and interaction networks linked to the socio-spatial ordering of everyday life. Life-way emphasizes place as a setting for everyday routines and social interaction, and the physical dimensions of the place are in danger of remaining secondary – especially when employed in fieldwork.

In this paper, we try to combine all three considerations. We handle landscape as a whole, as a combination of physical setting plus the representation of it. We handle landscape as a "collection of places" that have individual histories, life-ways. And following these lived-in places from the viewpoint of its dwellers, we try to understand how the landscape of Setumaa has changed through the different time stages.

Materials and methods

Departing from the concept of cultural landscape explained before and taking into consideration the different power ideologies, we tried to bring out typical life-ways of Setu people and meanings of their surroundings. For that we used two approaches. Firstly, we analyzed materials available in the Estonian National Museum (answers of correspondents and Ethnographical archive). In addition to that, we also used the collection *Mu Setomaa* (Vananurm 2002), which is based on local memories. These two sources give a comprehensive historical overview of how the Setu people relate to their living environment. Secondly, a field survey in the form of a questionnaire was carried out in summer 2003 that tried to find out how people see today's landscape in Setumaa, and which meaning the surrounding environment has for them. The respondents were local people and those who had relatives or summerhouses in Setumaa. All in all, 21 answers were received (eleven women and ten men from the ages twenty to seventy-four).

We used the method of indexical relationships, which allows interpreting important meanings in people's everyday life in social context –

their relation with the surrounding environment. Indexical method is based on repetitions and is connected with semiotic understanding where culture is understood as a series of symbols and signs containing meanings (Jackson & Smith 1984: 38). The indexical method in text analysis is intertextual. It pays attention to historical, ideological and social context (Fairclough 1999) and gives meaning to symbols, which are coming from different social action. Indexes are signs that have a temporal and/or spatial connection with what they refer to – they have an existential role for their referents (Duranti 1999: 208). Indexes are included in cultural landscape through myths, descriptions, feelings, stories, historical symbols or other emotional links, which represent culture and some meaningful unit in people's minds (Berger 1995; cf. Lehtonen 1998: 95).

Life-ways and time layers in Setumaa

We will take a closer look on how the Setu cultural landscape has developed during the 20th century. During this time, Estonia has gone through four distinct socio-economic formations. Taking the end of the Russian Empire in the aftermath of the WW I as the base line, we follow the changes introduced by the three following stages: the independence time of the 1920s and 1930s; the collectivized agriculture period of the 1940s till 1991, and the regained independence period since then. We will focus on the changes in representation, as these reflect best the changing life-ways and thereby cultural landscape changes. As it is somewhat difficult to use interviews or questionnaires to restore the situation of earlier times, we have used written sources for the first two periods and rely on our questionnaire and *Mu Setomaa* collection (Vananurm 2002) in describing the present-day situation.

The 1920s–1930s

When Estonia became independent from the Russian Empire in 1918, the county of Setumaa, formerly belonging to the Pskov province, remained on the Estonian side of the new state border. This meant that many significant changes in the everyday life of the Setu people were to be carried out, to adjust Russian-tradition-based cultural landscape to the Estonian one. These changes that included attempts of integrating of Setu people, introduction of the parish reform, immigration of Estonians and land consolidation, weakened the traditional way of life in Setumaa.

Before the land consolidation, the Setus owned a common plot of land which, should a need occur, was redistributed. After the consolidation in the beginning of the 20th century, which accelerated still in the twenties

(Lõuna 2003), people acquired land away from their village. The numbers of households in villages diminished and settlements became more disperse (Tammekann et al. 1928). People started to identify themselves through the household (Runnel 2002).

In the studied texts of the 1920–1930s, the indexical relations are still similar to those of the traditional Setu cultural landscape, although some adaptations to the new political situation can be seen. The texts show that people still value rural land the most, as fields, pastures and meadows provided necessities for living. Another point is that land was scarce because of the high population density – it was not easy to find place to start a new farm. People often described everyday activities that were connected with the land and surrounding nature because picking of berries and mushrooms, flax growing and fishing were important activities. Very often the texts talk about markets, where the town of Petseri (Pechory) played an important role as a marketplace and communication centre.

The importance of land is also reflected in the religious beliefs and in the idealizing of nature. Farm work was connected to certain customs, for example, carting out manure was to be finished before the feast of *Maarjapäev* (St Mary's Day, on 28 August according to the Gregorian calendar), or bread was eaten in a special way before cutting rye (EA 1935: 325, 337–338). Bringing religious beliefs such as burial customs, eating on graves, rituals in the holy corner of the house, to everyday activity was common and ordinary. It is relevant to emphasize that the parents forced their children to follow these customs (Vananurm 2002: 73).

In describing everyday life, people pay much attention to going to church. The little village capel (*tsässon*) and the gathering party (*praasnik*) on church holidays have a certain role in these stories. People married usually from their own village, common work parties were customary. People identified themselves through *nulks* – the traditional administrative units:

> *Farm children waited all the summer the St. Jacob's Day.*[2] *In that day herds were lead early to home. Next day was free, because in the day, after the St Jacob's Day, was in Unkavitsa village kirmask.*[3] *Folks went into*

[2] Now village feast in the 2th of August in Sokolova village.

[3] Developed from celebrating of Saints' Days in chapels, later altered to folkfests, which are (were) celebrated steady in different villages in exact days.

every farm and when in the evening people gathered onto ben, in the centre of the village /—/ young people walked from one side of the village to another side... (Vananurm 2002: 145).

All this lets us conclude that the Setu people identified themselves often through village communities (EA 1935, 1992–1993; Vananurm 2002).

The texts also hint at how political land changes affected the cultural landscape. For example, changing of the communal pattern, when the consolidation started:

My father's farmstead had not much land, but there were nine heirs /—/ in the time of consolidation, they were given land out of the village in wooded land (EA 1977: 145); or some notes about changes of material culture, when new houses were built. People started wearing folk costumes less frequently, as nobody wore them at home any more. The only ones in folk costumes were married women when going to a wedding or *praasnik*.

Summing up, besides religious, social and local identity (Jääts 1998), land had significant importance in the life-ways of the 1920–30s. Land served as a source of income; it had rituals, customs and beliefs connected to it. People were willing to carry on their customs, the communal system functioned as expressed by internal communication within and identification by villages.

The Soviet occupation 1940–1991

The Soviet time is still the most visible one in the Estonian landscapes. Never before have the changes been so rapid and extensive. Land use and lifestyles of the previous periods were altered, new structures introduced. Administratively, Setumaa was halved, one part remaining under the jurisdiction of the Estonian SSR and the other part started to belong to the Russian SFSR. As the border had mostly administrative consequences, it did not influence everyday communications. However people started to move to the Estonian side because of better living conditions and acquiring the language (Jääts 1998). The Russian side was administered from Petseri (Pechory), the historic center of the Setus, while the Estonian side was administratively divided between the Põlva and Võru counties.

During the Soviet occupation, the described life-ways were connected with collective farms and block buildings. People remember that the system of kolkhozes took away their property. They were left only a little piece of land. Different peculiar restrictions came into force:

People who didn't build their house according kolkhoz's master plan, got no advantages (EA 1962: 106);
In kolkhozes they didn't allow us to go to church. In the time of graveyard feasts, they organized secular festivals, but people didn't go there (EA 1992–1993: 38);
We moved away from Setomaa. The house and stable needed repairs, but they didn't give us any materials from forest /—/. My father was not a kolkhoz worker. For the same reason we got hay only from a marsh and our pastureland was located on a ditchside (Vananurm 2002: 81).

Gardening was an essential living source in that time for the Setu people. It was carried out on smaller pieces of land than in the 1920s–1930s. Markets were still important and significant sources of income. People sold cucumbers, potatoes, cabbage and strawberries, especially at the Leningrad market. The Setus were still accustomed to the historical communication pattern of the old Setumaa: when the kolkhozes forced people to do their shopping in the district center Võru, the Setu people used to go shopping in Petseri (Pechory). In many cases, people saw the Soviet period positively just because of the markets and remaining communication routes.

Changes in customs can also be interpreted through created clubhouses and new festivals. Feasts were celebrated according to the new Gregorian calendar, which had been forced into use already with the Estonian integration policy in the 1930s (Lõuna 2003). Alienation from religion and lack of direct responsibility caused a lack of morality (see also Palang et al. 2004a). Indifference was reflected as well in the cultural landscape.

Many people explained that the conditions forced them to leave Setumaa at that time. Also, many parents suggested to their children to leave, because they thought the region had no future:

… burdocks started to grow around the houses. Gardens brushed. For many years some houses were empty and fell into disrepair. Some houses were sold, pulled down and taken away, stayed only stove place (Vananurm 2002: 147).

During the Soviet time, traditional culture was not valued. Identity was preserved thanks to the older generations, who kept the traditions. This happened in a suppressed and hidden way, where socialist life patterns overshadowed them with their symbols.

The indexical relationships of this period confirm Buttimer's ideas as explained before. People's values diverted from the traditional ones. The cultural landscape became more impersonal. People moved away from the

animated land and nature. Although the material objects of the previous formation were still visible, the meanings had changed. Life-ways were described through impersonal, nature-valued symbols like the *Värska* mineral water and Värska sanatorium (Semm & Sooväli 2003), in all-Estonia known institutions, in which local imaged mentions were more important. Religious and traditional meanings were hidden. If, in the 1920s and 1930s, it was characteristic to identify somebody through the traditional territorial units – *nulk* – in Soviet times this division started to disappear in people's minds.

The Setu people in the re-independent Republic of Estonia since 1991

The biggest change at the end of the Soviet times was that the border between Estonia and Russia, which used to be a line on the map, became real, with signposts, barbed wire, border stations and border guards. Although the Setus enjoyed a simplified border crossing regime, they had to pass one of the two stations, instead of taking the shortcut they had used during the previous centuries.

The text analysis shows that people refer mostly to the border problem. People cannot freely visit the villages and graveyards on the other side of the border. With the border problem, people also explain the emptying of villages and disappearing of home places:

> *It is sad to see empty and decayed homes. Almost in every village are these places. Roofs are full of holes, weed is everywhere around the houses /—/ garden is grown to the brush* (Vananurm 2002: 55).

The area is disfavored as a permanent dwelling place. People consider agriculture and farming senseless because of the lack of market possibilities. In the cultural landscape, this is referred to as fallow lands.

Meanings connected with the village are changed. People do not attend village gatherings and meet each other seldom, often only at the automobile shop:[4]

> *I am a little disappointed that after ten years the village gathering of Selise brought nobody back* (Vananurm 2002: 74).

[4] A bus rebuilt to accommodate a small shop, traveling from one village to another and making stops at certain times at certain places.

People notice that *baabas*, and others who carried the Setu spirit and culture are disappearing:

> *I have observed how rituals are disappearing and are replaced by festivals which are similar to the Estonian culture* (Vananurm 2002: 120).

Another theme in the texts is alienation from the church tradition, although feasts are still important:

> *During the fifty years I can't say that people are against religion, but just going to the churches is rare. I can't say that I am against it, but I am estranged from religion* (EA 1992–1993: 32).

At the same time, the desire to preserve the old origins is still there; the texts stress the customs carried on by the elders, and hint at how the wider public wishes to learn and distribute the original Setu culture:

> *In old days it was so that when spring started with Easter, in Sunday was "*germass"[5] *they say so. One day in one village, another day in other village, but not in every village. This was in old times. Now there is the established Setu society, where they want to perpetuate this* germass (EA 1992–1993: 32).

Village gatherings are important for the locals, because they attract many people back to Setumaa:

> *Only at the time of local feasts (July's last Friday – the day of Päätnitsa*[6]*) enormous crowd of people comes from other places in Estonia with cars to Saatse and then it is again all silent and abandoned everyday life of village* (KV 949, 2001: 267).

People notice that symbols of traditional cultural landscape are used again, for example, village feasts (*kirmask*), chapels, graveyards rituals and also new symbols and festivities like the Seto Kingdom Day and museums. To those having moved away from Setumaa, home places, graveyards, village gatherings carry the meaning of family gathering places. Today's landscape in Setumaa is mostly about remembering meanings.

[5] *Germass* = *kirmask* = village feast.

[6] (Great-)martyr Parasceva (of Rome).

The texts also reveal some elements about post-modern treatment in the cultural landscape – tourism-oriented towards nature and cultural knowledge. In the early 1990s, people celebrated the Midsummer night bonfire on 6–7 July (according to the Gregorian calendar) in small groups, while these days the Midsummer's Day festivals in Treski are very well known. The Seto Kingdom Day seems to be a new type of bigger gathering in the beginning of August, which operates as an important meeting place for the Setu people and for those interested in Setu culture.

While asking people about their identity, we found out that Setu identity has become fuzzy. One respondent identified herself as a "summer-Setu" and some identified themselves as "Setu people from Estonia". One respondent explained:

> *This differentiation is given from the "outsider's" perspective. It is because of the state border, which divides people. Setu people don't do such differences* (Male, 25).

The respondents knew a little about parallel place names. People are losing connections with direct places and stories in there:

> *The Setu language is not an official language. Signboards, maps and schoolbooks force Estonian "official" names. Such parallelism is completely usual and common. Instead of Verska one must say Värska, instead of Mikidämäe – Mikitamäe, instead of Saatsõ or Satsõrinna one must say Saatse, instead of Põrstõ – Põrste, instead of Miikse – Meeksi and so on ...* (M, 25).

The place names of the beginning of 20th century are used again in the signposts, and words like *kirmask* and *praasnik* have entered everyday use. It shows how language and old names are being used to preserve the traditional way of life. Using the terms "Setomaa" and "Petserimaa" is connected with trying to bind the two halves of the Setu areas together, which carries a direct ideological meaning. In Soviet times, these terms were rejected.

The questionnaire showed that people did not know much about the way of life of the older generations. People were more familiar with certain symbols and references, which are introduced through wider publicity, for example, the singing Setu women and their folk costumes. Of changing symbols, the respondents mentioned the creation of the Setu homestead museum; that the borders between the Orthodox and Lutheran religions are not that clear anymore; that the number of authentic Setu people is

small; that the old customs are accommodated with today's customs; that the close villages have changed the greater part of villages have fallen into disrepair. One correspondent gave an opinion:

> *Kingdom and Leelo singing days catch greater attention than before and surely being visible has an encouraging effect to Setu-people. And it is good that Setomaa coheres with cultural events and "peculiar" culture rather than just with Värska mineral water* (M, 25).

In the traditional landscape, meanings were connected to spiritualized nature and religious elements; in the present-day cultural landscape, these symbols are important as preservers of heritage and thus the (local) identity. And the festivals aimed at remembering and reproducing the traditions carry a reunifying meaning for the Setus.

Discussion and conclusions

The results of the text analysis as well as the questionnaire show how the changing socio-economic formations have influenced the landscape change. During the inter-war period, the Setu landscape was close to the one we are used to calling traditional. It was an agricultural society where land played an important role. During the Soviet period, alienation from the land started, as a different ideology supported different decisions. This ideological otherness seems to be the major residue of the Soviet times. But there has always been a "counter-landscape" (see Sooväli & Palang forthcoming), a relic from the previous formation that semi-legally carried on the traditions and somewhat compensated for the collectivized agriculture. The market-oriented gardening activities and church-going are part of this, for instance. But the places already started to thin out. After Estonia regained its independence, the processes are twofold. On one hand, the results point at marginalization, outflow of population as well as decline of economic activities. On the other hand, there is a growing interest towards revitalizing the traditions.

Setumaa, together with the island of Kihnu, are the only two areas to Estonian people that have retained distinctive folk culture. However, due to this the area attracts a lot of tourism attention; and there also seems to be disagreements about the future of this distinct cultural landscape.

The study shows how Setumaa is being perceived by its inhabitants. Nature plays an important role – land was important in the 1920s and berry forests were named as one of the most valuable landscapes in 2000 (see Alumäe et al. 2003). Often people see Setumaa as a tourist area with

beautiful nature, where activities include walking in the forest, picking berries and mushrooms, and not cultivating fields anymore (in fact, the locals do cultivate land and do go to the woods to gather for a living). The values are similar to those Claval (2004b: 36) describes as the dreamed post-modern nature:

> "Most of the newcomers do not settle in rural areas because they offer tracts of "genuine" (in fact, artificially reconstructed) nature, or because they wish to participate in new forms of communities. What they appreciate in the relatively low-density areas of the contemporary countryside is the possibility they offer to practice activities which involve the use of large tracts of land. New "ruralites" wish to jog in pleasant environments, practice golf on the perfect greenery of links, play tennis on well-trimmed courts, climb up the closest cliffs, raft down the rapid streams of nearby mountains, practice deltaplaning etc."

People try to create an ideal mental image of the area. Here one can draw parallels to Cosgrove's (Cosgrove & Daniels 1988) ideas about fixating the iconographic landscape, i.e. preserving the collection of symbols and their definite meanings in the landscape, even if they don't exist anymore in reality. For example, tourism booklets demonstrate characteristic building styles, singing woman in their folk costumes, *tsässons* or pictures about cultivated rural fields (Semm & Sooväli 2004). It is also connected with Setu-experts, who often do not count on local people and their reality and cultural dynamics. Olwig (2004) has shown how this representation of landscape creates a circular reference between the representation and "real" life. Once a landscape gets depicted on a picture in a tourist brochure or described in a travel guidebook, those coming will be looking for that very image. And they are disappointed if they do not find it there. This might mean a decrease in income. To avoid that, the "real" landscape is being re-arranged to match the representation, to show the tourists what they want to see. This might lead to seasonal effects (tourist-oriented show-time plus tourist-free real-time) and sort of schizophrenic mis-understandings of what is "real" and what is not.

Both reducing and supporting processes take place, at the same time, in the Setumaa cultural landscape. On one hand, Setumaa can be understood as a seasonal creation or a tourist-oriented cultural area, where traditional symbols in the landscape do not have direct meaning to the local people any more (economical purposes for tourists excluded). At the same time, the old traditions or symbols of Setumaa are introduced both to the locals and to the general public. Runnel (2002) describes how local authorities

are trying to reconstruct the feeling of communal society, but this is valued, in the first place, only by old local people. The role of the local community as a creator of identity is weakening. Annist (2004) concludes that the village life is now sustained by tourists, which has made rural life a strange disrupted, fragmented, seasonal event. However, a scenario study conducted to show the future options for the landscapes of Setumaa (Palang et al. 2000) demonstrated that the local people had an equal preference for both continuation of the more traditional agricultural lifestyle, which was the counter-landscape of the Soviet times, and the tourism landscape, which is modernized and symbolizes Scandinavian welfare for them.

This leads to a discussion about the role of different actors in the landscape, or whether landscape should be seen as practice (for local people with their meanings and everyday actions) or as scenery (for tourists to gaze at). This can be seen as a power play between different interest groups (see Alumäe et al. 2003; Palang et al. 2004c). And there are different ideas about what is authentic and which period should serve as a baseline for defining authenticity (see Gustavsson & Peterson 2003).

In Setumaa, one can bring out three interest groups in the landscape. Firstly, come the local Setu people, who constitute the majority of the population in Setu areas. They live their everyday life, tormenting themselves with everyday problems and do not bother themselves with the aspirations of the Setu activists. Maybe this is due to the heritage of passivism of the Soviet time, or because of their personal understanding about being Setu. Being less receptive to innovations, they are the ones who maintain the characteristic way of life. Because of high unemployment, they cultivate land, pasture animals and get income from picking mushrooms and berries. Some of them attend church and carry on with their customs. Annist (2004) calls this group 'a local everyday' that contains the authenticity of culture. They are the existential insiders (or dwellers) in Relph's (1986) sense.

Secondly, there are the local Setu activists and intellectuals of Setu origin living in Setumaa or elsewhere, who try to maintain and re-create tradition, which was cut off during the Soviet time. This group has an important effect on today's landscape. They try to retain the heritage for the local residents and also for the wider public. They often live in memories rather than the actual situation and think they are in a position to judge what is authentic and what is not and are thereby able to define traditions (see Annist 2004).

The best solution could be finding a common ground between these two groups. Preserving culture cannot rely only on external symbols. It is

more important to understand and to give them a meaning. This links back to the discussion about places in the beginning of this paper – place is more personal than landscape and places could be given meanings only through personal experience, from inside. This is reflected in today's cultural landscape – young people in Setumaa are learning the local history and are involved in activities which are connected to the (re)introduction of customs by external agents.

The third group includes people who are interested in the landscape of Setumaa as tourists, who are connected with a post-modern treatment of landscape as scenery. Many summerhouses have been set up and people visit Setumaa more in summer. Meanings, which these people give to the surrounding environment, differ greatly from the local ones. But this group brings economic income to the region. For them, the landscape symbols could be *tsässons*, museums, with objects of nature and with cultural events. This important possibility raises Setu people's self-assurance and prevents understanding the Setumaa landscape as just a beautiful summer landscape.

Annist (2004) stresses that cultural or historical identity may not always be the local identity. It is often an identity constructed from outside, which might be dangerous to the local one. Local people take the advice of the "authenticity watchdogs" too seriously and it might result that the local life gets locked in the past. The locals are expected to pay too much attention to culture. When the past shadows the present and everyday local practices, it becomes difficult to define and maintain the local identity. The past should be a step towards the future, not the focus of life. And everyday practice should maintain the traditions.

The Setu cultural landscape is at the crossroads. On one hand, the distinctiveness of the cultural landscape, the visibility of the time layers, the continuation of task-scapes, that are considered traditional, attract visitors. And these visitors come to see the authentic "real past", thus launching the circular referencing process to which Olwig (2004) refers. At the same time, this "real past" evolves, as change is always part of the landscape. Local people are the ones who, paradoxically, carry out the change and represent the past for the visitors. And as there is a discussion in geography about whether landscape should be handled as scenery or practice, the same choice happens simultaneously in real life.

Acknowledgment

Parts of this paper have been supported by the Estonian Science Foundation grant 5858. The authors wish to thank Anu Printsmann for

her valuable comments and people from the UCLA Geography Department for discussing some of the ideas expressed here.

Primary sources

EA = Etnograafiline Arhiiv. 23. köide 1935. Eesti Rahva Muuseum. Rahvateaduslik osakond.
EA = Etnograafiline Arhiiv. 85. köide 1962. ENSV Teaduste Akadeemia. Etnograafia Muuseum.
EA = Etnograafiline Arhiiv. 152. köide 1977. Eesti NSV Riiklik Etnograafiamuuseum.
EA = Etnograafiline Arhiiv 241. köide 1992–1993. Eesti Rahva Muuseum.
KV = Korrespondentide vastused 949. 2001. Eesti Rahva Muuseum.

References

Alumäe, Helen, Anu Printsmann & Hannes Palang 2003. Cultural and Historical Values in Landscape Planning: Locals' Perceptions. – Hannes Palang, Gary Fry (eds.), *Landscape Interfaces: Cultural Heritage in Changing Landscapes*. Boston, Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 125–146.

Annist, Aet 2004. Maaelu pärast põllumajandust. – *Kunst.ee* 1: 71–74.

Antrop, Marc 2000. Background Concepts for Integrated Landscape Analysis. – *Agriculture, Ecosystems and Environment*. Vol. 77: 17–28.

Bastian, Olaf & Uta Steinhardt (eds.) 2003. *Development and Perspectives in Landscape Ecology*. Boston and Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Buttimer, Anne 1993. *Geography and the Human Spirit.* Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Buttimer, Anne 2001. Sustainable Development: Issues of Scale and Appropriateness. – Anne Buttimer (eds.), *Sustainable Landscapes and Lifeways. Scale and Appropriateness*. Cork: Cork University Press, 7–34.

Claval, Paul 2004a. The Languages of Rural Landscapes. – Hannes Palang, Helen Sooväli, Marc Antrop, Gunhild Setten (eds.), *European Rural Landscapes: Persistence and Change in a Globalising Environment.* Boston and Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 11–41.

Claval, Paul 2004b. The Cultural Approach in Human Geography. A Perspective on Eight Years. *The Cultural Approach in Geography/ L'approche culturelle en géographie, IGU Commission N 30/ Commission N 30 de l'UGI, Editorial N 9 – 2004.*

Cosgrove, Denis E. 1984/1998. *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.

Cosgrove, Denis E. 2003. Landscape: Ecology and Semiosis. – Hannes Palang, Gary Fry (eds.), *Landscape Interfaces. Cultural Heritage in Changing Landscapes.* Boston and Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 15–21.

Cosgrove, Denis & Stephen Daniels (eds.) 1988. *The Iconography of Landscapes: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Duncan, James S. 1990: *The City as Text: the Politics of Landscape Interpretation in the Kandyan Kingdom.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Duranti, Alessandro 1999. *Linguistic Anthropology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fairclough, Norman 1999. Linguistic and Intertextual Analysis Within Discourse Analysis. – *The Discourse Reader*. Ed. by Adam Jaworski ja Nikolas Coupland. London: Routlege, 183–211.

Gustavsson, Roland and Anna Peterson 2003. Authenticity in Landscape Conservation and Management – the Importance of the Local Context. – Hannes Palang, Gary Fry (eds.), *Landscape Interfaces. Cultural Heritage in Changing Landscapes.* Boston and Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 319–356.

Ingold, Tim 2000. *The Perception of the Environment.* London: Routledge.

Jackson, P., J. S. Smith 1984. *Exploring Social Geography*. London.

Jauhiainen, Jussi S. 2003. Learning from Tartu: Towards Post-postmodern Landscapes. – Hannes Palang, Gary Fry (eds.), *Landscape Interfaces. Cultural Heritage in Changing Landscapes.* Boston and Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 395–406.

Jones, Michael 1991. The Elusive Reality of Landscape. Concepts and Approaches in Landscape Research. – *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift* 45: 153–169.

Jones, Michael 2003. The Concept of Cultural Landscape – Discourse and Narratives. – Hannes Palang, Gary Fry (eds.), *Landscape Interfaces. Cultural Heritage in Changing Landscapes.* Boston and Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 21–52.

Jääts, Indrek 1998. *Setude etniline identiteet. Studia Ethnologica Tartuensia* I. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli etnoloogia õppetool.

Keisteri, Tarja 1990. The Study of Changes in Cultural Landscapes. *Fennia,* Vol. 168, No. 1: 31–115.

Lehtonen, M. 1998. Kuidas tähendusi uuritakse? – *Kultuur ja analüüs. Artikleid kultuuriuurimisest.* Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 93–107.

Lõuna, Kalle 2003. *Petserimaa. Petserimaa integreerimine Eesti Vabariiki 1920–1940*. Loodus. Aeg. Inimene. Tallinn: Eesti Entsüklopeediakirjastus.

Maandi, Peeter 2003. Landscape and Land Restitution in Estonia. Geographical Patterns of National History and Individual Memory. Presentation at the conference Landscape, Law and Justice, Oslo, 15–19 June 2003.

Mels, Tom 2003. Landscape Unmasked: Kenneth Olwig and the Ghostly Relations Between Concepts. – *Cultural Geographies,* Vol. 10, No. 3: 379–387.

Mitchell, Don 2003. Cultural Landscapes: Just Landscapes or Landscapes of Justice? – *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 27, No. 6: 787–796.

Olwig, Kenneth Robert 2002. *Landscape, Nature, and the Body Politic: From Britain's Renaissance to America's New World.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Olwig, Kenneth Robert 2004. "This is not a Landscape". Circulating Reference and Land Shaping. – Hannes Palang, Helen Sooväli, Marc Antrop, Gunhild Setten (eds.), *European Rural Landscapes: Persistence and Change in a Globalising Environment.* Boston and Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 41–66.

Palang, Hannes & Gary Fry (eds.) 2003. *Landscape Interfaces: Cultural Heritage in Changing Landscapes*. Boston and Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Palang, Hannes & Helen Sooväli (eds.) 2001. *Maastik: loodus ja kultuur. Maastikuküsitlusi Eestis. Publicationes Instituti Geographici Universitatis Tartuensis* 91. Tartu.

Palang, Hannes, Helen Alumäe & Ülo Mander 2000. Holistic Aspects in Landscape Development: a Scenario Approach. – *Landscape and Urban Planning*, Vol. 50: 85–94.

Palang, Hannes, Mart Külvik, Anu Printsmann, Egle Kaur & Helen Alumäe 2002. Maastik, sidusus, identiteet. – Ülo Kaevats (toim.), *Usaldus. Vastutus. Sidusus. Eesti sotsiaalteaduste aastakonverents*. Tallinn: Tallinna Tehnikaülikooli Kirjastus, 27–32.

Palang Hannes, Anu Printsmann, Éva Konkoly Gyuró, Mimi Urbanc, Ewa Skowronek, Witold Woloszyn 2004a. The Forgotten Rural Landscapes of Central and Eastern Europe. – *Landscape Ecology*, in press.

Palang Hannes, Helen Sooväli, Anu Printsmann, Tiina Peil, Valter Lang, Marge Konsa, Mart Külvik, Helen Alumäe & Kalev Sepp 2004b: Estonian Cultural Landscapes: Persistence and Change. – Jaan-Mati Punning (ed.), *Estonia 9. Geographical Studies.* Tallinn: Estonian Academy Publishers, 155–170.

Palang, Hannes, Helen Alumäe, Anu Printsmann & Kalev Sepp 2004c: Landscape Values and Context in Planning: an Estonian Model. – Jesper Brandt, Henrik Vejre (eds.), *Multifunctional Landscapes. Volume 1: Theory, Values and History*. Southampton: Wessex Institute of Technology Press, 219–233.

Relph, Edward 1986 [1976]. *Place and Placelessness. Research in Planning and Design Series.* London: Pion.

Runnel, Pille 2002. *Traditsiooniline kultuur setude enesemääratluses 1990ndatel aastatel. Studia Ethnologica Tartuensia* 7. Tartu.

Sack, Robert David 1997. *Homo Geographicus: A Framework for Action, Awareness, and Moral Concern*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Sauer, Carl O. 1925. *The Morphology of Landscape. University of California. Publications in Geograph*y 2: 19–53.

Schama, Simon 1995. *Landscape and Memory*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Semm, Kadri, Helen Sooväli 2004. Võimuideoloogiate peegeldused Setumaa kultuurmaastikes. – *Setumaa kogumik 2*. Uurimusi Setumaa arheoloogiast, rahvakultuurist, ajaloost ja geograafiast. Tallinn: Ajaloo Instituut; MTÜ Arheoloogiakeskus, 19–31

Setten, Gunhild 2004. Naming and Claiming Discourse. – Hannes Palang, Helen Sooväli, Marc Antrop, Gunhild Setten (eds.), *European Rural Landscapes: Persistence and Change in a Globalising Environment.* Boston and Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 67–82.

Soini, Katriina 2004. Between Insideness and Outsideness – Studying Locals' Perceptions of Landscape. – Hannes Palang, Helen Sooväli, Marc Antrop & Gunhild Setten (eds.), *European Rural Landscapes: Persistence and Change in a Globalising Environment.* Boston and Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 83–99.

Sooväli, Helen, Hannes Palang, forthcoming. Milk Trestle Landscapes. – Brian Nerney and Peter Quigley (eds.), *Relationship of Human Structures and Landscape*. Metropolitan State University.

Tammekann, August, Edgar Kant & J. V. Veski 1928. *Setumaa. Maadeteaduslik, tulunduslik ja ajalooline kirjeldus*. Tartu: Eesti Kirjanduse Selts.

Thrift, Nigel J. 2002. On the Determination of Social Action in Space and Time. – *The Spaces of Postmodernity. Readings in Human Geography*. Eds. Michael J. Dear and Steven Flusty. Blackwell Publishers, 106–119.

Tuan, Yi-Fu 1974. *Topophilia – a Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Urry, John 2002. *The Tourist Gaze*. 2nd ed. London: Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage.

Vananurm, Ilmar [2002]. *Mu Setomaa*.[Meremäe]: Setomaa Valdade Liit.

Vervloet, Jelier A. J. 1986. *Inleiding tot de historische geografie van de Nederlandse cultuurlandschappen.* Wageningen: Pudoc.

Vos, Willem & Herman Meekes 1999. Trends in European Cultural Landscape Development: Perspectives for a Sustainable Future. – *Landscape and Urban Planning*, Vol. 46: 3–14.

Trees in Komi (Zyrian) Rituals and Beliefs

Alexander Chuvyurov

In the worldview of the Finno-Ugric peoples, there exists a varied range of animistic and totemistic conceptions related to worshipping of trees. The material on Komi-Zyrians, found in literature and collected by researchers during recent years, can be divided into the following groups.

Holy groves and worshipped trees

Until Christianization, the birch, the spruce, the mountain ash and the bird cherry tree were the main species that were worshipped by the Komi-Zyrians (Belitser 1958: 322). In the hagiography of St. Stephen of Perm[1] it is mentioned that in Ust-Vym, on the bank of the Vym River, there stood a big birch tree especially worshipped by local people. As the author of the hagiography says, this tree was so big that three people were hardly able to encircle its trunk with their arms (*Povest*… 1996: 68). According to the same source, the Permians (Komi-Zyrians) took sacrificial animals and hides to this tree. The Komi-Zyrians worshipped this tree as a deity, maintaining that any disrespectful act towards it threatened people with all kinds of troubles (*Povest*… 1996: 69). Several legends have been passed down describing how St. Stephen of Perm chopped this birch tree down. The aforementioned story, about St. Stephen of Perm, presents a colourful description of this event. According to this source, St. Stephen was chopping this birch for three days, and in the course of this process the birch, like a living creature, uttered cries of pain reminding people of the voices of men, women and children. During chopping, blood streamed out of the tree (*Povest*… 1996: 69). As the birch was so big, the saint was not able to chop it down on the first day. He drove his axe into the tree and went to have a

[1] An earlier copy of this source dates back to the 18th century (Vlasov 1996: 16–17).

rest. When morning came and he returned to the tree, he saw that it was standing undamaged, but his axe, which he had left stuck in the trunk, was lying on the ground, next to the birch tree (*Povest*… 1996: 69). And it was only on the third day that the saint, according to the source, was able to chop down the birch tree, worshipped by the Komi-Zyrians, and it fell on the ground, crying and groaning loudly. The tree was burnt right after it had been chopped down. Later on, St. Stephen of Perm had a church erected on the site of this birch tree in the honour of the holy archistrateges Michael and Gabriel (Gavriil) (*Povest*… 1996: 70).

Even as late as at the beginning of the 20th century, birch groves, which were considered to be holy, were carefully preserved outside many Komi villages (Belitser 1958: 322). According to A. Sidorov, in a number of Lower-Vychegda communes (Aikinsk, Kokvitsk) birch groves were carefully preserved in the 1920s. In the village of Iovdin, Turinsk commune, there was a big pine tree standing on the bank at the confluence of the Vym and Iolva Rivers, which was especially worshipped in the 1920s. Local women used to come to this pine tree, light candles on its branches and pray there (Sidorov 1924: 48). Ethnographers A. Sidorov and V. Belitser mentioned that there existed a belief among the Komi-Zyrians that each person had a counterpart among trees. So Sidorov claims that "each person, according to Zyrians, has a twin tree, which, when chopped down, speaks in a human language with its twin-human, bleeds and has a miracle-working power after it has been chopped down. If you make a table from this wood, it will never be short of food supplies; if you make skis, they will carry you to the destination if you merely think about the journey. According to a Komi legend, the famous Sindorsk hero-hunter Iirkap possessed these kinds of skis" (Sidorov 1924: 48).

Images of animated trees can also be found in various hunting stories and beliefs. When making preparations for staying overnight under a tree, hunters first asked for the latter's permission to do so. Without asking permission, according to Komi beliefs, the hunter was going to encounter serious trouble. And, on the contrary, if the hunters observed all the confidential hunting regulations and norms, they gained favour with the tree who had put them up for the night (*Komi legendy*… 1984: 14). So, in the story entitled "I Am Not Ready Yet" a hunter stays overnight under a spruce, prior to asking for her permission to do that. In the morning, when he is getting ready to leave, he hears someone's voice saying, "I am not ready yet". When the hunter has already moved away from the tree, there comes a gust and knocks down the tree, and

its top is right behind the hunter's back (*Komi legendy*… 1984: 92–93).

In traditional culture, the researchers (N. Konakov, V. Sharapov) elicit a number of opposing pairs: pine-birch, birch-spruce, as well as their correlation, mainly the triad "spruce-pine-birch", with the Upper, Middle and Underworld in Komi mythology. The aforementioned regularity is fixed in the beliefs and rituals related to these trees, and it also visually manifests itself in the symbolism of fine arts, in the stylised tree motif in the wooden household commodities of the Komi people: with branches directing upwards, towards the Sun (birch); with branches perpendicular to the trunk (pine); with branches directing downwards, towards the ground (spruce) (Sharapov 1993: 135).

The researchers emphasise the ambiguity in interpreting the image of some trees by the Komi (aspen, bird cherry tree). So, V. Sharapov observes that, in superstitious beliefs, the image of the bird cherry tree is included in the symbolic range of deciduous trees with negative characteristics (aspen and poplar) (Sharapov 2001: 206). The belief, that a bird cherry tree planted near a dwelling can bring bad luck to the inhabitants, is quite widely spread among the Komi. In the Udor region, people maintain that a bird cherry tree, that has spread its roots under the foundation of a log dwelling, can endanger the residents of the house (Sharapov 2001: 206). Analogous beliefs have also been observed among the Upper-Vychegda and Pechora Komi. The informants emphasise that, if the roots of a bird cherry tree (or a larch) penetrate under the framework of a dwelling, the head of the family will catch a disease, or die, or the family will be dissolved (FM, Ust-Kulom d., Gabovo v., 2001).[2]

The negative symbolism of the aspen, in Komi national legends, is related to a number of evangelical events: arresting Jesus Christ in the Gethsemane garden, Judas Iscariot's suicide. So, in one of Vychegda legends the aspen assumes the role of the tree which helped the soldiers find Jesus Christ in Gethsemane garden, "…*Сы улӧ дзебсьӧцма Енмыс, сэсся сыа легмунӧма. Некутшӧм пу абу ворзьӧма. Куш пипуыд вӧрзьӧдчӧма. Пипу дорас вӧлӧма кытӧнкӧ матын да став пуыс вӧлӧм тӧдӧны. Аддзылін пӧ энӧ сійӧ, сэтшӧм-сэтшӧм мортӧс. Некод абу висьтасьӧма. Молчитӧмась*

[2] Recorded from A. P. Loginova (b. 1928), N. V. Mezeva (b. 1939), A. A. Loginov (b. 1939), Gabovo v., Ust-Kulom d., 2001. Materials of Upper-Vychegda expedition organised by the REM and the NMRK.

Сыа отнасӧн пӧ корнас легнитчӧма шыӧндчӧма. Корсысьяс вӧлӧм юалӧны, жидъясыс" ("It was said that God was hiding himself under an aspen when the Jews started looking for him. And they are asking trees if they have seen such and such a person. All trees kept silent, only the aspen rustled its leaves.") (FM, Ust-Kulom d., Gabovo v., 2001.)[3] According to another legend, the aspen was damned for letting Judas commit suicide in it, "*…и Господь ловзьас. Сэсся Юдаыс, код Господьсӧ вузаліс, пипу доро мунас. Господьыд бара на мӧдӧма прӧститны. Сэсся прӧклинайтӧма сыа пусӧ, мыйла сыа Юдасц лэптіс. Вот сыа пипу вылас Юдаыс ӧшӧдчас. Некутшӧм пу абу лэптӧма, ставыс чегӧма, сыа только пипуыс лэптӧма.*" (FM, Pechora d., Ust-Kozhva v., 1995.)[4] ("… and God was resurrected. And then Judas, who had betrayed God, willing to commit suicide, went to an aspen, but God was going to forgive Judas. That is why God damned the aspen for letting him commit suicide in it. Judas was trying to commit suicide in different trees, but all his attempts failed; each time the branches of the tree picked out by him broke, and it was only with the branches of the aspen that he succeeded in implementing his idea; it was only the aspen that allowed him to commit suicide.")

According to V. Sharapov, the negative attitude towards the aspen and the bird cherry tree was largely due to the natural qualities of their wood, which was considered as unsuitable for building dwellings because it was brittle and prone to decay (Sharapov 2001: 206).

Among the Pechora Komi, there existed a belief that if a person planted a tree, he connected his destiny to the life of the tree – everything that happened to that tree, would also reflect on the person who had planted it (Chuvyurov 2001: 36; Sharapov 2001: 206). Even as late as in the 1960s, on the middle course of the Pechora River, the older generation disapproved of planting young trees near dwelling houses. According to researchers' observations, Russian peasants of Vologda Guberniya used to have a special relationship with the trees planted by people. So, the peasants, who were engaged in the felling of timber, imagined that everyone who decided to cut down a tree, which human hands had planted and taken care of, would get into serious trouble

[3] Recorded from A. P. Loginova (b. 1928), N. V. Mezeva (b. 1939), A. A. Loginov (b. 1939), Gabovo v., Ust-Kulom d., 2001. Materials of Upper-Vychegda expedition organised by the REM and the NMRK.
[4] Recorded by V. E. Sharapov and A. A. Chuvyurov from A. P. Arteyeva (b. 1908) Ust-Kozhva v., Pechora d. Materials of ethnographical expedition of the Pechora Local Lore Museum. Rec. 1995.

("such a person either goes mad, or breaks an arm or a leg, or a sudden death befalls him") (Zelenin 1937: 41).

Special groups of trees are elicited by their morphological peculiarities – these are forked trees with several tops (*вожа ну*), which are regarded as habitats of evil spirits (Sharapov 2001: 206).

Trees in rituals related to building

The main building timber for Komi-Zyrians was pine, and for the lower logs (*венцы*) larch was used (Zherebtsov 1971: 40).

It was maintained that not each timber was suitable for building. A log of an incorrect tree could cause ill luck. In the past, the Russian population of Vologda Guberniya shared the same opinion. So, among the Russian peasants residing in the district of Cherepovets, there existed a wide-spread belief that in pine and spruce groves the so-called "ferocious trees" grew. These trees were attributed a special characteristic – destructive power, which was able to destroy the building and devastate its inhabitants (Zelenin 1937: 41).

The Komi used to ask wise old men to select trees for logs. In a number of regions, especially at Komi-Permyaks, these wise men were considered to be wizards – *тöдысь* (Konakov 1996: 90–91). The Komi-Permyaks used to conduct a special ritual before logging, which was called "*зарон*" – a peculiar kind of predicting, inquiring into destiny. When reaching the forest, they first chopped down three trees. If these trees fell down without breaking their tops, it was a sign of permission to start building. Yet, if even only one of the three broke its top, the logging and building were postponed for a year (Zelenin 1937: 39).

As a rule, the Komi-Zyrians obtained timber in June, when trees were still emitting sap, or sometimes also in the autumn, after the harvesting season (Zelenin 1937: 91). The trees, whose annual rings curled towards the sun, were considered to be bringing bad luck, as were also those which had a bulge on the bark encircling the trunk like a collar. Those trees whose boughs grew lengthwise with the trunk and had a hollow at the bough and trees with a fork-shaped crown (it was believed that they had "two hearts" –, these trees were supposed to cause trouble). The ones which had a dry surface layer meant (the inhabitants of the house were believed to "dry up", i.e., fall ill); those which had a branch growing out of the trunk at a sharp angle, and so on (Zelenin 1937: 90–91). One of the Upper-Vychegda stories recorded by us reads as follows, "Elderly people said that if you had a log or a board with a deep-set gnarl (*пиа ул*) in the house, people caught diseases all

the time. So, in our house, on the floor, there was a board, which had a gnarl on the inside. And we had a brother who kept being ill. And once an itinerant came to our house, a Russian. And when he learned that our brother was ill all the time, he pointed at the board and said that there was a deep-set gnarl in it, and that is why our brother, he said, was ill. So we had to throw out this board" (FM, Ust-Kulom d., Gabovo v. 2001).[5] The Russian population in Altai used to have analogous beliefs in the past: it was maintained that "if in the wall of a house there is a board with a "stolon", i.e., a gnarl, which starts deep in the trunk and is detached from it by a crack, then the landlord is going to die soon (Zelenin 1937: 32)."

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Upper-Vychegda Komi used to have a ritual meal to commence building. On the site chosen for building, the carpenters arranged three concentric circles of logs, and in the centre they stuck, into the ground, a newly cut mountain ash with an icon hanging on it. After that they started the ritual meal consisting of a fish pie, sour cream and bread (Sergel, AREM: 39).[6] The Vym Komi-Permyans and Komi-Zyrians used to have analogous customs, only the Vym Komi did not just stick the mountain ash into the ground, but buried it under the dwelling (Konakov 1996: 94). A similar ritual also existed at the Russians of the Vologda Guberniya (Zelenin 1937: 50).

Trees in curative-prophylactic rituals

According to V. Nalimov, in order to cure a person of a disease, an alder stick was brought from the forest, and, going round the room where the sick person was lying, the walls were whipped with the stick, saying, "*чур ки буди бурд*" (*churki* get well) (Nalimov 1907: 22). In order to heal the sick person, twigs and berries of a juniper were used to burn incense; the latter was also used as a protective means on the door and window jambs of dwellings.

Itinerants were considered to have special abilities for healing people, as people who pass many trees and streams on their way, get purified, and so assume the ability to purify others (Nalimov 1907: 23).

[5] Recorded from A. P. Loginova (b. 1928), N. V. Mezeva (b. 1939), A. A. Loginov (b. 1939), Gabovo v., Ust-Kulom d., 2001. Materials of Upper-Vychegda expedition organised by the REM and the NMRK.
[6] Sergel = Сергель С. И. Описание зырянских построек в Вологодской губернии (1906 г.) – AREM, F. 1, descr. 2, file 567, p. 39.

It is the very property of trees – to absorb human sins and diseases – that accounts for the custom of confessing and healing near trees that existed among the Komi-Zyrians. In Upper-Vychegda, sick people used to go to spruces for recovering, and in the case of different spiritual traumas (death of a relative, some kind of personal experiences, etc.) they went to confess at a birch tree (Appendix No. 13). The procedure of healing and confessing consisted in the following ritual: a person approached the tree, encircled its trunk with his arms, and turned to the tree with a request to take upon itself and remove the illness from him. At the same time, some informants emphasise that the opposition spruce-birch was determined not by the type of illness, but by the male/female feature (men – spruce and pine, women – birch) (Appendix No. 13). In the Udor region, (hamlet of Koptyuga) the confession to the tree (birch) was made in the following way: the confessor put his arms round the tree, uttered an incantation, then let go of the tree and shook his hands, by doing so throwing off his bitter grief and sins. The Pechora Komi Old Believers used to perform the same kind of rituals: according to their vision in certain extreme situations (grave illness, threat of death), if there was no person of the same faith (Old Believer) nearby who could have been able to receive a confession, "you could confess to a tree (a high spruce), and this kind of confession was regarded as being of full value" (FM, Pechora d., Sokolovo v. 1995 (2)[7]).[8] A peculiar version of wizards' confessions was recorded by researchers among the Upper-Vychegda Komi: the wizard was brought a spruce, which, after the confession was completed, was planted back in its former habitat (Ilyina 1989: 53; Semenov 1992: 16).

In this respect, the "penitential prayers" of the Pechora Komi Old Believers are especially interesting (Appendices No. 1–10). They are said in the Komi language in the morning, after waking, and in the evening before sleep. To start with, the "beginning" of praying is carried out in front of icons: a short text with bows. Then, going out into the yard and turning with the face to the east, the Old Believers' version of the Lord's Prayer is uttered. The making of the sign of the cross and a low bow are followed by a greeting to the surrounding nature: "Hail to you,

[7] Analogous versions of the confession also exist among Russian Old Believers of Perm oblast, who also acknowledge the possibility of confessing to trees (spruce, birch) (see Kulikova 2001: 47–48).
[8] Recorded from A. S. Pastukhova (b. 1920) Sokolovo v., Pechora d., 1995.

Heavenly Master and your Holy Saints (*святые Божьи угодники*). Salute to you, Mother Pechora, woods and bushes, birches and spruces" (FM, Pechora d., Sokolovo v., 1999).[9] (Appendix No. 7). The order of the evening prayer is the same, only in the end the penitential prayer is said in a somewhat different form, "Amiable Mother Pechora. We have sailed on your waters many a time. You have given us drink and food. Forgive us, Sinners. Woods and Bushes, we have met many a time: sometimes we wept, sometimes we sang – all kinds of things have happened. Forgive me, for I have sinned. Mother Earth, forgive me, for I have sinned. I have walked on you a lot, I have committed many a sin. Amiable Sun, forgive me, for I have sinned. Amiable Moon, forgive me, for I have sinned. Amiable heavenly stars, forgive me, for I have sinned" (FM, Pechora d., Sokolovo v., 1999).[10] (Appendix No. 7).

Altogether, during the expedition five versions of these non-canonical motifs (i.e., prayers existing in oral tradition) were recorded. Repeat records of these texts from the same informants (Appendices No. 3–5, 7–9) indicated that the situation with these oral prayers is, to a great extent, similar to improvisational genres (lamentations): the texts differ not only by the reciters, but also vary depending on the personal condition of the informant (general mood, physical condition). By locality, these texts are limited to the villages of Kozhva and Sokolovo (Pechora district). In other settlements, inhabited by Komi priestless Old Believers (Pechora, Vuktylsk, Troitsk-Pechora districts), they have not been recorded.

Most frequently, addressing trees in these prayers occurs through collective images *вӧр-ну* (woods-trees – Appendix No. 1), *вӧр-бадь* (woods-bushes – Appendices No. 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 9), *вӧр* (woods – Appendices No. 6, 10). Addressing the mountain ash, spruce and bird cherry tree has been recorded once each (Appendix No. 5). Mountain ash in the prayer is called *душа-спасительӧ* (saviour spirit) or *спаситель ну* (tree-saviour). In two prayers, the birch tree has been addressed by its name (Appendices No. 5, 7).

By their content and characteristics of their recital, these non-canonical prayers are comparable to the "penitential poems", which in the past were spread among some groups of Russian Old Believers, especially *нетовцев*, and were recited before confession in a certain

[9] Recorded from A. I. Pastukhova (b. 1914), Sokolovo v., Pechora d., 1999.

[10] Recorded from A. I. Pastukhova (b. 1914), Sokolovo v., Pechora d., 1999.

ritual penitence – "valediction to Earth" (one of these rituals was recorded at the beginning of the 20th century by the priest A. N. Sobolev in Sudogodsk county, Vladimir Guberniya (Sobolev 1914: 1–40)).

Typologically close motifs have also been recorded by researchers in a contemporary Russian Old Believers' community in Lower-Pechora (Ust-Tsilma district, Republic of Komi) (Dronova 2002: 101–102).

The inclusion of these kinds of "non-canonical prayers", in the religious-ritual life of the Komi Old Believers, became possible as they reflected archaic conceptions: the treatment of surrounding nature as a living organism, the relations with which have an impact on the well-being of people. Turning to the surrounding nature, especially Mother Earth, can also be encountered among other groups of the Komi people. So, in 2000, in an Upper-Vychegda village Myyeldino we recorded the following prayer to the "Mother Earth": "In the name of Father, Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen. God bless us. Earth, water, trees and grasses, moon and sun and air – be blessed the use of you. Mother Earth, my dear, allow me, sinner, walk on your chest with my sinful body" (FM, Ust-Kulom d., Myyeldino v., 2000)[11] (Appendix No. 11). In the same district, in Upper Vychegda, we recorded a case when a person, having a spiritual trauma, went to the river and, in a peculiar form of a confession, spoke about her grief, turning to the river with a request to carry away along its waters her sorrow and grief (FM, Ust-Kulom d., Kekur v., 2001)[12] (Appendix No. 14).

Trees in funeral and wake rituals

Until recently, the tradition of planting trees (spruce, pine, juniper, more seldom also birch) on burial places was still upheld among the Komi. The Pechora Komi buried their dead under spruce roots even in the 1960s, and also planted a young spruce as a monument on the tomb. On the middle course of the Pechora River, these kinds of burials have been noted in the case of nameless children (the still-born, those not given a name or not baptised) (FM, Pechora d., 1994).[13] An analogous tradition also existed on the upper course of the Pechora River: Old

[11] Recorded from L. I. Parushkova (b. 1935) Myeldino v., Ust-Kulom d., 2000.

[12] Recorded from E. A. Shakhova, Kekur v., Ust-Kulom d., 2001. Materials of Upper-Vychegda expedition organised by the REM and the NMRK.

[13] Author's fieldwork materials gathered in the course of ethnographical expeditions of the KSC UD RAN (1994) and the Pechora Local Lore Museum (1995–1997).

Believers-itinerants also used to bury their dead under spruce roots (Teryukov 1979: 84–85).

The Letka Komi used to commemorate their deceased buried far from their native place, or gone missing, at a spruce, which was picked out by the relatives of the deceased in the forest not far from the settlement. It was maintained that the soul of the deceased lived in this tree or came to it on remembrance days (Sharapov 2001: 206). Researchers have noted, among the same group of the Komi (the Letka Komi), the tradition of using the forked trunk of a juniper (*туся ӧу*) as a vertical "alive" support for the cross on the grave (Sharapov 2001: 206). It is worth mentioning that juniper needles, side by side with spruce resin, are used in funeral and wake rituals to burn incense.

According to V. Sharapov, the Pechora and Izhma Komi used to plant a bird cherry tree (*льӧм ӧу*) on the graves of unbaptised infants who, as a rule, were not buried in the graveyard, but next to houses (Sharapov 2001: 206). In the shadow of a bird cherry tree, growing on a farmstead, the dead were commemorated by sickly, elderly people, who were not able to go to the graveyard or church any more (Sharapov 2001: 206). Trees with double crowns deserved a special attitude. In some Komi villages, people used to uphold the following tradition in order to commemorate their deceased: they planted on the grave a young pine (more seldom, a cedar), the top of which was broken down (Sharapov 1999: 110).

In this way, in the old traditional culture of the Komi, there exists a complicated world of animistic conceptions related to trees. The conceptions of the semiotic status of different species of trees are connected with both the qualities of the trees and their morphological features (curling towards the sun, trees with double crowns, etc.).

Appendix: non-canonical prayers (prayers-addresses to trees and

[14] Recorded from A. S. Pastukhova (b. 1920) Sokolovo v., 1995.

surrounding nature) and stories about confessing to trees

Middle course of the Pechora River (Pechora district, Republic of Komi)
Sokolovo village:

No. 1. *Здорово милӧй Земляӧй, милӧй Небесаӧй, милӧй вӧр-пуӧй, милӧй вӧрбадьӧ, милӧй Печора-матушкаӧ, милӧй рекаясӧй,-здоровоте. Милӧй Солнцеӧ, милӧй лунаӧ, — здоровоте* (FM, Pechora d., Sokolovo v., 1995 (2)).[14] ("Hail to you, my dear Earth and Heaven, my beloved trees and bushes in the forest. Our dear Mother Pechora, dear streams – hail to you. Dear Sun and Moon – hail to you. Forgive me, for I have sinned, and bless me – I woke up in the morning, but maybe I am not ordained to see the evening any more.")

No. 2. *Милӧй земляӧй, милӧй небесаӧй, милӧй вӧр — пуӧй, милӧй вӧр — бадьӧ, милӧй Печора – матушкаӧ, милӧй рекаясӧй, — проститӧй и помилуйтӧй. Милӧй солнцеӧ, милӧй лунаӧ, проститӧй и помилуйтӧй. Проститӧй мэнӧ, грешницаӧс и благословитӧй мэнӧ водны и узьны* (Pechora d., Sokolovo v., 1995 (2)).[15] ("Dear Earth and Heaven, trees and bushes in the forest, dear Mother Pechora, dear streams – forgive me and be merciful. Dear Sun and Moon – forgive me and be merciful. Forgive me, for I have sinned, and bless me for my sleep and rest.")

No. 3. *Мада вольнӧй светӧ прӧстит и помилуйт. Воссиянтан югыд шондіӧй. Асъя петан-весь кыа. Мада толысьӧ, мада ассыввыв, югыд кодзулӧ, мада вӧр-бадьӧ, мада Печора-матушкаӧ, мада лыаӧ, мада лымйӧ, мада дiӧ, проститӧй и помилуйтӧй* (Pechora d., Sokolovo v., 1995 (1)).[16] ("Dear sweet free life (*вольная Волюшка*), forgive me and be merciful. You shine, Red Sun, and rise as a red dawn in the morning. Dear Moon and *Восток*[17] (sunrise), bright stars, dear woods and bushes. Dear Mother Pechora, sands and snows, islands, – forgive me and be merciful.")

No. 4. *Воссиянтан югыд шондіӧ. Асъя петан – весь кыа. Мада толысьӧ. Мада*

[15] Recorded from A. S. Pastukhova (b. 1920) Sokolovo v., Pechora d., 1995.

[16] Recorded from I. A. Misharina (b. 1922), Sokolovo v., Pechora d., 1995.

[17] In Komi Old Believers' religious practice, while saying prayers or performing rituals, it is customary to face east. This prescription is explained by the fact that "God lives in the east". "East and West" in Old Believers' everyday ritual culture are traditionally opposed to each other as parts of the world related to God and Satan, respectively. So, Old Believers, at baptizing, when performing the ritual of "renouncing Satan", the person being baptized as well as the godparents turn to face west.

вольнӧй светӧ, мада земля-матушкаӧ, проститӧй и помилуйтӧй и благословитӧй: семьяылы и аслым, родӧн и вужйӧн, ныв-внучкаӧн (Pechora d., Sokolovo v., 1995 (1)).[18] (You shine, Red Sun, and rise as a red dawn in the morning. Dear free will, amiable Mother Earth, forgive me and be merciful and bless me: my relatives and near of kin, my family and me the sinner, my children and grandchildren.")

No. 5. *Господи, Исусе Христе Сыне Божьем, помилуй мя, грешную! Господи, Исусе Христе Сыне Божьем, помилуй мя, грешную! Господи, Исусе Христе Сыне Божьем, помилуй мя, грешную! Мада Исус Христосӧ, мада вӧльнӧй светӧ, мада земля-матушкаӧ. Мада воссиянтан югыд шондіӧ, мада асъя петан – весь кыа. Мада тӧлысьӧ, мада асыввыв, югыд кодзулӧ. Мада вӧрбадьӧ. Мада Печора-матушкаӧ, мада лыаӧ, мада лымйӧ, мада діӧ, мада тшынӧй, мада тӧлысьӧй. Прӧститӧй и помилуйтӧй, сохранитӧй и берегитӧй, семьяӧн и асымӧс, рӧдӧн и вужйӧн. Кыкын отлаын олӧмӧн. Прости-тӧй и помилуйтӧй. Мада вӧльнӧй светӧй, прӧстит и помилуйт. Милӧй вӧр-бадьӧ, мада пуясӧй, милӧй пуясӧй. Рябина, душа-спасительӧ, рябина – спаситель пу. Мада рябинаӧй, мада рябинаӧй, мада рябинаӧй. Мада льӧм пуӧй. Милӧй кыдзӧй, мада вӧльнӧй светӧй. Прӧститӧй и помилуйтӧй. Беднӧй грешничаӧс прӧститӧй. Прӧститӧй и помилуйтӧй. Мада йӧзӧй, вӧльнӧй светӧй. Небеснӧй Бог простит и помилуйт. Народ православнӧй отсалӧй, посӧбитӧй трудникъяслы, трудничаяслы. Господи благослови, Господи благослови* (Pechora d., Sokolovo v., 1995 (1)).[19] (God the Father and Jesus Christ your son, be merciful to me, for I have sinned! God the Father and Jesus Christ your son, be merciful to me, for I have sinned! God the Father and Jesus Christ your son, be merciful to me, for I have sinned! Amiable Jesus Christ, dear sweet free life, dear Mother Earth. Amiable red morning sun, you rise as a red dawn in the morning. Amiable Moon and *Восток* (sunrise), bright heavenly stars. Amiable woods and bushes. Our dear Mother Pechora, sands and snows, islands, amiable moon. Forgive me and be merciful, protect and spare my family and myself, my relatives and my near of kin, everyone living together. Forgive me and be merciful. Dear sweet free life, forgive me and be merciful. Beloved woods and bushes, dear trees, dear trees. Mountain ash – saviour spirit, mountain ash – tree-saviour. Dear mountain ash, dear mountain ash, dear mountain ash. Amiable bird cherry tree, dear

[18] Recorded from I. A. Misharina (b. 1922), Sokolovo v., Pechora d., 2000.
[19] Recorded from I. A. Misharina (b. 1922), Sokolovo v., Pechora d., 2000.

birch tree, dear sweet free life, forgive me, a poor sinner. Forgive me and be merciful. Kind people, sweet free life, Heavenly God, forgive me and be merciful. Orthodox people, help and support hard-working men and women (everyone suffering because of Christianity). God bless me, God bless me.")

No. 6. *Простит и помилуйт. Благословит Шондiö и Печора – матушкаö, вöрö и ваö, толысьö и кодзулö. Истиннöй Богö простит быд грексьым, быд думсьым, от юности до старости. Быд лек карамсьым, быд грешитцмысь, быд сейöмсьым и юöмсьым, видзöдöмсьым и кывзöмсьым. Телевизор видзöдöмсьыс, радио кывзöмсьыс. Быдсьöма грек карамсьыс. Истиннöй Христос многомилостивöй, долготерпеливöй, простит и помилуйт. Небеснöй Богö, простит и благословит. Сохранит и берегит. Быд притчаысь и пакöстъысь, биысь и ваысь, гымысь и молнияысь, лек погодаысь. Простит и благословит* (Pechora d., Sokolovo v., 1997).[20] ("Sun and Mother Pechora, woods and rivers, stars and moon, forgive me and be merciful, and bless me. True God, forgive me my sins and my impious thoughts, from youth to old age. Forgive me all my evil deeds, all my sins, excessive eating and drinking, idly curiosity. Forgive us that we idle away our time in front of TV and radio. Forgive us, true Christ, merciful and long-suffering, every sin we have committed. Forgive us and be merciful. Heavenly God, forgive us and bless us. Spare and protect us from the evil eye and bewitching, from water and fire, from thunder and lightening, from various natural elements. Forgive us and bless us.")

No. 7. *Небеснöй Господьö, здоровоте. Милöй святöйъяссö здоровоте. Печора-матушкаö, здоровоте. Милой вöр-бадьö, здоровоте. Елкаясöй, березаöй, здоровоте* (Pechora d., Sokolovo v., 1999).[21] ("Hail to you, Heavenly Master and your holy favourites. Hail to you, Mother Pechora, woods and bushes, birches and spruces.")

No. 8. *Любöй Печора-матушкаö. Печора кузьтаыс унаысь ветлiм да, мунiм да, локтiм. Простит миянтö, грешничаясöс. Милöй ваö простит миянтö, грешничаясöс, быд став грекысь. Ванас вердiн да, ютiн да. Вöрö и бадьö. нэмсö кузяла ветлiм да, коркö бордiм а, коркö сьылiм а, быдсямаыс волi. Проститöй мэнö, грещничаöс. Милöй земля-матушкаö, простит мэнö, грещничаöс. Земля кузьтаыс уна ветлалiм да уна грек карим да. Милой шондiо, простит мэнö, грещничаöс. Милöй лунаöй, простит мэнö, грещни-*

[20] Recorded from I. A. Stolitsyna (b. 1922), Sokolovo v., Pechora d., 1997.
[21] Recorded from A. I. Pastukhova (b. 1914), Sokolovo v., Pechora d., 1999.

чаöс. Милöй кодзулъясöй, проститöй мэнö, грещничаöс (Pechora d., Sokolovo v., 1999).[22] ("Our amiable Mother Pechora. I have sailed on your waters many a time. You have given us food and drink. Forgive us, sinners. Woods and bushes, we have met many a time: sometimes we wept, sometimes we sang, – all kinds of things have happened. Forgive me, for I have sinned. Mother Earth, forgive me, for I have sinned. I have walked on you a lot, I have committed many a sin. Amiable Sun, forgive me, for I have sinned. Amiable Moon, forgive me, for I have sinned. Amiable heavenly stars, forgive me, for I have sinned.")

No. 9. *Любöй Печора-матушкаö прöстит менö грешничаöс. Уна ветлім да мунім да локтім да. Пöсöбит да ортсö народ православнöй йозыслы. Ортсо трудникъяслы, трудничалы. Вöр-бадьö прöстит миянтö грешничаöс, турунö прöстит миянтö грешничаöс. Любöй джиджъяссö, прöститöй и помилуйтöй. Уна ветлім да. Уна дöсадитім да. Коркö вочкам, а корко пинялам а, быдсьömаыс вöлі. Любöй Печора-матушкаö, ортсо сё Христа ради* (Pechora d., Sokolovo v., 1999).[23] ("Amiable, dear Mother Pechora, forgive me, for I have sinned. We have sailed on your waters many a time. Help and support your people, Orthodox people. Woods and Bushes, forgive me and be merciful. Grasses, forgive us and be merciful to us, sinners. Amiable heavenly birds, forgive me and be merciful. We have caused you much trouble, walked, disturbed you, sometimes even hit by accident, sometimes maybe called you foul names. Dear Mother Pechora, help me, in the name of Christ.")

Hamlet of Ust-Kozhva

No. 10. *Небеснöй Богö, ворö и ваö, Печора-матушкаö, прöститöй и благословитöй миянöс овны. Сохранитöй и берегитöй гымысь и молниясь, льок смертьысь. Ворö и ваö, благословитöй войсö узьны и лунсö овны. Прöститöй и помилуйтöй* (FM, Pechora d., Ust-Kozhva v., 1995).[24] ("Heavenly God, woods and rivers (surrounding nature), Mother Pechora, forgive us and bless us in our lives. Protect and spare us from thunder and lightening, from remorseless death. Woods and rivers (surrounding nature), bless our sleep at night and our daily time. Forgive

[22] Recorded from A. I. Pastukhova (b. 1914), Sokolovo v., Pechora d., 1999.
[23] Recorded from A. I. Pastukhova (b. 1914), Sokolovo v., Pechora d., 2000.
[24] Recorded from A. P. Arteyeva (b. 1908), Ust-Kozhva v., Pechora d., 1995.

us and be merciful.")

Upper-Vychegda (Ust-Kulom district, Republic of Komi):
Village of Myyeldino

No. 11. *Во имя Отца, и Сына, и Святого Духа. Аминь. Господи благословит. Муӧй, ваӧй, пуӧй, турунӧй, тӧлысьӧй и шондіӧй, воздухӧй тіянӧн пользуйтчыны. Благословит Земля-Мати, матушкаӧ, тэнчыд морӧстӧ таляны грешнӧй телӧӧн* (FM, Ust-Kulom d., Myyeldino v., 2000).[25] ("In the name of Father, Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen. God, bless us. Earth, water, trees and grasses, moon and sun and air – be blessed the use of you. Mother Earth, my dear, allow me, sinner, walk on your chest with my sinful body.")

Stories of confessions to trees:
Hamlet of Dzol:

No. 12. *Ена висьыгӧн висьталӧны ветлалӧны пӧ пу дорас мыйкӧкрены. Нывбабалы пӧ кыдз пу дінӧ, а мужиклы пӧ пожӧм или коз пу дінӧ. Висиг дырйи пӧтай ветлалӧны. Кор эштӧны сэк и ветлалӧны. Тан тай ӧтик бабушка эм кокъямысдас кык арӧса, сыа тай ёна ветлӧдлӧма пӧ тай, висьталӧны* (FM, Ust-Kulom d., Dzol v., 2001. (2). AREM. F. 10, descr. 1, file 129, pp. 9–10).[26] (If you are ill, you go to trees. It is said that women are supposed to go to birch trees, and men – to spruces or pines. If you are ill, you go to trees. You go when you have time for it. We have an old woman here, she is 82 now. They say that earlier on she used to go to trees quite frequently.)

No. 13. *Кыдз пу пӧ сыа бур пу а. Асьыд шогтӧ колӧ кыдз пулы висьталны. Кыдз пуыслы мый эм ставсӧ висталан. Мый аслад сьӧлӧмын эм. Йӧз дырйи оз позь, гусьӧникӧн дерт колӧ. Исповедайтчӧны тай гусьӧн. Сыа весиг исповедайтчыны позьӧ поплы моз, кыдз пуыслы став грекыд мунӧ. А коз дорын летитчыны, висьан кӧ. Висьӧмсӧ шыбитны, мед босьтас козйыд. Кыдзыс дорӧ сідз жӧ, кыдзи морт дорӧ и обращайтчан, кыдз дорас: "кыдзӧ, кыдзӧ". Сыа мыйкӧ "грек ли мыйкӧ выйым сійӧ босьт пӧ менчым, ставсӧ пӧ чистит ме вылысь пэ да". Тадзи и шуалам. Козыслы тай висьӧмсӧ висьталӧны*

[25] Recorded from L. I. Parushkova (b. 1935), Myyeldino v., Ust-Kulom d., 2000.
[26] Recorded from S N. Morokhina, Dzol v., Ust-Kulom d., 2001. Materials of Upper-Vychegda expedition organised by the REM and the NMRK.

да ме сыӧ ог шуаллы. Кыдзыслы шуллыла мукӧд дырйиыс. Кор веськалан. Тшакла ли мыйли мунан ли, шог босьтас да сэки келмысьан да висьталан. Пуктан пернапастӧ куимысь, Исусовӧй молитвасӧ лыдьан да. Бӧрдыштан и быдтор и висьталан. Топӧдлан кыдзсӧ, шогтӧ висьталан. Генка кулӧм бӧрын бӧрда вӧлі. Генка тай куліс, полтора года арӧса вӧлі. Сэки ёна бӧрда вӧлі. Кыдзъяс дорас бӧрда вӧлі (FM, Ust-Kulom d., Dzol v., 2001. (1). AREM, F. 10, descr. 1, file 128, p. 56).[27] ("It is said that the birch is a good tree. If you are grieving, you can tell the birch all about it. You tell her what is on your mind. This is not done in public but in private, so that nobody would see. Confessions are made secretly. It is said that if you confess to a birch, it is the same as if you confessed to a priest, you are forgiven your sins. But to the spruce you have to go, when you are ill, to cure yourself to get rid of your illness, in order for the spruce to take your illness off you. You address the birch the same way as you address a person: Birch, birch, take my sins, everything that is bad in me. Purge me from sin. This is the way we say. But if you are ill, you turn to the spruce, only usually I do not do it myself. But to the birch I sometimes turn when you go to the woods, to gather mushrooms. If you are grieving, you pray and say what weighs heavily upon your mind. I cross myself, and read the Lord's Prayer three times, and then stand and weep and tell the birch everything that is on my mind. I hug the birch and tell her my grief. Well, when my son Grisha died, he was one and a half years old. I used to weep a lot then. Went to birches and wept there.")

No. 14. *Ва дорас ытшкыгӧн пуксьа да шуа: "Господьӧ, Эжва, ва-матушкаӧ, менчым шогсӧ кылӧд* (FM, Ust-Kulom d., Kekur v., 2001).[28] ("During hay-making, I sometimes sit on the river bank and say: My dear Vychegda, Mother-River, take my sorrow and carry it away with your waters.")

[27] Recorded from N. G. Loginova, Dzol v., Ust-Kulom d., 2001. Materials of Upper-Vychegda expedition organised by the REM and the NMRK.

[28] Recorded from E. A. Shakhova, Kekur v., Ust-Kulom d., 2001. Materials of Upper-Vychegda expedition organised by the REM and the NMRK.

Abbreviations

AREM=Archive of the Russian Museum of Ethnography
KSC UD RAN = Komi Science Centre. Ural Division. Russian Academy of Sciences
NMRK= National Museum of the Republic of Komi
PKM = Pechora Local Lore Museum
REM= Russian Museum of Ethnography

Primary sources

Author's fieldwork materials:

FM, Pechora d., 1994. Author's fieldwork materials gathered in the course of ethnographical expeditions of the KSC UD RAN (1994) and the Pechora Local Lore Museum (1995–1997).

FM, Pechora d., Ust-Kozhva v., 1995. Rec. by V. E. Sharapov and A. A. Chuvyurov from Akulina Prokopyevna Arteyeva (b. 1908) Materials of ethnographical expedition of the Pechora Local Lore Museum.

FM, Pechora d., Sokolovo v., 1995 (1). Rec. from Irina Andreyevna Misharina (b. 1922).

FM, Pechora d., Sokolovo v., 1995 (2). Rec. from Anna Savatyevna Pastukhova (b. 1920).

FM, Pechora d., Sokolovo v., 1997. Rec. from Irina Alekseyevna Stolitsyna (b. 1922).

FM, Pechora d., Sokolovo v., 1999. Rec. from Anna Ivanovna Pastukhova (b. 1914).

FM, Ust-Kulom d., Myyeldino v., 2000. Rec. from Lyubov Ivanovna Parshukova (b. 1935).

FM, Ust-Kulom d., Gabovo v., 2001. Rec. from Anastasia Pavlovna Loginova (b. 1928), Nadezhda Vasilyevna Mezeva (b. 1939), Aleksey Aleksandrovich Loginov (b. 1939). Materials of Upper-Vychegda expedition organised by the REM and the NMRK. AREM, F. 10. descr. 1, file 129, pp. 17–18.

FM, Ust-Kulom d., Dzol v., 2001 (1). Rec. from Nina Grigoryevna Loginova (b. 1943). Materials of Upper-Vychegda expedition organised by the REM and the NMRK. AREM, F. 10, descr. 1, file 128, p. 56.

FM, Ust-Kulom d., Dzol v., 2001 (2). Rec. from Svetlana Nikitichna Morokhina (b. 1946). Materials of Upper-Vychegda expedition organised by the REM and the NMRK. AREM, F. 10, descr. 1, file 129, pp. 9–10.

FM, Ust-Kulom d., Kekur v., 2001. Rec. from Yevdokia Arsenyevna Shakhova (b. 1932). Materials of Upper-Vychegda expedition organised by the REM and the NMRK.

References

Belitser 1958 = Белицер В. Н. Очерки по этнографии народов коми XIX — начало XX в. – *Труды Института Этнографии им.Н. Н. Миклухо-Маклая.* Т. 45. Москва: АН СССР.

Chuvyurov 2001 = Чувьюров А. А. Этнографические заметки из жизни коми деревни. – *Живая Старина*, № 1: 36.

Dronova 2002 = Дронова Татьяна Ивановна. *Русские староверы-беспоповцы Усть-Цильмы: Конфессиональные традиции в обрядах жизненного цикла (конец XIX–XX вв.).* Сыктывкар: Коми НЦ УрО РАН.

Ilyina 1989 = Ильина Ирина Васильевна. Коми-карельские параллели в религиозно-магических представлениях о ели. – *Карелы: этнос, язык, культура, экономика. Проблемы и пути развития в условиях совершенствования межнациональных отношений в СССР* (Тезисы докладов). Отв. ред. Ю. А. Савватеев, Г. М. Керт. Петрозаводск: КФАН СССР.

Komi legendy… 1984 = *Коми легенды и предания*. Сост. Юрий Герасимович Рочев. Сыктывкар: Коми книжное издательство.

Konakov 1996 = Конаков Николай Дмитриевич. *Традиционное мировоззрение народов коми: окружающий мир. Пространство и время*. Труды института языка,литературы и истории КНЦ УрО РАН. Вып. 60. Сыктывкар: Коми НЦ УрО РАН.

Kulikova 2001 = Куликова И. С. Память смерти. Размышления староверов-беспоповцев Верхокамья (фрагменты встреч 1995–2001 гг.). – *Старообрядческий мир Волго-Камья: Проблемы комплексного изучения. Материалы научной конференции*. Пермь.

Nalimov 1907 = Налимов В. П. Загробный мир по верованиям зырян. – *Этнографическое обозрение*, № 1–2: 1–23.

Povest… 1996 = Повесть о Стефане Пермской. (Подгот. А. Н. Власов.) – *История Пермской Епархии в памятниках письменности и устной прозы. Исследования и материалы: к 600-летию со дня представления Стефана Пермского*. Отв. ред. А. Н. Власов. Сыктывкар: Сыктывкарский государственный университет.

Semenov 1992 = Семенов Виктор Анатольевич. *Традиционная семейная обрядность народов Европейского Севера: к реконструкции мифопоэтических представлений коми (зырян)*. Санкт-Петербург: Изд-во Санкт-Петербургского университета.

Sergel, AREM = Сергель С. И. Описание зырянских построек в Вологодской губернии (1906 г.) АРЭМ ф. 1, оп. 2, д. 567.

Sharapov 1993 = Шарапов Валерий Энгельсович. Ель, сосна и береза в традиционном мировоззрении коми. – *Эволюция и взаимодействие культур народов Северо-Востока Европейской части России*. Труды института языка, литературы и истории КНЦ УрО РАН. Вып. 57. Сыктывкар, 126–146.

Sharapov 1999 = Шарапов Валерий Энгельсович. Вожа пу (дерево с развилкой на вершине). – *Энциклопедия уральских мифологий*. Т. I, Мифология коми. Москва.

Sharapov 2001 = Шарапов Валерий Энгельсович. Деревья в погребально-поминальной обрядности коми. – *Историко-культурный атлас Республики Коми*. Москва.

Sidorov 1924 = Сидоров А. Следы тотемических представлений в мировоззрении зырян. – *Коми му*, № 1–2: 43–50.

Sobolev 1914 = Соболев А. Н. Обряд прощания с землей перед исповедью. Заговоры и духовные стихи. – *Труды Владимирской архивной комиссии. Книга XVI*. Владимир, 1–40.

Zelenin 1937 = Зеленин Дмитрий Константинович. *Тотемы-деревья в сказаниях и обрядах европейских народов*. Труды института антропологии, археологии и этнографии. АН СССР, этнографическая серия. Т. 15, вып. 2. Москва-Ленинград.

Zherebtsov 1971 = Жеребцов Любомир Николаевич. *Крестьянское жилище в Коми АССР*. Сыктывкар: Коми книжное издательство.

Teryukov 1979 = Терюков А. И. Погребальный обряд печорских коми. – *Полевые исследования института этнографии 1977 г*. Москва, 80–86.

Vlasov 1996 = Власов А. Н. Миссия Русской Православной Церкви в Пермском крае (по материалам древнерусской письменности). – *История Пермской Епархии в памятниках письменности и устной прозы. Исследования и материалы: к 600-летию со дня представления Стефана Пермского*. Отв. ред. А. Н. Власов. Сыктывкар: Сыктывкарский государственный университет, 4–58.

Ivan-da-marja

Valeria B. Kolosova

The aim of the article is to analyse the process of giving some semiotic status to a plant on the basis of its features; to demonstrate the casual relationship between its appearance on the one hand and the phytonyms, superstitions, and rites on the other hand; to observe the ways of reflecting and semiotization of their features (color, smell, form) in traditional thought and creation. In this way it is possible to find some cognitive principles of including natural objects into the cultural sphere, their place in cultural and language models of different traditions and, finally, ethnocultural features by analysing the difference in such models. Here I would like to examine the ideas about several plants which are rather popular in traditional Slavonic culture and are named *ivan-da-marja*.

With equal frequency, two plants may be associated with this phytonym – blue cow-wheat Melampyrum nemorosum (Scrophularineae) and violet trichromatic Viola tricolor (Violaceae). Both plants are notable for the unusual color of their parts: petals of a violet have different colors, and blue cow-wheat's bracts are violet, unlike the green lower leaves, so they are perceived as flowers alongside real flowers, which are yellow. This feature allows us to analyse both plants within the limits of one article.[1]

This very feature has obviously served the reason for etiological legends surprisingly similar in their plot all the over East-Slavonic territory. For example, in Kholmskaya Russia (Litinskiy *uyezd*) they said that a brother

[1] The same principle was applied for identification of mythological characters: «It is exactly in this sense that the names *rusalka*, *boginka, samodiva, vila* are used in the article. They should be taken as conventional terms; a certain set of characteristic features corresponds to each of them. Many of these features show significant variability which, however, does not destroy the integrity of a mythological character's image. Each set of this kind (with possible variants) is subordinated to its special logic, i.e. separate features or blocks of features within the limits of each set are connected by a certain dependence...» (Vinogradova, Tolstaya 1994: 20).

and a sister, not having recognized each other after long wanderings, got married; having learned the truth, the brother said: «Well, my sister, let's go to a field and sow ourselves: you will blow in violet color, and I – in yellow». This plant got the name *bratki* [brothers] (Chubinskij 1872 (I, 1): 82); compare also: «This is the grass which is a sister with a brother!» (Chubinskij 1874 (5): 201). According to a Belorussian legend, a brother and a sister have also turned into a flower *brat-sestra* [brother-sister] with blue and yellow flowers (Kotaw 1927: 213).

This plot exists also as a song; its variants are recorded, for example, in Belorussia (Vilno province) (Shejn 1887: 233–234. No. 247), and in Ukraine (Markevich 1860: 87–88).

Similar stories can be collected today as well. So, in the village of Radutino (Trubchevsk area of Bryansk region) it is said that when a brother and a sister were led to the altar, «during the church wedding ceremony their wedding crowns disappeared. They were on the church dome. The brother and the sister became flowers. People say: this is the grass which is a brother and a sister». And one specifies: «blue is the brother, and yellow is the sister» (PA, XXI 10 e.). A song from Polesye tells that the origin of *bratyky* is the marriage between a brother and a sister (Smirnov 1978: 244. No. 30; 1986: 261. No. 30; 253. No. 9). The same story existed also in a form of a prosaic story – having gone to the forest, a brother and a sister went and turned into flowers: «people found the place, where they were standing and then separated/went apart: and the flowers went there, this way and that… And now there are such flowers, they grow – *bratyky* [brothers]» (Smirnov 1986: 261).

The theme of forbidden love is not the only one that gave rise to the plot of a flower arising from a brother and a sister: «In the Gomel region there exists a legend about a brother and a sister who were taken to the forest by their father. With grief «they turned into a plant, so that people would pick it, and think of the brother and the sister: two florets [on a stalk]: white and blue, *bratki* [brothers]»» (Usacheva 2000: 282). In a Ukrainian variant «a brother became angry with a sister, ran after her, and strangled her: she turned yellow, and he, having been frightened, turned blue» (Rogovich 1874: 33).

In a reduced form, these ideas are reflected in a group of phytonyms, many of which are the same for both plants. Thus, violet trichromatic Viola tricolor L. is called *Ivan-da-Marja* [Ivan-and-Maria] (Kostrom.) (Toren 1996: 42), *bratki* [brothers] (Bejlina 1968: 417), Bel. dial. *bratachki* [brothers], *brat z syastroyu* [a brother with a sister], *bratki* [brothers] (Minsk province), *brat z syastroj* [a brother with a sister] (Smol., Mogil.),

bratki lyasnyja [forest brothers] (Grodno province), *bratki* [brothers] (Gancharyk 1927à: 202), Ukr. *bratki* [brothers], *bratyky* [little brothers], *Ivan-da-Marja* [Ivan-and-Maria] (Rogovich 1874: 33). The plant blue cow-wheat Melampyrum nemorosum L. also has similar names: *vanja-da-marja* [Ivan-and-Maria] (Don.) (SRNG 4: 38), *brat i sestra* [a brother and a sister] (Western Russia), *brat s sestroj* [a brother with a sister] (Tamb.), *Ivan da Marja* [Ivan-and-Maria] (Russia), *ioakim and anna* [Ioakim and Anna] (Nizhegor.), *adrian i maria* [Adrian and Maria], *bratyky* [little brothers], *bratok* [little brother] (South Russia), Bel. *brat-sestra* [brother-sister], *bratovka* (Mogil.) (Annenkov 1876: 211), Bel. *bratsits-syastrytsa* [brother-sister] (Smol.), *brat-syastra* [brother-sister] (Mogil.), *bratowka* (Mogil.) (Gancharyk 1927b: 228), Ukr. *brat s sestroju* [a brother with a sister] (Sobotka 1879: 317).[2]

In this context, one should pay attention to one more lexical construction: «… in dialects, a complex construction *Sidor-Marja* is known for designating an androgyne… As a result, folk ideas about androgyny, in particular, of marriage between a brother and a sister refer to the images of Ivan Kupala's Day[3] – a brother and a sister, Ivan and Maria, who committed incest and were turned into a one-in-two flower *ivan-da-marja*… to this one should add that incest in folk ideas is exactly associated with the maximal fertility» (Toporov 1978: 430).

It would be logical to suggest that these particular ideas may explain the use of both plants mentioned for certain magical purposes. For instance,

[2] The motive of a brother and a sister, typical for midsummer rites, was analyzed in Vyach. Vs. Ivanov and V. N. Toporov's book «Researches in the area of Slavonic antiquities». In their opinion, the interdiction of marriage and its violation should be compared to stories about removal of interdictions on sexual relations between all men and women during midsummer night (Ivanov, Toporov 1974: 226). The sister is the source of maliciousness in these stories, and as such plays an active role. The authors of the book put forward the assumption that "the prototype of death (and water/sea), expressed in the corresponding form of (**mer-*, **mōr-*) is reflected in the song of Maria and other Slavic songs of St. John's Day, whereas John is the prototype of a twin, connected with life and fire… Element *Marja*, as the name of the two major beginnings may be connected to the afore mentioned *Mara*, preserved only as a survival in certain rites of St. John's Day" (ibid., 230–231). Deriving the pair of *Ivan-and-Maria* from a more ancient pair like *Kupala-and-Maria*, the authors of the book attempt to reconstruct the motif of matrimonial combat of fire and water, reflected in the rite and the song. Referring to byel. dial. *kupalo* 'fire', they put forward an assumption that the root *kup-* contains semantics of both fire and water (ibid., 224).

[3] John the Baptist's Day, Midsummer Day.

blue cow-wheat was used by sorcerers «to establish harmony between spouses» (Annenkov 1876: 211), and a violet – «for treating love illnesses» (Arandarenko 1848: 47). Ideas about love magic are possibly connected with such phytonyms as *lipnyak* [sticky grass] (Olon.) 'cow-wheat Melampyrum nemorosum L.' (Annenkov 1876: 211) and Srbc. *milovanka* [Srbc. *mil* 'nice'] 'violet trichromatic Viola tricolor L.' (Čajkanović 1985: 84).

Duality being associated with this plant, it also served as an original amulet. Having picked it up on St. John's Day before sunrise, some people put it in the corners of a log hut so that a thief could not approach the hut: «brother will talk to sister; the thief will think, that the master of the house is talking to the mistress» (Makarenko 1913: 86). This flower was used as a magic plant as well: «who wants to gallop away from pursuit or to ride fast on a jade, must carry an ivan-da-marja flower on him» (Tereshchenko 1848: 93).

Special power was attributed to *ivan-da-marja*, collected on St. John's Day: among other plants, it was one of the flowers picked up to be used against evil spirits: «Fern, then blue cow-wheat and mugwort – all these herbs, they say, are against sorcerers» (*Ryazanskaya*… 2001: 187). Phytonym *besoprogonnaya trava* [the herb driving away demons] speaks about endowing of a violet by apotropaic properties (Arch.) (Toren 1996: 42). This plant was thought to be able to provide good health: «Among Russians, if somebody wants to be healthy during the whole year, he/she, having bathed at St. John's night, rubs all his/her body with a flower of *ivan-da-marja*» (Sobotka 1879: 318). This flower was a component of a bath besom as well: «In some places of the Novgorod province, near Old and New Ladoga and Tikhvin, on St. John's Day one heats a bath and, having stuck the herb *ivan-da-marja* into brooms, takes a steam bath on this holiday with the purpose to receive health /…/ In Moscow there also existed a custom of steaming by besoms with *ivan-da-marja*…» (Zabylin 1996: 83). In St. Petersburg *ivan-da-marja* along with buttercup, nettle, fern, camomile, mint and wormwood was a part of a midsummer birch besom on the eve of St. Agrafena's Day (Tereshchenko 1848: 72).

On that day, one did not forget about cattle either. In Sennensky *uyezd* «in the evening before St. John's Day girls used to go for the herb «brother-and-sister». Such a habit comes from the old people, for a long time». The grass collected was carried home with songs; when the herd came back, one part of the herb was given to cows, another one left for the morning, the rest was scattered over the cattle-shed (Romanov 1912: 208–209). In Belorussia the song about a brother and a sister turned into a flower had to

be sung during the gathering of this very plant (Petropavlovskij 1908: 164). One may suggest that the custom of collecting *ivan-da-marja* and giving it to cows on the holiday was also based on ideas about increased fertility as a result of incest.

In folk medicine, *ivan-da-marja* is mostly applied against children's diseases. In Belorussia, for example, sick children were usually bathed in its concoction (Chubinskij 1872 (I, 1): 82). In Polesye *bratki* [brothers] – 'violet trichromatic Viola tricolor L.' – was given to children to drink so that they slept well (Bejlina 1968: 417). Both these plants (blue cow-wheat and violet trichromatic) were especially used against scrofula and tetter in children in forms of tea and baths (Annenkov 1876: 211) – in Kazan province (Krylov 1882: 32), in Ukraine (Arandarenko 1848: 47; Avgustinovich 1853: 84). Such phytonyms as *zolotushnaya trava* [scrofula grass] (Tver.) 'Melampyrum nemorosum L.' (Annenkov 1876: 211), Bel. *zalatuha* [scrofula] (Mogil.) 'Viola tricolor L.' (Gancharyk 1927a: 202) are very characteristic in this sense.

Among other diseases «stomach illnesses» are mentioned in connection with these plants (Tula province) (Toren 1996: 68); «it is drunk against stomach pain, when someone overstrains oneself» (Markovich 1891: 424); and also applied to the body «against chest illnesses, itch, and as powder against wounds and cuts» (Annenkov 1876: 211).

However, the coloring of petals produced other associations as well. One of the most common binary oppositions "day / night" is reflected in such phytonyms as: Bel. *den' i noch* [day and night] (Grodn.) 'blue cow-wheat Melampyrum nemorosum L.' (Gancharyk 1927b: 228), Srbc. *danino*ć [day and night] (Čajkanović 1985: 84) 'violet trichromatic Viola tricolor L.', *diviji daninoć* [wild day and night], *divlji daninoć* [wild day and night] 'Viola arvensis Murr.' (Špis-Ćulum 1995: 418 (22)), Pol. *dzień i noc* [day and night], *nocydzień* [night and day], Cz. *den a noć lesnie* [forest day and night], Luzh. *noc a zeń* [day and night] 'cow-wheat Melampyrum nemorosum L.' (Annenkov 1876: 211). Finally, the concept of duality and "halfness" is expressed by such phytonyms as *dvutsvetnik* [two-flowers] (Novg.) 'Melampyrum nemorosum L.' (Annenkov 1876: 211), Ukr. *polutsvetki* [half-flowers] (op. cit.: 382), *polutsvit* [half-flower] 'Viola tricolor L.' (Rogovich 1874: 33).

Some groups of phytonyms have a relationship only with violet. A bright spot, "an eye" in the middle of a dark violet flower produced the following names: *sorochji glazki* [magpie's eyes], *veselye glazki* [cheerful eyes] (Volog.), *anyutiny glazki* [Anyuta's eyes] (Kursk.) (Mizger 1869: 242), Srbc. *dikino oko* [wild eye] (Čajkanović 1985: 84), Bulg. dial. *divi ocheta*

[wild eyes] 'violet trichromatic Viola tricolor L.'. This flower is also called *tryohtsvetka* [a flower of three colors] (Shenk.), *troetsvetka* [a flower of three colors] (Vyatsk., Perm.) (Annenkov 1876: 382), *troicin cvet* [Trinity flower] (Sobotka 1879: 247), Bel. *trytsvet*, *trajtsvet* [a flower of three colors] (Grodno province), *trava trytsvetnaya* [grass of three colors] (Vilno province) (Gancharyk 1927a: 195, 202), Srbc. *trovrsna ljubica* [violet of three sorts] (Čajkanović 1985: 84).

Besides, violet has got one more group of names, not typical to the eastern Slavonic area. It is a group of kinship terms: Srbc. *maćahica*, *maćaha*, *maćuha* [step-mother], *sirota, sirotica* [orphan], *udovica* [widow] (Čajkanović 1985: 84), Sloven. *mačeha* [step-mother], *sirotica* [orphan] (Sobotka 1879: 247; Machek 1954: 72), Cz. *macoška*, *maceška* [step-mother], *sirotky*, *sirotka* [orphan], Luzh. *macoška*, *macuška* [step-mother], *syrotka* [orphan] (Annenkov 1876: 382). Phytonyms with the meaning 'orphan' are explained by the fact that the violet flowers «in September and October when the harvesting is already over, stands on fields alone, like orphans» (Machek 1954: 71–72).

An etiological legend stands behind this group of phytonyms: «the bottom petal of the flower is a stepmother, the two middle ones are her daughters, and the two upper petals are the stepdaughters. The stepmother is sitting on two chairs, each of her daughters has a chair, and both stepdaughters should sit on one chair» (Čajkanović 1985: 85). The characters were not always placed like this: the evil stepmother (the wide petal) and her daughters (two neighboring petals) were punished for injustice. Prior to this they were situated above and then were moved downwards, whereas the stepdaughters (two small petals drawn together) were shifted to the position above (Sofrić 1990: 80; Bjeletić 1996: 96).

* * *

To sum up, one can assert that comparisons to a brother and a sister, or to day and night, are caused by the color of plants' organs. The fact that in the Gatchina area of Leningrad region the name *ivan-da-marja* is related to lungwort (Pulmonaria officinalis L., Borraginaceae), supports this assumption, for the flowers of this plant, pink in beginning, later turn dark blue (compare also *brat i sestra* [brother and sister]) 'Pulmonaria officinalis L.' (Annenkov 1876: 279)). Apart from this, the plant pellitory Parietaria is called *denj i noch* [day and night], *Ivan da Marja* [Ivan and Maria], Srbc. *dan-i-nocka*, old-cz. *den a noc*, – through contrast of yellow flowers with blue-violet top leaves (Machek 1954: 92). Among other plants with the

name *ivan-da-marja* there are bugle-weed Ajuga genevensis L. with white bracts and blue flowers, and sage Salvia pratensis L. with grey-green bracts and dark blue flowers (Brockhaus, Efron 1894: 769).

This feature (more than one color for a flower) influenced not only phytonyms but also the whole complex of folklore texts and uses (medical and ritual) factors for the plants, and, finally, served as a basis for their semiotic status.

Comparing different parts of the Slavonic area, one can observe, that the motive of incest is typical only for the eastern Slavs, while the motive of widowhood and orphanhood – for southern and western Slavs. Finally, the opposition of colors is seen as the contrast of day and night all over the Slavonic area.

Abbreviations

Languages:

Bulg. – Bulgarian
Bel. – Belorussian
Cz. – Czech
Dial. – a dialectal word
Luzh. – Serbo-Luzhitian
Pol. – Polish
Sloven. – Slovenian
Srbc. – Serbo-Croatian
Ukr. – Ukrainian

Geographical areas:

Arch. – Arkhangelsk province
Don. – the river Don area
Grodn. – Grodno province
Kostrom. – Kostroma province
Kursk. – Kursk province
Mogil. – Mogilev province
Nizhegor. – Nizhni Novgorod province
Novg. – Novgorod province
Olon. – Olonets province
Perm. – Perm province
Shenk. – Shenkursk *uyezd*, Arkhangelsk province
Smol. – Smolensk province
Tamb. – Tambov province
Tver. – Tver province
Volog. – Vologda province
Vyatsk. – Vyatka province

References

Annenkov 1876 = Анненков Николай Иванович, *Ботанический словарь*. Санкт-Петербург: Тип. Имп. Акад. Наук.

Arandarenko 1848 = Арандаренко Н. И. *Записки о Полтавской губернии Николая Арандаренка, составленные в 1846 году*. В 3-х ч. Полтава: В Типографии Губернского Правления. Ч. 1.

Avgustinovich 1853 = Августинович Ф. М. О дикорастущих врачебных растениях Полтавской губернии. – *Труды комиссии высочайше учрежденной, при императорском ун-те св. Владимира для описания губерний Киевского учебного округа*. Т. 2. Киев: В Университетской типографии, 1–91.

Bejlina 1968 = Бейлина Д. А. Материалы для полесского ботанического словаря. – *Лексика Полесья. Материалы для полесского диалектного словаря*. Отв. ред. Н. И. Толстой. Москва: Наука, 415–438.

Bjeletić 1996 = Бјелетић Марта. Од девет брата крв (фитоними и термини сродства). – *Кодови словенских култура*. Број 1. Година 1. Биљке, 89–101.

Brockhaus, Efron 1894 = Брокгауз Ф. А, Ефрон И. А. *Энциклопедический словарь*. В 85 тт. 1890–1906. Т. 24 (XIIa). Санкт-Петербург: Типо-литография И. А. Ефрона.

Čajkanović 1985 = Чајкановић В. *Речник српских народних веровања о биљкама*. Београд: Српска књижевна задруга.

Chubinskij 1872 = Чубинский П. П. *Труды этнографическо-статистической экспедиции в западно-русский край*. Т. I. Вып. 1. Санкт-Петербург: Типография В. Безобразова.

Chubinskij 1874 = Чубинский П. П. *Труды этнографическо-статистической экспедиции в западно-русский край*. Т. V. Песни любовные, семейные, бытовые и шуточные. Санкт-Петербург: Типография Майкова.

Gancharyk 1927a = Ганчарык М. М. Беларускія назовы расьлін. В 2 ч. Ч. 1: *Праца Навуковога таварыства па вывученню Беларусі*. Т. II. Горы-Горкі: Друкарня і камнядрук Акадэміі, 194–216.

Gancharyk 1927b = Ганчарык М. М. Беларускія назовы расьлін. В 2 ч. Ч. 2: *Праца Навуковога таварыства па вывученню Беларусі*. Т. IV. Горкі: Друкарня і камнядрук Акадэміі, 1–28.

Ivanov, Toporov 1974 = Иванов Вячеслав Всеволодович, Топоров Владимир Николаевич. *Исследования в области славянских древностей. Лексические и фразеологические вопросы реконструкции текстов*. Москва: Наука.

Kotaw 1927 = Котаў Т. І. Вясельле. ІІ. Купальле. Апісаньне Горацкога раёну (прырода, гаспадарка, гісторыя і быт). – *Праца Навуковога таварыства па вывученню Беларусі*. Т. 3. Горкі: Друкарня Акадэміі, 202–215.

Krylov = Крылов П. Некоторые сведения о народных лекарственных средствах, употребляемых в Казанской губернии. – *Труды общества естествоиспытателей при Императорском Казанском Университете*. Т. 11. Вып. 4. Казань: Типография Императорского Университета, 77, VIII с.

Machek Václav 1954. Česká a slovenská iména rostlin. Praha: Nakladatelství Československé Akademie Věd.

Makarenko 1913 = Макаренко А. А. Сибирский народный календарь в этнографическом отношении: Восточная Сибирь, Енисейская губерния. – *Записки Русского Географического общества по отделению этнографии*. Т. XXXVI. [4], VIII.

Markevich 1860 = Маркевич Н. А. *Обычаи, поверья, кухня и напитки малороссиян. Извлечено из нынешнего народного быта и составлено Николаем Маркевичем*. Киев: В типографии И. и А. Давиденко.

Markovich 1891 = Маркович В. В. Знахарки нового типа. – *Киевская старина*. Т. 35. Декабрь. Киев: Типография Г. Т. Корчак-Новицкого, 413–429.

Mizger 1869 = Мизгер А. М. Конспект растений дикорастущих и разводимых в Курской губернии. – *Труды Курского Губернского статистического комитета*. Вып. 3. Курск: Типография губ. правления, 225–341.
PA XXI 10 e. = The Polesye Archive (Institute of Slavonic Studies, Moscow). Envelope XXI. Question 10 e. (Полесский архив (Институт Славяноведения РАН). Конверт XXI. Вопрос 10 e.)
Petropavlovskij = Петропавловский А. «Коляда» и «Купало» в Белоруссии. – *Этнографическое обозрение*, № 1–2: 158–164.
Rogovich 1874 = Рогович А. С. *Опыт словаря народных названий растений Юго-Западной России, с некоторыми поверьями и рассказами о них*. Киев: В Университетской типографии.
Romanov 1912 = Романов Е. Р. *Белорусский сборник*. Вып. 8. Быт белоруссa. Вильна: Типография А. Г. Сыркина.
Ryazanskaya… 2001 = *Рязанская традиционная культура первой половины XX века. Шацкий этнодиалектный словарь*. Авт.-сост. Морозов И. А., Слепцова И. С., Гилярова Н. Н., Чижикова Л. Н. Из серии: «Православие и традиционная народная культура Рязанской области.» Рязанский этнографический вестник. № 28. Рязань.
Shejn 1887 = Шейн Павел Васильевич. *Материалы для изучения быта и языка русского населения Северо-Западного края*. Т. 1. Ч. 1. Сборник Отделения русского языка и словесности Императорской Академии и Наук. СПб.: Тип. Имп. Академии Наук. Т. 41. № 3.
Smirnov 1978 = Смирнов Ю. И. Эпика Полесья. – *Славянский и балканский фольклор. Генезис. Архаика. Традиции*. Москва: Наука, 219–269.
Smirnov 1986 = Смирнов Ю. И. Эпика Полесья (по записям 1977 г., ч. 1). – *Славянский и балканский фольклор. Духовная культура Полесья на общеславянском фоне*. Отв. ред. Н. И. Толстой. Москва: Наука, 243–285.
Sobotka Primus 1879. *Rostlinstvo a jeho význam v národních písních, povestech, bájích, obradech a poverách slovanských. Príspevek k slovanské symbolice*. Novočeská bibliothéka. Číslo XXII. Praha: Nákladem matice české.
Sofrić 1990 = Софрић П. *Главније биље у народном веровању и предању код нас Срба*. Београд: БИГЗ.
SRNG 4 = *Словарь русских народных говоров*. Т. 4. Москва-Ленинград, 1969.
Špis-Ćulum 1995 = Шпис-Ћулум М. Фитонимија југозападне Бачке (коровска флора). – *Српски дијалектолошки зборник*. XLI. Београд, 397–490.
Tereshchenko 1848 = Терещенко А. И. *Быт русского народа*. В 7 ч. Ч. 5. Простонародные обряды. Санкт-Петербург: В Типографии военно-учебных заведений.
Toporov 1978 = Топоров В. Н. Русск. заби(ва)ть козла. – *Studia linguistica Alexandro Vasilii filio Issatschenko a collegis amicisque oblate*. Ed.: H. Birnbaum. Lisse: Peter de Ridder press, 425–433.
Toren 1996 = Торэн М. Д. *Русская народная медицина и психотерапия*. Санкт-Петербург: Литера.
Usacheva 2000 = Усачева В. В. Мифологические представления славян о происхождении растений. – *Славянский и балканский фольклор. Народная демонология*. Москва: Индрик, 259–302.
Vinogradova, Tolstaya 1994 = Виноградова Л. Н., Толстая С. М. К проблеме идентификации и сравнения персонажей славянской мифологии. – *Славянский и балканский фольклор. Верования. Текст. Ритуал*. Москва: Наука, 16–44.
Zabylin 1996 = Забылин М. *Русский народ, его обычаи, обряды, предания, суеверия и поэзия*. Ростов-на-Дону: Феникс.

On the Formation of the Estonians' Concepts of Homeland and Home Place

Aivar Jürgenson

Space and place as research objects of ethnology

The current article deals with the evolving of the Estonians' terminology regarding their territory-related identification spaces and the relevant structure. Time-wise, the focus is laid at the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century – i.e. at the time period when the relevant conceptions were taking shape in the Estonian language. However, examples have been given as to how these terms were used with regard to the 20th century, primarily focusing on the Estonian literature in exile.

Contemporary ethnology comprehends culture as something being mainly mental. During the last two decades, space has become an important research subject in ethnology. Although space – when treating it as a territory – always has physical boundaries, the ethnological study of the space, however, is mainly the study of mentality. Space in ethnology is a socio-cultural phenomenon, i.e. in addition to physical characteristics, social constructions have a role to play in it. The connection of a place with social categories becomes evident even from the definitions of certain main concepts in sociology. Thus, community has traditionally been defined as a local unit: "Community is factually an initial social phenomenon, namely, a local entity of a group of people living a common social, economic and cultural life" (König 1958). And although the claims that a person cannot identify himself or herself with global culture but instead, only with that of a more narrow group, the so-called contact group (e.g. Rihtman-Augushtin 1981: 53), might sound too categorical when observing current developments, a concrete culture with its bearers, in general, belongs to a concrete territory. Norms and behavioural patterns, symbols enabling socio-cultural identification are intrinsic of a concrete culture and generally become actualised in a concrete space. Outside one's territory, where there are other behaviour patterns in force, the assuredness of one's behaviour is being intimidated. This explains the

attempts of acquiring the territory which guarantees one's identity and ensures that belonging within a concrete community is in most cases associated with a concrete place (see Greverus 1972: 53; 1979: 28). This place, be it called homeland or home place in modern ethnology, is perceived not as a two-dimensional but a three or four-dimensional complex system. Despite the fact that besides spatial characteristics of a home place, more and more emphasis is also laid on social ones (e.g. Lehmann 1991: 90; 96), there is at least some proportion of authors (e.g. Bartl, Blaschka, Kuhn 1995: 59; Gornig 1997: 36–37) who consider the spatial component to be dominant in the case of a home place.

The space and place have also been studied in ethnology during earlier periods – traditional ethnology is focused on such physical-social concepts as the farm, village or town. Social behaviour patterns in towns and in the country have been compared in research theses. In the middle of the 20th century, a social phenomenon, with an agreed title *folk society*, was being discussed within the science of ethnology. Later, the term *little community* was designated to this phenomenon. This, in addition to other distinctive features, is characterised by physical homogeneity, i.e. spatial connections are also of relevance here. The same can be referred to the simultaneously used concept *local community*: it seems to be a specified world aggregating around itself, with valid rules and symbols, different from that of the surrounding space. The place has its own *genus loci* and this makes it a unique socio-cultural entity. The socio-cultural dimension of a place also means that the place is associated with the events that have occurred in the given place. Each event takes place at a certain time in a certain space: time and space form a integral entirety in the group's and individual's place-related memory.

The knowledge of being connected with a place comes by way of an experience. Experience provides loyalty to the locality. How does loyalty emerge, persist and change – this process is directly connected with the generation of identity. Belongingness and localness, as the markers of identity, are not only associated with the individual experience of a person, but instead, are often connected with collective memory. One's belongingness is often understood by way of local collective memory. Belonging to a certain place is a part of collective identity. Using Nadia Lovell's words, a place which offers identification is also highly memorised (see Lovell 1998: 1, 4). This, in its turn, gives the place a greater meaning in the consciousness of a group and that of an individual, in comparison with other localities. The role of highly memorised places, in, e.g. transmitting of the tradition, is known as a separate genre in

folkloristics – the so-called local narrative (see, e.g. Hiiemäe 2001; Remmel 1997; Tuisk 2001). Several authors (e.g. Tuisk 2001: 88; Jürgenson 2002: 118ff) have referred to the identifying function of the tradition of a place.

It is indeed the identifying role of the place and the different relevance of different places that have an important position among the research themes of today's ethnology. A number of collections and special issues of ethnological journals have been published, dedicated to the place-related subject matter, also within the Baltic Sea region. For instance, "Eestlane ja tema maa" (Estonian and his land), the 4th issue of the "Scripta ethnologica" series in the Institute of History (Tallinn 2000), focuses on the concept of homeland and home place in the consciousness of the Estonians. And special issues of ethnological journals have been published, dedicated to the place-related subject matter. Similarly, the year 2002 issue of the journal "Ethnologia Scandinavica" has been dedicated to the place-related subject matter.

The settledness of Estonians – a cliché and reality

Among the auto-stereotypes of Estonians, settledness has an important position. During the last hundred years, several ideologists of the ethnic nation have rooted and developed the ideology of settledness, together with relevant connotations. Many of our literati have called the Estonians forest or sea people, however, both these categories – forest and sea – mean greater immobility than, for instance, in comparison with steppe people: neither the forest nor the sea allow the horse, galloping at a high speed, to head towards the horizon. And, the specific static way of thinking and behaviour of Estonians, described in ethnic-ideological essays, has been derived from this loyalty to one place, which is said to be different from that of the Asians and even of the Indo-Europeans (e.g. Ridala 1913: 212; Loorits 1951: 36, Masing 1995: 164, Miller 2000: 10ff).

The picture of Estonians as forest people is largely ethnic-romantic and as such, relatively similar to the same kind of clichés of other Eastern-European peoples. Let us think of the fact that actually, Estonians have been growing plants on the fields for more than 3000 years. No doubt, the forest, at one time, used to be the main environment of subsistence for the ancestors of Estonians, however, during the last centuries, the Estonian consciousness has primarily been that of a land-cultivator. And Estonians have even drawn fences around the fields, so as to stop the aggression of the forest (animals). If, in the religious beliefs of real forest people, large wild animals are often the relatives of men, then for an Estonian, they, a long time ago, have primarily become competitors who endanger his cattle

and crops.

Thus the picture of Estonians as forest people is greatly romanticised and the forest is used, first and foremost, as the means of criticising the civilisation.

Nevertheless, another auto-stereotype of Estonians – the Estonian as a peasant and his particular connections with the land, intrinsic of that of an Estonian – have moulded our self-consciousness. Similarly to the concept of forest people, so has the peasant concept been existent in the Estonian-language works of writing for at least during the last hundred years and is undoubtedly more justified than the picture of Estonians as forest people. One of the most significant national ideologists of Estonia at the beginning of the 20th century, Jaan Tõnisson, wrote in the year 1911: "Only in the living connection with nature, at the bosom of the earth, by sustaining their power of life, can nations stay sound and energetic." (Tõnisson 1911a). The cliché of Estonians as peasanty "countrymen people" actually originates from Tõnisson's phraseology (Tõnisson 1911b: 356).

The Estonians have indeed cultivated land for the last couple of thousands of years and primarily been a peasant nation up until the beginning of the 20th century. At the end of the 19th century, more than 80% of the population still lived in the country. Even in the 19th century, the Estonians, when describing themselves, used an ethnonym *maamees*, *maarahvas* (countryman, country people). There are many villages in Estonia where people have been living and cultivating their culture for 1,000–1,500 years in succession. This is why our folk culture has strong local peculiarities and thus, when talking about culture, we cannot evade the concepts of territory, place, landscape, environment, etc.

Territorial identity conceals and represents other sub-identities in certain situations. As Orvar Löfgren writes, social classification of the 19th century Swedish peasants was often based on the concept of *territoriality*. The question "Who are you?" was more frequently rephrased as "Where do you come from?" or "What area are you from?" Likewise, the main categories as *we* and *they* were usually based on territorial entities: our farm, one or another part of the village, our parish. Territorial classification often concealed class borders: even if social fissure between different classes could have been substantial, farm-hands together with the farm owners' sons took the same side in a village fight, against those who lived in the other end of the village or in a neighbouring parish (Löfgren 1999: 66–67).

The space is culturally selected and structured and, at the same time, is split into sectors or spheres with different meaning: the own place, with

valid and customary rules of behaviour and symbols of understanding, may have borders of different sizes. The relative nature of the home circle is of importance: its boundaries depend on the category of the external circle to where the partner, the stranger belongs. This is directly an issue of identity. The home circle provides the identity and the identity connects with the territory; the rules valid within the latter provide certainty in behaviour and orientation.

Home as an oriented centre and its concentricity

An important term associating with the oriented centre is *home*. Usually, home is understood as smaller units of the identification space, in most instances, the home is limited to birth house, father's house, dwelling house. Estonian *kodu* associates with the archaic name of the house, *koda*. Connections are similar in the German language *das Haus* – house, *zu Hause* – at home, Russian *dom* – house, *doma* – at home. Furthermore, even in today's ethnology, there is a trend in which home and the house form a conceptual integrity. This is a tradition which treats home as an intimate sphere mainly lying within the four walls (see, e.g. Miller 2001; Kannike 2002).

Home is the centre of our spatial world. In addition to purely spatial features, there are other characteristics attributed to this, differentiating it from the surrounding world. Here, it is necessary to speak about the stability-offering function of the centre – home is a sacred place, a place of safety and protection. On one hand, a subjective safety area and, on the other hand, an objective, purely spatial orientation – these are two major characteristics principally determining the phenomenon of home. In interaction, these two characteristics provide an opportunity to concentrically broaden the boundaries of home: home as a territory involves the home as an activity area, which may comprise the neighbourhood, the town, the landscape. An Estonian may call his/her father's house a home, however, traditional use of language does not make it impossible to refer to the whole of Estonia as home. This so-called extended home is also an arranged centre within which we are defined and oriented from the larger and strange surroundings (see Dovey 1985: 36; Bollnow 1963: 111). Thus, home is a focal point, at the same time, it has different boundaries and the concentric nature of these boundaries makes the concept of home a multi-dimensional one.

Concerning the extended boundaries of the concentric structure of the home, i.e. when talking about a home place or homeland, we have to bear in mind that here, too, we are dealing with one's own space consolidating

around the central point, a place of living which, despite the pressure from the outside world, gives an opportunity to create an environment with existent safety; this is a symbol of being on one's own and each relevant element of it is an opposite to the alien. The need for stability and safety is the power that shapes the home environment. The centre is the fulcrum, which orientates the surrounding world and helps to position the things, experienced in the world, on to the scale of values. One of the leading figures of Estonian ethnology, Gustav Ränk, writes about his childhood in a village on the Saaremaa island: "Our little world was indeed the proper world, with proper people living in it, speaking a clear language, wearing customary clothing and being, in every way, like human beings" (Ränk 1995: 118).

Estonian's home

Cultural-territorial base units in the current article are being treated by using the example of Estonians. Home is a primary unit for Estonians, which, in the first place, determined and determines the identity of a person. At the same time, home actually also means the family – and throughout the history of Estonia, obviously not only the so-called core family but instead, the entire farm family. Home farm provided cohesion with the family and ancestors. The home also comprised the physical and cultural landscape in which the family lived, i.e. nature and the environment of objects created by people. The next unit could be the village, which, in certain contexts, was one's own, the so-called home, and, in other contexts, an opposite to this, denoting the alien. The next circle to be brought out is the home place, which for Estonians used to be a parish, during earlier periods. People of the same parish met in the parish church and pub; in the centre of the parish, there was a graveyard with the tombs of one's close ones. Parish-level contacts developed and shaped common traits in the local material and mental culture. For instance, folk costumes, with distinctive features fully elaborated by the 19th century, were grouped pursuant to parishes. During the second half of the 19th century, parishes were replaced by rural municipalities.

There are several sources and indicators to be used as a basis for making conclusions with regard to the territorial break-up of the earlier Estonian life, folk song being one of them. Within the older, kindred song layer, the theme of the songs is home, in the sense of family and immediate vicinity of the home. Frequently, they are presented in an animistic manner: if a Kihnu bride, when leaving home, says good-bye to the home milieu, then the corners remain crying for her, the room walls yelling and

the floors asking for the sweeper. In Kalevala-metric songs, home is a place of safety, it is familiar, the songs often talk about parents, sisters and brothers. As an opposite to the childhood home, the later husband's home is being frequently referred to, where the daughter-in-law was confronted with unfamiliar and often non-customary things. In agriculturally developed society, the village community, besides the home farm and relatives, becomes more important than it used to be earlier. This is also reflected in songs where the home is associated with one's village – with something beautiful and wealthy. One's own rural municipality and county are being opposed to the neighbouring regions. In newer folk songs, the boundaries are even wider – the words "Eestimaa" (Estonia) and "eesti rahvas" (Estonian people) are first occurring in the lyrics of songs (Rüütel 2000: 142jj; Jaago 2000: 172; Jansen 2000: 37-38). Thus, the concentricity of territorial identity has a dynamic dimension – it changes within the course of time.

The largest circle of local identity, which emerged in the consciousness during the second half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, in connection with national movement, was the own country – Estonia. It is likely that Estonia-awareness was not earlier absent among the Estonians, however, the ethnonym *eestlane* (Estonian) was first introduced only during this period – in the 1850s. Even at earlier times, Estonians had perceived themselves as countrymen, different from the squires (see Jansen 2000: 37-38).

Estonians primarily came into contact with the squires in manors – these being agricultural production entities in Estonia, possessed by manor-owners of foreign origin (German, Danish, Swedish, etc.) for more than half a millennium. Although a manor was a major economic unit, it remained distant for Estonians due to social and cultural differences. In the we-and-they-opposition, the manor, throughout tradition, undoubtedly belongs within the category "they". We know a number of newer folk songs, dating from the second half of the 19th century, with a characteristic socio-political opposition to the manor (see Rüütel 2000: 145). Gustav Ränk writes: "Our village was different from the others, also from the close neighbours who spoke another dialect of language; the town and the manor, they were indeed totally alien, although the latter was located in territorial proximity" (Ränk 1995: 129). Neighbourhood does not always create a feeling of togetherness. Nevertheless, there might be some truth in Kaljo Laas's statement that the manor stipulated territorial boundaries where people communicated with each other, and the work-related network developed the concept of home place (Laas 2000: 30). Manors as

economic entities have created a specific all-Estonian network, which has influenced inhabitation. Similarly, relevant impact on the landscape is visually significant: manor parks, alleys, etc. are kind of landmarks. Manors, in their essence, were an alien phenomena, but as their impact has lasted for centuries, they have become intrinsic of the Estonian landscape (see also Sinijärv 2001: 14).

Homeland, fatherland

Homeland is the largest concentric sphere of home territory. The most common terms to denote one's land in the Estonian language are *kodumaa* (*homeland*) and *isamaa* (*fatherland*) – the own land, opposed to the foreign country, *välismaa*.[1] Home, one of the important bases of human identity, is the point of departure for the concept of homeland. The terms *kodumaa* and *isamaa* are widely used in the Estonian language, although their limits and contents are ambiguous and have not been concretised. It is also difficult to scientifically determine the content of the mentioned terms: a strong emotional charge makes it more difficult to determine this complex bulk of concepts.

One of the keywords in the 19th century cultural history of Estonia was the emergence and rise of nationalism, and, together with this, the term *isamaa* (*fatherland*) was introduced. Increase in printed matters and literacy has been considered the reason for the popularity of this concept. As Ea Jansen, an outstanding expert in Estonian cultural history, writes, school education extended the grounds for the use of this term – in religion and geography classes, information was provided with regard to distant countries and people and this provided motivation to more thoroughly rethink about one's own distinctive features (Jansen 2000: 35). When Gustav Blumberg published his *"Juhataja kodu- ning isamaa tundmisele"* (*"A guide to get to know the homeland and fatherland"*) – practically the first local history textbook in Estonia – he expressed a thought, in the introductory part, that knowing one's homeland and

[1] According to Jüri Viikberg, the fact that *välismaa* (foreign country) – the opposite to the own land of Estonians (*homeland, fatherland*) – is not dismembered in the singular and is "in one piece" (similar to the Germans' *Ausland*, Russians' *zagranitsa*) and the Finnish *ulkomaat* is in plural, indicates that Estonians move from the integrity towards a part, whereas the Finns – from a part to an integrity (Viikberg 2000: 186).

fatherland is a precondition to understanding the geography of other countries (Blumberg 1874: 5).

Nevertheless, it is clear that the concept *fatherland*, in the course of its development, did not only nourish on the Estonian soil. Particular emphasis has to be paid on the impacts from the German cultural space – the first generation of Estonian literati had especially strong contacts with this. Romantic search for one's roots, Herder-like attempt to discover the soul of the nation, *Heimat*-movement – all this was familiar to the emerging Estonian intelligentsia who obtained their knowledge and, partially also their attitudes, from the German social thinking.

Aino Undla-Põldmäe is of the opinion that the poetisation of the fatherland largely outgrew from the emigration movement (1981: 37). Actually, the term fatherland was already fully elaborate during the first emigration period and the Estonian national press criticised the emigrants namely by using the term fatherland: fatherland is sacred, and, proceeding from this, an emigrant is a traitor who either cannot or does not want to value its sacredness. Such an attitude comes from abroad and had already earlier started to dictate social movements in a number of European countries. However, disappointed and homesick expatriates and the information disseminated by them could have indeed assisted the sustaining and deepening the current meaning of the fatherland concept.

The semantic field of the concepts *homeland* and *fatherland* is proximate. Ilmar Talve, an Estonian ethnologist who has spent the majority of his life abroad, brings out certain differences in the content of these two terms. He finds that *isamaa* (fatherland), referring to the designation *isa* (father), is persistent, a person cannot choose this himself or herself, it is more abstract and thus more persistent than *kodumaa* (homeland) (Talve 1999: 5). It seems that under *fatherland*, Talve understands the country of cultural origin. Homeland, according to Talve, is a country of residence, which can be repeatedly changed during lifetime, it is a country "where there was order and where you had a feeling of safety to move around without fear, sleep at night and work in daytime" (Talve 1999: 5–6). The gap between the *fatherland* and *homeland*, in Ilmar Talve's treatment, proceeds from a concrete historic-personal situation, from exile and the separatedness from Estonia, conditioned by this. This subjective treatment, deriving from personal experience, which, in certain instances, is definitely valid with regard to the people in exile, is not the only possibility to differentiate between *homeland* and *fatherland*. For instance, there was a different semantic relation between *homeland* and *fatherland* in Soviet Estonia, where *homeland* became a cliché for denoting

the Soviet Union (*a large and powerful homeland*); whereas *fatherland*, despite certain associations borrowed from abroad (e.g. *Suur Isamaasõda – the Great Patriotic War*) was rather connected with Estonia. Undoubtedly, national-romantic patriotic poetry (Jannsen, Koidula) had a relevant role in this regard, guaranteeing the concept of fatherland with a strong emotional tinge even a hundred years later.

Similarly, certain, although not substantial, differences in nuances, regarding *homeland* and *fatherland* can also be denoted within the use of these words during the national awakening period (end of the 19th century). For instance, G. Blumberg's local history textbook uses them as synonymous conjugate concepts: *kodu- ja isamaa* (home- and fatherland) (Blumberg 1874: 5, 37). In the poetry of the awakening era, the term *fatherland* is used more frequently (hence the term *isamaaluule* (patriotic poetry, word for word 'poetry of the fatherland')). In the printed press of the awakening period, where both terms, *kodumaa* and *isamaa* were widely used, in editorial articles and published readers' letters, the mentioned terms were occasionally used in equivalent meaning. When, in the year 1892, the readers are being exhorted not to "easily turn their backs to the homeland, a country with no similar counterpart in the entire world, as the fatherland has grown into each person's mind by way of sacred and non-evanescent memories" (Postimees 9, 1892: 3), then the concepts *kodumaa* and *isamaa* are synonymous. By the end of the 19th century, *homeland* gains predominance and *fatherland* is being used only for denoting the large Russian Tsarist Empire. R. Holst, a parson from Audru, published an appeal to the Estonians "who, among other peoples, live as settlers in our large fatherland" (Holst 1884: 2). Here, *fatherland* designates the Russian Tsarist Empire. However, the stringency in Siberia had not been as acute "as was heard from the homeland" (Sakala 1916, 150: 4). The contrasting of *isamaa* and *kodumaa* since the end of the 19th century became relatively common and *kodumaa* became the principal term to be used for denoting Estonia. On one hand, this could have caused by the German influence – for Baltic Germans, *Vaterland* denoted the Tsarist Empire and the more intimate *Heimat* – homely Baltic provinces.

The structure of the homeland concept

During national awakening time, the homeland-related subject matter was under the great attention of the Estonian public. Abundant cultivation of patriotic poetry by Estonian poets and its relevant popularity among the population are well-known facts, in addition, there were also popular scientific treatments of the fatherland subject matter. When making an

attempt to follow the structure of the homeland concept in the treatments by different authors, we can observe the predominance of the physical/ natural side and partially, also that of cultural-historical. In fatherland-related poetry, a specific part is dedicated to the natural environment. The fact that Lydia Koidula, the great poetess of the first Estonian generation, focused on the nature of her fatherland, attributes a distinctive colouring to her poetry. By way of nature descriptions, the toils and hopes of the people are revealed, the poetess' pain and dreams unrolled and the canon of values is being conveyed. Similarly, in the poetry of other authors, the nature of the fatherland is an indicator of mental dimensions. The poem *"Üks laul kullamaalt"* (Kreutzwald 1953: 125–126) by Fr. R. Kreutzwald, the creator of the Estonian national epic "Kalevipoeg" (Kalev's Son"), conveys the longing of a settler for the old homeland, i.e. Estonia, with prevailing imagery referring to the natural and historical environment. Here, homeland can be identified by way of nature and historical/ biographical objects.

Objects of nature and geographical landmarks are being particularly used in such constructions of fatherland-related poetry, which emphasise on the extent of the country. Mihkel Veske's song "*Kas tunned maad mis Peipsi rannalt käib Läänemere rannale/ ja Munamäe metsalt, murult / viib lahke Soome lahele…" ("Do you know the land which extends from the Lake Peipsi shore to the shores of the Baltic Sea/ and from the forests and grass of the Munamägi hill/ reaches the gracious Gulf of Finland…")* would probably be the best-known example here. Such a construction became well-known in the poetry of Western Europe and also that of Russia many centuries ago (see also Pumpyanski 1983: 23). Two geographical points are being used here, both located on the borders of the country. Partially, it expresses the extent, the grandeur of the country and partially, geographical points present the symbols of identity. When singing *"…Munamäe metsalt, murult /…/ lahke Soome lahele…"* – then the number of kilometres between the two points is not of prime importance in this imagery, instead, the whole territory is being communicated in a figurative manner. Not a vector between two geographical points, but a field, not the quantity of a line, but the quality of the field is of decisive importance. Borders are indeed being mentioned, but the micro-climatic landscapes are also presented: not only *Munamägi*, but also *Munamäe mets ja muru (the forest and grass of the Munamägi hill)*; not only *Läänemeri (the Baltic Sea)*, but also its *rand (shore)* are of symbolic value. And, as during the creation of this song, the land of Estonians was divided between the provinces of Estonia and Livonia, the song involved a

Estonian national programmed standpoint regarding the unity of the ethnic nation. The associating power of geographical places or objects of nature provides them with a strong symbolic function, whereas these symbols may depict historical dimensions or social relationships (see Dovey 1985: 42). The domination of nature-related components in patriotic poetry might partially be explained by purely formal aspirations, and partially, by German influences; thus, in order to analyse the concept of homeland, poetry might not offer the best possibilities. At the same time, we should not exclude the direct impact of poetry on the determination of the homeland concept in the thinking and everyday circulation of the 19th century.

Similarly to poetry, the journalism of the second half of the 19th century also reflects the natural and cultural facets of the concept of homeland. When Jakob Hurt, the Estonian national ideologist during the second half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, deciphers the concept of homeland, he does this by way of historical and natural dimensions: "Historical traditions, the pain and joy of the past – these do not direct an Estonian towards the West or the East; his memories are fettered in the homeland. A hill and a valley, a meadow and a field, romping places of the fresh and joyful youth – these, even for an Estonian educated abroad, do not carry the image of Germany or Russia, but only of that of Estonia. Lakes and rivers, forests and sea streams – these rustle only in national sounds for the son of the nation" (Hurt 1989: 49).

Cultivation of the homeland-related theme, which, until the awakening period, was mainly reflected in poetry, went into full swing during the emigration movement at the end of the 19th century. One after another, editorials were published in the press, providing assessments with regard to leaving the country: "Leaving the dear home, emigrating to a distant unknown country, settling down among a foreign nation and community – in order to do this, a person should have determination and sizeable mental power. As it is not a joke to leave the place where one has grown up, to forget the place where he has first seen the sunlight, where he has been welcomed by fond sisters, diligent brothers, smiling neighbours and greeting uncles and aunts, sympathetically asking for any news in his life, work and activities; where he has grown up among the close ones of the home and been the part of other people's life and they of his; where the homeland and the close ones have adhered to him and grown along with him – and now leaving it, going away from the place, be it bad, lousy, small and weak, depending on how it has been perceived – leaving for a totally unknown country and paths – yes, indeed, we have to wish a steady mind

and heart for everyone who does this" (*Eestlane* 1906, 19: 1–2).

"Naturally, leaving is not easy for the emigrants: saying good-bye forever to one's close ones, friends and acquaintances, leaving the familiar places and sites that have grown into one's soul and heart" (*Õigus* 1908, 61: 1). It is intrinsic of both these quotations to underline the social component of the concept of home(land).

A concise homeland-apology can be found in the 1892 issue of the newspaper "Virmaline", where Jakob Luht gives reasoning to the need to respect the homeland, from various aspects. This elaboration of thought seems to be of particular importance as it highlights the components of the then concept of homeland. When talking about *Eesti isamaa* (fatherland Estonia) – and this imagery is being repeatedly used – Jakob Luht writes as follows: "This land is a kind you cannot find in the entire world. It is your fatherland, the golden birth cradle of you and your ancestors, and an unforgettable swinging place of your childhood and the shrine of your ancestors tired of life burdens, and a peaceful place for resting – a grave. This is a place you have to cherish as the dearest, most sacred and beloved one in the world. In your fatherland you were born and rocked in the cradle, and the soil of your fatherland – let this cover you! In your fatherland were you first fed from you mother's breast and grown into a man. In your fatherland have you obtained the first teaching from your beloved mother, next to the spinning-wheel. In your fatherland have you gone to school and learnt wider science, human life and mental education. In your fatherland, you have your dearest mother tongue and nation-biased mind. You have your own schools in your fatherland where your dearest sons and wittiest daughters can go, learn basic education and most beautiful feelings in their beloved mother tongue, in the most sacred spirit and mind of the fatherland. In your fatherland, you have the societies of nation's spirit and life education, bestowed by the Gracious Father of the State, where you can safely come together to invigorate your spirit. Fatherland has fed you and wants to continue feeding you, and it does indeed manage in doing so. Work in your fatherland, manfully for the benefit of your fatherland, hoping for the better times of the future generation that you will once smilingly face…" (Luht 1892: 1–2).

Thus, in J. Luht's deliberation, the fatherland, selected from the rest of the world, is a safe place and offers opportunities for activities. Imagery and elements directed towards the history – childhood and ancestors, enculturation, taking over of traditions, i.e. the tenets tested and accepted by the ancestors – on one hand and, on the other, instruments and outcomes of everyday socialisation, smoothly harmonising with these –

mother tongue, public institutions and organisations – all this is targeted at the satisfaction of people's needs, both mental as well as physical.

Thus, written works at the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, dealing with the territoriality of Estonians, represented, as part of this structure, a strong nature-related component (particularly in patriotic poetry) and also a social one (specifically in journalism), both obtaining a deeper dimension due to the introduction of the time factor, in the form of traditions and recollections. All these components actually belong within the standard treasury of symbols necessary for depicting the homeland (see, e.g. Jürgenson 2002: 37–45) and are not solely distinctive of Estonia. The usage of standard categories in the "shaping" of the concept of homeland actually and primarily indicates the international nature of the relevant theme and constructions, both in journalist writings and in fiction.

The concept of homeland for Estonians has been dealt with, in a number of associations, by Estonians in exile who went to the West during World War II. This is somewhat expected – violent separation from the homeland has made this theme very topical for those staying in a foreign land and has forced them to more clearly and deeply become conscious of the meaning of homeland, in comparison with the habitual situation among home-Estonians. The essence of homeland becomes clearer in the consciousness when staying abroad; what homeland is all about – this is being perceived in a foreign land. Thus we will present the viewpoints of exile Estonians regarding the content of the concept of homeland.

Aarand Roos describes the adaptation of exile Estonians in other countries: "… if there is a threat that one has to stay in a foreign land for a long time, even for the entire life, it is necessary to guarantee, both for oneself as well as for posterior generations, the things that a free and independent homeland would have offered: mother tongue education, culture and church. This way, we create a society with a firmer structure, fulfilling possibly many vital functions, a society which is a substitute for the old homeland" (Roos 2000: 90). Or in another place: "For the 70, 000 people of the exile Estonian community, the homeland and home place, on one hand, was their new country of residence where several new generations of Estonians were born and growing. On the other hand, the territory of the Republic of Estonia, carried along in the minds of people, was also their homeland and home place. People lived an Estonian life, stood for the Estonian thing, participated in Estonianism, although abroad. In their minds, people lived in the homeland, sharing its joys and sorrows, although the daily life belonged to the new home place" (Roos

2000: 95). Eerik Laid writes about the Estonians going to exile in the whirlwinds of World War II: "This was rather a retreat from the supremacy of the enemy, a wish to save part of the home and homeland, by way of oneself and the close ones". Upholding the continuity of the Republic of Estonia in the West was as if taking the homeland along to abroad (Laid 1997: 285, 288). Thus, the homeland of exiled Estonians was as if a mosaic, the fragments of which had been scattered away from each other and that could have been perceived as an entirety only in one's imagination.

The so-called *broken homeland* of the exiles constitutes a structure from which the territory has been violently torn away. This is a land where the soil and ground have been substituted by cultural values – with particular clarity, we can see the different perspectives of exiles and that of voluntary emigrants: if, for an emigrant, adaptation means the acceptance of the foreign to one's own life, then for an exile, adaptation means a possibly large representation of the old homeland in the new environment. People live, so to speak, with their faces towards Estonia and they ignore the new and alien. A homeland is a mental rather than a geographical value. If, in the vision presented by Aarand Roos, the homeland concept of the exiles comprises a large extent of cultural and social matters, then the territorial dimension in time and space is limited to the distant homeland: in the vision of exiled Estonians who left their country because of war, the homeland is Estonia, located faraway, despite the social network in the Estonian language and carriers of Estonian culture also in the new living environment. The phenomenon of the lost or broken homeland of the exiles proves that a homeland may harmonically exist only in a situation where all constituent components, forming a homeland, are present. The same can be said about the Soviet time homeland-picture in Estonia: the homeland was in chains and this made it a specifically cherished and valued space. People understand the need for the homeland once they have lost it. Today, when Estonia is free again and the Estonian identity is not being repressed from outside, voices can be heard that this freedom might be dangerous for Estonianism. Whilst living in freedom, Estonians are not capable of valuing their Estonian identity. For instance, many people are anxious about the data of sociological surveys, which reveal that a fourth of Estonians under the age of 20 would like to go to live and work abroad (the UNICEF survey) and more than half of the upper secondary school students would agree to give up the Estonian language in favour of material benefits (a survey conducted by the Tallinn Pedagogical University). In connection with this, opinions have been expressed in public

debates that the fact that Estonia joined the European Union on May 1, 2004 and a relevant decrease in the independent political decision-making by Estonians may be beneficial for the Estonian identity: awareness of the threat helps to consolidate and remind of the ethnic values.

References

Blumberg, Gustav 1874. *Juhataja Kodu- ning isamaa tundmisele*. Tartu: H. Laakmann.

Bartl, Katja, Martina Blaschka & Christina Kuhn 1995. Einmal Heimat und zurück. – *Neue Siedlungen – Neue Fragen. Eine Folgestudie über Heimatvertriebene in Baden-Württenberg – 40 Jahre danach*. Tübingen: Silberburg Verlag, 37–68.

Bollnow, Otto Friedrich 1963. *Mensch und Raum*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.

Dovey, Kimberly 1985. Home and Homelessness. – *Home Environments* (ed. by Irwin Altman, Carol M. Werner). New York, London: Plenum Press, 33–64.

Eestlane 1906. No. 19.

Gornig, Gilbert 1997. Das Recht auf Heimat und das Recht auf die Heimat. – *Heimat. Konstanten und Wandel im 19./20. Jahrhundert. Vorstellungen und Wirklichkeiten?* (hrsg von Katharina Weigand). München: Deutscher Alpenverein e. V., 33–50.

Greverus, Ina-Maria 1972. *Der territoriale Mensch. Ein literaturanthropologischer Versuch zum Heimatphänomen*. Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum.

Greverus, Ina-Maria 1979. *Auf der Suche nach Heimat*. München: C. H. Beck Verlag.

Hiiemäe, Mall 2001. Maastik ja kohapärimus. – *Maastik: loodus ja kultuur. Maastikukäsitlusi Eestis* (toim Hannes Palang, Helen Sooväli). *Publicationes Instituti Geographici Universitatis Tartuensis* 91, Tartu: Tartu Ülikool, 86–95.

Holst, R. 1894. Üleskutse ja palve neile suguvendadele, kes laial Venemaal elama on asunud. – *Eesti Postimees* 50 (10.12.): 2.

Hurt, Jakob 1989. *Kõned ja kirjad.* Loomingu Raamatukogu 1/2. Tallinn: Perioodika.

Jaago, Tiiu 2000. „Esiisa tuli...“ Kodukoha mõiste päritolujutustustes. – *Eestlane ja tema maa*: *konverentsi „Kodumaa ja kodupaik: eestlase territoriaalne identiteet“ (16.–17. november 1999, [Tallinn]) materjale* (koost A. Jürgenson). *Scripta ethnologica* 4. Tallinn: Ajaloo Instituut, 168–183.

Jansen, Ea 2000. Kodu ja isamaa. – *Eestlane ja tema maa*: (koost A. Jürgenson *konverentsi „Kodumaa ja kodupaik: eestlase territoriaalne identiteet“ (16.–17. november 1999, [Tallinn]) materjale*). *Scripta ethnologica* 4. Tallinn: Ajaloo Instituut, 34–46.

Jürgenson, Aivar 2002. *Siberi eestlaste territoriaalsus ja identiteet*. Tallinna Pedagoogika-ülikooli humanitaarteaduste dissertatsioonid 7. Tallinn: Tallinna Pedagoogikaülikooli kirjastus.

Kannike, Anu 2002. *Kodukujundus kui kultuuriloomine*: *etnoloogiline Tartu-uurimus*. Eesti Rahva Muuseumi Sari 4. Tartu: Eesti Rahva Muuseum.

König, René 1958. *Grundformen der Gesellschaft: Die Gemeinde*. Hamburg: Rowohlt.

Kreutzwald, Friedrich Reinhold 1953. *Laulud*. Tallinn: Eesti Riiklik Kirjastus.

Laas, Kaljo 2000. Sotsiaalmajanduslikud tegurid kodupaiga mõiste ja identiteedi kujunemisel. – *Eestlane ja tema maa*: *konverentsi „Kodumaa ja kodupaik: eestlase territoriaalne identiteet“ (16.–17. november 1999, [Tallinn]) materjale* (koost A. Jürgenson). *Scripta ethnologica* 4. Tallinn: Ajaloo Instituut, 28–33.

Laid, Eerik 1997. Ümberasujad või põgenikud. – *Paopaigad* (koost Pekka Erelt, Hando Runnel). Tartu: Ilmamaa, 285–288.
Lehmann, Albrecht 1991. *Im Fremden ungewollt zuhaus. Flüchtlinge und Vertriebene im Westdeutschland 1945–1990*. München: C. H. Beck Verlag.
Löfgren, Orvar 1999. Maailmavaated: uurimisperspektiiv. – *Skandinaavia kultuurianalüüs. Studia ethnologica Tartuensia* 3 (toim Anu Järs; Anu Kannike; Heiki Pärdi). Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli etnoloogia õppetool, 52–72.
Lovell, Nadia 1998. Introduction. – *Locality and Belonging* (ed. by Nadia Lovell). London, New York: Routlege, 1–24.
Loorits, Oskar 1951. *Eestluse elujõud*. [Stockholm]: Tõrvik.
Luht, Jakob1892. Hoiatuseks väljarändajatele. – *Virmaline* 2 (8.01.): 1-2.
Masing, Uku 1995. *Vaatlusi maailmale teoloogi seisukohast*. Tartu: Ilmamaa.
Miller, Daniel (ed.) 2001. *Home Possession*: material culture behind closed doors. Oxford, New York.
Miller, Voldemar 2000. Loodusliku keskkonna osa rahvusliku identiteedi kujunemisel. – *Eestlane ja tema maa*: *konverentsi "Kodumaa ja kodupaik: eestlase territoriaalne identiteet" (16.–17. november 1999, [Tallinn]) materjale* (koost A. Jürgenson). *Scripta ethnologica* 4. Tallinn: Ajaloo Instituut, 9–19.
Postimees 1892. No. 9.
Pumpyanskii 1983 = Пумпянский Лев Васильевич. *Ломоносов и немецкая школа разума*. – *XVIII век*. Сб. 14. Ленинград: Наука, 3–44.
Remmel, Mari-Ann 1997. "Püha" mõistest kohalugude kaudu. – *Maa ja ilm. Pro Folkloristica* V, Tartu: Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum, 75–91.
Ränk, Gustav 1995. *Sest ümmargusest maailmast.* 2. tr. [Tartu] : Ilmamaa.
Ridala, Villem 1913. Tõu küsimus. – *Eesti Kultura III*. Tartu, 199–363.
Rihtman-Augushtin, Dunja 1981. Die Erforschung der traditionellen Kultur der Kroaten ausserhalb der Landesgrenzen. – *Minderheiten und Regionalkultur. Vorträge des 4. Internationalen Symposiums Ethnographia Pannonica in Bernstein 1978* (hrsg. von Olaf Bockhorn, Károly Gaál; Irene Zucker). Wien, 49–54.
Roos, Aarand 2000. Pagulaste missioon. – *Eestlane ja tema maa: konverentsi „Kodumaa ja kodupaik: eestlase territoriaalne identiteet" (16.–17. november 1999, [Tallinn]) materjale* (koost A. Jürgenson). *Scripta ethnologica* 4. Tallinn: Ajaloo Instituut, 89–96.
Rüütel, Ingrid 2000. Rahvalaul paikkondliku ja rahvusliku identiteedi komponendina Eestis. –*Eestlane ja tema maa*: *konverentsi „Kodumaa ja kodupaik: eestlase territoriaalne identiteet" (16.–17. november 1999, [Tallinn]) materjale* (koost A. Jürgenson). *Scripta ethnologica* 4. Tallinn: Ajaloo Instituut, 140–156.
Sakala 1916. No. 150.
Sinijärv, Urve 2001. Maastikust, kultuurist, identiteedist. – *Maastik: loodus ja kultuur*. Maastikukäsitlusi Eestis (toim Hannes Palang, Helen Sooväli). *Publicationes Instituti Geographici Universitatis Tartuensis* 91, Tartu: Tartu Ülikool, 11–17.
Talve, Ilmar 1999. *Kolmas kodumaa*. Tartu: Ilmamaa:
Tuisk, Astrid 2001. Siberi eestlaste kohapärimus tänapäeval. – *Pärimuslik ajalugu* (koost Tiiu Jaago). Tartu: [Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus], 74–90.
Tõnisson Jaan 1911a. Talupoja rahvus. – *Postimees* 2, 4.01.
Tõnisson, Jaan 1911b. Meie rahva majanduselise arenemise sihtjooned lähemas tulevikus. – *Eesti Kultura* I. (*„Postimehe" kirjakogu* I.) Tartu, 356–358.

Undla-Põldmäe, Aino 1981. *Koidulauliku valgel*: *uurimusi ja artikleid*. Tallinn: Eesti Raamat.
Viikberg, Jüri 2000. Omad ja võõrad murdearhiivi vaatevinklist. – *Eestlane ja tema maa: konverentsi "Kodumaa ja kodupaik: eestlase territoriaalne identiteet" (16.–17. november 1999, [Tallinn]) materjale* (koost A. Jürgenson). *Scripta ethnologica* 4. Tallinn: Ajaloo Instituut,186–195.
Õigus 1908. No. 61.

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

Kristel Rattus
Liisi Jääts

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.

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 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-twig 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-forty 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 interwined 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 hurrahed 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 handmade 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 const-ruction 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.

Primary sources

EA = Etnograafiline Arhiiv 249. Jääts, Liisi, Kristel Rattus, Helena Grauberg 2003. Interviews made during the project "Estonian Traditional Technologies on the Internet" in summer 2003, deposited in the ethnographic archive of Estonian National Museum, 111–199.

References

Frykman, Jonas 2003. Between History and Material Culture. – *Being There. New Perspectives on Phenomenology and the Analysis of Culture.* Jonas Frykman & Nils Gilje (eds.). Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 169–191.

Frykman, Jonas & Nils Gilje 2003. Being There: An Introduction. – *Being There. New Perspectives on Phenomenology and the Analysis of Culture.* Jonas Frykman & Nils Gilje (eds.). Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 7–51.

Hobsbawm, Eric 1992. Introduction: Inventing Traditions. – *The Invention of Tradition*. Ed. by Eric Hobsbawm & Terence Ranger. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1–14.

Hofman, Nila Ginger 2001, online. Reconstructing Jewish Identity in Croatia: Towards a Refined Symbolic Ethnicity. – *Anthropology of East Europe Review* 19 (2). http://condor.depaul. edu/~rrotenbe/aeer/v19n2/Hofman.pdf. Last visited 27.10.2004.

Honko, Lauri 1988. Studies on tradition and cultural identity. An introduction. – *Tradition and Cultural Identity*, ed. by Lauri Honko. NIF Publications 20. Turku: Nordic Institute of Folklore.

Honko, Lauri 1998. Folklooriprotsess. – *Mäetagused* 6. Hüperajakiri. Toim. Mare Kõiva ja Andres Kuperjanov. http://haldjas.folklore.ee/tagused/nr6/honko.htm.

Maran, Timo 2002. Lokaalsuse ökosemiootilisi aluseid. – *Koht ja paik. Place and Location II*. Toim. V. Sarapik, K. Tüür, M. Laanemets. *Eesti Kunstiakadeemia Toimetised* 10. Tallinn: Eesti Kunstiakadeemia, 81–93.

Runnel, Pille 2002. *Traditsiooniline kultuur setude enesemääratluses 1990ndatel aastatel*. Studia Ethnologica Tartuensia 7. Tartu.

Siivonen, Katriina 2002. Does the European Union Leave Room for Local Identities? Locality as a Cultural Semiotics. – *Ethnologia Scandinavica*. A Journal for Nordic Ethnology. Vol. 32. Lund: The Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy, 63–77.