

ESSAY

Jaan Undusk. *Accursed Dialectics*

Something decidedly perverse, false and inhuman was concealed within Soviet cultural policy that took shape in the Stalinist era. Its whole “point” lay in the fact that in principle, it implicitly prescribed the criminality of all manner of intellectual and spiritual work; the potential criminality of any kind of idea, storyline or style. And – paradoxically – that “point” was achieved precisely by the fact that more was permitted in Soviet theory (for instance in the theory of socialist realism) than in any other theory. To be exact, the boundary between what was permitted and what was forbidden was left open, but thereafter permission and prohibition was dealt with according to needs “arising from specific situations”. Thus intellectuals were constantly being judged in court but new “laws” with retroactive effect were disclosed only prior to the next subsequent court session. In effect, this meant unlimited power over creative personalities.

The specific means of Soviet cultural policy was a method of intellectual and spiritual manipulation that was hypocritically referred to as dialectics, higher “scientific” logic. This in particular made it possible to accuse someone of adhering to two logically contradictory positions at one and the same time, placing him in an inextricable predicament because by denying one “sin” he had to unintentionally admit his guilt in terms of the other “sin”. Dialectics in particular was also what made sudden qualitative “leaps” possible in assessments of people and social phenomena, in the rapid replacement of boundless trust with complete distrust, the arrest of today’s leader tomorrow, and the prohibition of a currently favoured position at the next moment. Violence in Soviet society was founded on the abuse of dialectics. Hence Soviet totalitarianism could also be referred to as dialectic totalitarianism.

This essay discusses the gradual transformation of G. W. F. Hegel’s dialectics as an elitist way of thinking into an ideology of the abuse of logic, referring to examples from the writings of K. Marx, F. Engels, G. Plekhanov, V. Lenin, A. Deborin, N. Bukharin and J. Stalin. The ultimate objective was to channel dialectics into direct social practice, to apply it as necessary as a means for the constant ideological cleansing of proletarian culture. The dialectic grip of Communist Party decisions – which relied on the vulgarly and cynically presented schemes of unity and struggle between opposites, of the transition to a new quality of quantity, and of double negation – laid the foundation for the “dialectic latitude” of the repression of creative intellectuals as well as other strata of society.

On the other hand, dialectics could be used both before and after the high point of the Stalinist reign of terror as a weapon of ideological resistance against dogmatic thinking (V. Bibler is highlighted as an example). This admittedly made it possible to relativise every postulate and slogan but ultimately

did not provide support for the generation of alternative views of the world.

ARTICLES

Martti Kalda. *Junagadhi Inscription: Communal Propaganda Ancient Indian Style*

In the Kāthiāwād Peninsula in the Indian Republic, two kilometres east of the town of Junagadh, on a site that has been inhabited for thousands of years, stands Mount Girnar. Different religions (Jainism, Hinduism, Buddhism) consider Girnar Hill a holy site. Near the base of the mountain stands a conical piece of rock, and on that rock there are inscriptions from three famous ancient Indian rulers. Here we find the Rock Edicts of the famous King Aśoka Devanāmrya Priyadarśin (ruled ca. 274/268 to 234/232 B. C.) of the Maurya Dynasty (4th–2nd century B. C.), the inscription of the Indo-Scythian Prince Rudradaman (ruled ca. 130–160 A. D.), and texts from Skandagupta (ruled 456–467 A. D.) of the Gupta Dynasty (4th–6th century A. D.).

The current article focuses on the Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman. We analyse the textual (epigraphical) and the historical context, and read the text as ancient propaganda, assisted by modern propaganda techniques. The article includes of the full text of the inscription, translated from the original into Estonian.

The main question of the article is: how reliable is the information in the inscription? And more broadly: can inscriptions as such be regarded as reliable historical sources? Thus, the question is not why, but how the inscription of Rudradaman was, and still is, lying to us.

Aldur Vunk. *New Beginning of Estonian Shipbuilding from the End of the 18th Century and at the Outset of the 19th Century II*

This article is the second part of a discussion of shipbuilding in the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century in present day Estonian territory and on the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea. Shipbuilding that had begun in Pärnu at the end of the 18th century had dwindled in the second decade of the 19th century. Alongside smaller ships, only a few larger ships were built (the barque *Diana* in 1824, 140 lasts). The main problem was the deficit of lumber for shipbuilding and a shortage of capital. On the other hand, in Courland, which was incorporated into the Russian Empire in 1795, and where lumber suitable for shipbuilding was in plentiful supply, shipbuilding, which had a lengthy tradition in the area, began to flourish once again and its effect also extended to the other Baltic provinces. Shipbuilding started up once again in Riga in 1828, relying to a great extent on the skills of the master shipbuilder Gottlieb Eduard Möwe, who had relocated to Riga from Liepāja. By the mid-19th century, shipbuilding had begun to flourish in Riga to such an extent

that much like in Liepāja, most of the ships that were registered at the port of Riga had been built locally. In 1856/57, Riga shipyards started using softwood as building material instead of the oak wood that was transported through Riga harbour. In 1857, a series of ships consisting of altogether 10 pine wood galleasses (81 lasts) was built.

An upturn began in other shipbuilding centres in Estland and Livland as well in the 1840's. The *Delphin* (55 lasts), a two-masted schooner made of pine wood, was launched in Pärnu in 1845. Ships of this size were the optimal size for Pärnu's flax merchants and they sailed between the ports of Pärnu, Portugal and England. The master shipbuilder Gottlieb Maddisson, who was of Estonian extraction, started working in Pärnu in the 1840's. His first large-scale ship was the schooner *Medea* (55 lasts), completed in 1847. In the province of Livland in the mid-19th century, ships were built mainly in Riga, Pärnu and Saaremaa. The primary location for shipbuilding in the province of Estland was Hiiumaa. There the largest vessel to be completed until that time in the territory of present day Estonia, the barque *Hioma* (169 lasts) made of softwood, was also completed in 1848 under the supervision of master shipbuilders imported from Stockholm. A breakthrough by the first entrepreneur from among the local ethnic majority into the merchant class that had until then been closed off by corporate barriers took place in the mid-19th century. This made it possible for Estonians to operate as shipowners and to direct local shipbuilding. The Pärnu merchant Martin Strahlberg began operating as an Estonian shipowner in 1856. He had his first large ship (the brigantine *Catharina Regina*, 113 lasts) built in Saaremaa. Three of the more important initiatives that acclimatised in shipbuilding in the territory of present day Estonia over the course of the end of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century, and preceded the boom in shipbuilding among the coastal dwellers in the latter half of the 19th century are highlighted in the summary of the article. These were first of all the skills of foreign master shipbuilders, which were passed on to their local assistants in shipyards. Those assistants soon became the builders of coastal ships (in Saaremaa) or altogether master shipbuilders of vessels suitable for international trade (Gottlieb Maddisson). Second was the tradition in local shipbuilding of temporary shipbuilding yards with little equipment, and third was the adoption of the use of local forest products in building schooners and barques.

Anu Mänd. Church Bells in Medieval Tallinn

This article begins with a discussion of church bells and mechanical clocks in Tallinn based on evidence from written sources. Thereafter, a bell of the Holy Spirit Church from 1433 is examined in detail. The functions of church bells were both religious and secular: they invited people to mass and announced the canonical hours, but they were also rung at important public

events, and to alert the population of fire and other accidents. The ringing of bells at funerals was costly and not affordable for everybody. Thus, the sound of the bells also reflected social hierarchies. According to a price list from St. Nicholas' Church from about 1488, a funeral with all the bells cost 4 marks. Some important rulers, who were buried elsewhere, were commemorated with the tolling of the bells in Tallinn, e.g. the masters of the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order.

Churches, particularly parish churches, had several bells of different size and sound. Bells were named after saints or according to their size and function. For example, in the late 15th century, St. Nicholas' Church had the Apostles' Bell, a Great Bell, a Sunday bell and two smaller bells. The founding of a new bell for St. Olaf's Church in 1437 is described in detail in the account book of the church, listing all the related costs: the moulds, bell metal, payment to various craftsmen and their assistants, etc.

The first mechanical clocks with a dial and hands were commissioned by the town council and installed in a centrally located church. In Riga, a clock at St. Peter's Church is first mentioned in 1405, the one at the Holy Spirit Church of Tallinn was made in 1434. Tallinn's parish churches acquired a clock much later: St. Nicholas' Church in 1469 and St. Olaf's Church in 1527–1528. The Dominican friary also had a mechanical clock.

The only surviving medieval church bell in Tallinn, cast in 1433, hung in the tower of the Holy Spirit Church until 2002 but was then destroyed by fire. Since 2013, its fragments are on display in the southern nave of the church. The bell was richly decorated: it had figural ornaments in relief and an inscription in Latin and Middle Low German: *o rex * glorie * xpe * veni * cvm * pace * ave * gracia * plena * dominvs * tecvm anno domini m * cccc * xxxiii // ik* ◇ *sla rechte* ◇ *der maghet als* ◇ *deme* ◇ *knechte* ◇ *der* ◇ *vrowen* ◇ *als* ◇ *deme* ◇ *heren* ◇ *des* ◇ *en* ◇ *kan* ◇ *mi* ◇ *nemant* ◇ *vor* ◇ *keren*. The last row consisted of the Crucifixion group and the bell maker's name – *mer-ten leifert*. Formerly, the master's family name had incorrectly been read as Seifert.

Merten Leifert (Leifferdes) alias Merten *Gropengeter* was a coppersmith in the service of Tallinn's Town Council in the 1430's and 1440's. In 1437, he cast a bell for St. Olaf's Church. At Christmas 1446, Leifferdes became the alderman of St. Canute's Guild, which was the highest social position for a craftsman. His son became a canon in Tallinn. Leifferdes died most likely in early 1447.

The ringing of the bells was controlled not only by the church but also by the town council, especially in turbulent times. For example, during the Reformation in 1524, the Town Council of Riga forbade the Dominicans and the Franciscans to ring their bells, in order to demonstrate the council's power and to remove the sound of the mendicants from the sacred space of the town.

Raimo Pohjola, Max Lehmann and the Development of the Principle of Provenance

This article examines the development of one of the main pillars of archival science, the principle of origin or provenance. This principle is explained in contemporary archival science by the realisation that archival records created or acquired in the course of the activity of one archives' creator (institution or individual) belong together and they must not be mixed together with archival records of a different origin. In other words, the archival records of one archives' creator form one organic whole, one archival collection.

The development of the principle of provenance began at the outset of the 1880's at the central archive of the Kingdom of Prussia, the *Geheimes Staatsarchiv* in Berlin, when the archive's director Heinrich von Sybel had approved new regulations for putting the archival records in order. The positions presented in those regulations, however, had been worked out by Max Lehmann, whose role in shaping the basic principle of archival science has until now remained in the background. Max Lehmann (1845–1929) worked at the *Geheimes Staatsarchiv* as an archivist in 1875–1888, having previously studied in Berlin, Königsberg and Bonn. After his archival work, he moved on to research work at the universities of Marburg, Leipzig and Göttingen. Lehmann's conflicting personality and his relatively short-lived career at the archive left his important contribution unnoticed. It was not until the 1950's that Ernst Posner highlighted Lehmann's contribution.

Prior to describing Lehmann's innovations, the article provides an overview of prevailing practices in archival work in the 16th – 18th centuries in German territories and the Nordic lands. The development of deductive methods of classification in the rationalist spirit of that time, where the progression was from the general to the individual, and the main record groups were divided into subgroups in alphabetical order, began in German registries in the 18th century. Classification according to geography was also employed, in which case records related to the same geographical area were archived in a single group. The use of groupings did not cause problems in archiving records of one agency. Yet records from other agencies and from closed agencies started accumulating in the archives of agencies. Thus an initially serviceable archiving principle, the principle of content or pertinence, became a rather problematic tool that severed connections between records.

The primary positions of the principle of provenance worked out by Lehmann differed from previous practice in several respects. Lehmann found that according to the new principle, the archivist would no longer have to perform the labour-intensive work of putting records in order again. Records

would not have to be rearranged and re-ordered according to their themes. Similarly, archival officials could in future be certain that it would be easy to find records of institutions after their arrival in the archive as well because the initial organisation of the records would be preserved. Lehmann was also convinced that the principle of origin would also be helpful for researchers of history, acting officials and archivists because the search for records would be considerably simpler than before. He was also of the opinion that archival registries, and chronological and alphabetical thematic registries covering all archives should be compiled in order to refer to connections between records belonging to different archives. The principles of honouring the original or internal order of each agency and the requirement of the inseparability of private archives handed over to the archive were also reconfirmed.

This article also examines the implementation of this new principle in practice, which proved to be more time-consuming than its author had envisioned – Lehmann drew up a separate code of practice in the autumn of 1884, the principles of which were to be prescribed for adoption and implementation in all archives under the central administration of Prussia's archives, including archives in the provinces. Lehmann left the archive before his ideas were put into practice. Even though Lehmann was not the first person to discover the principle of provenance, he was the first to draw up detailed instructions for the adoption of that principle and was at the same time the first to more broadly discuss the problems associated with the new principle together with its effects on research work and practical management of archives.

Oliver Pagel. Tourists from the Estonian SSR in Finland in 1955–1980

Over 9500 tourists in total visited Finland from the ESSR in 1955–1980 in connection with the trade union movement. Over half of all ESSR tourists who visited capitalist countries during the period under consideration travelled to Finland in particular. Accordingly, the tourist groups consisted of representatives of walks of life with larger incomes that belonged to higher social classes: technical experts (architects, engineers, technicians); educationalists (teachers, academics, scientific and research staff); doctors and various civil servants (officials, Communist Party, trade union and Komso-mol functionaries). Representation of the working class and kolkhozniks remained low.

There were various reasons for the elitist nature of the tourist groups, yet one of the more important impacting factors was the fact that the authorities expected tourists who went abroad to conduct credible and positive propaganda on behalf of the USSR. The regime feared that workers and/or kolkhozniks could have difficulty in carrying out this task and that they

were incapable of having a credible effect on audiences in foreign countries.

Candidates for travel abroad had to go through a long process to acquire a vacation package: formally, the filling out of the required paperwork and the selection of the candidates admittedly took place at a total of five different levels but essentially, the KGB still had the last word on the matter.

Losing out on a foreign vacation package was considered a true personal tragedy at the individual level. The Soviet regime was very well aware of this and used vacation packages to foster outward loyalty. Finland was excellently suited as a destination for tourism abroad because unlike the rest of the capitalist countries, Finland did not offer political asylum to defectors from behind the Iron Curtain and extradited refugees who were caught to the USSR. For this reason, the only possibility was to use Finland as a transit territory for carrying on to Sweden, where one could request political asylum. Unlike Finland. The escape of a member of a tourist group to Sweden via Finland was complicated and for this reason, only three tourists from the ESSR succeeded in this undertaking in the period 1955–1980.

DOCUMENT AND COMMENTARY

Ulrike Plath, Kaarel Vanamölder. Once Lisa Wrote a Letter...

It was in mid-September of 1946 when at the age of 76, the nearly illiterate Lisa Mathilde Pulst (1870–1957) wrote one of the few letters in her life. It was addressed to a 10 year old girl, Margit Mende, who lived in a small village in a low mountain range in Germany. Although it was written in a phonetic language resembling German mixed with Estonian elements that was even less understandable than its barely legible handwriting, Margit and her family understood clearly what Lisa was asking for. Margit's former Estonian nanny, who had joined Margit's Baltic-German family in Riga in 1936 and had accompanied them throughout the war from Warthegau to West-Germany, and was now living with her son in the Ruhr area, was heartrendingly asking to be taken home again, back to her "real" Baltic-German family.

Who was Lisa? In the article we discuss what we have found by following her traces both in the archives and in the memories of Lisa's corporal family and her chosen family. The story highlights the life of a woman born in the countryside near Pärnu who was badly off and became the mother of three illegitimate sons, whom she gave away to an orphanage. She had to struggle to survive and to find work. It is the story of a woman who changed her identity several times, leaving Estonia for Riga, and subsequently leaving the Baltic region for Germany. Most of all, it is a story of deep love between an old nanny and "her" children in a transnational family.

Valdur Ohmann. August Vakepea – Accessory to the Murder of Estonian Communists in Copenhagen

There were three participants in the murder of leading Estonian communists in Copenhagen in February of 1936 – Leo Looring, Karl Säre and August Vakepea. Johannes Eltermann-Martõnov was brutally killed with the approval of the Comintern. The subsequent fate of those who ordered the murder has gradually started coming to light. Leo Looring's career and fate became known at the turn of the current millennium already: the Soviet state security organs succeeded in getting him extradited from a Swedish prison to the USSR, where he was tried by a tribunal and executed in 1952. Karl Säre died in the Hamburg-Neuengamme concentration camp on 14 March 1945. There were only assumptions concerning August Vakepea that he had apparently gone to fight in the Spanish Civil War. No documentary confirmation of this conjecture had thus far been found. No other biographical information about him had been disclosed either.

The analytical comparison of the personal data in the Comintern file on August Vakepea that is deposited in Estonia with a document on Hermann Pikk that is deposited in Russia demonstrated that they are one and the same person. This young man from Saaremaa dreamed of becoming a seaman. His dream came true in 1929. As a seaman, he found himself in the Soviet Union on a couple of occasions, and as of 1932 he was under the influence of the Comintern. August Vakepea became a member of the Estonian Communist Party (ECP) in 1933. He was given a new identity in Russia. As of 1934, his name was Jaan Klaar. Archival documents at the Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History indicate that August Vakepea participated in the Spanish Civil War under the name Pikk Hermann (Tall Hermann), which is at the same time ironic because this is also the name of the most important flag tower in the Republic of Estonia, right beside the parliament building. August Vakepea also merits attention since he was the first Estonian who made it to the Spanish Civil War by 1 December 1936 already and was most likely the only one to serve in the anarchist Durruti unit. Articles on the Spanish Civil War appeared in communist publications under the name of Hermann Pikk until the spring of 1937. As of 31 March, he had been counted out of the ranks of the fighters of the Durruti Column. His last known location was near the village of Pina del Ebro on the Aragon Front: negatory responses have been received from Spanish archives. They did not succeed in finding information on August Vakepea, Jaan Klaar or Hermann Pikk. Admittedly, the writings of Hermann Pikk in communist publications also stopped after that point. Thus we are left to conclude that August Vakepea went missing at the front in the Spanish Civil War in the spring of 1937.

Peeter Kaasik. Plans for Forming the Estonian People's Army in 1943

The formation of Estonian military units and their struggle in defending Estonia at the outset of 1944 is from time to time presented as Estonia's "Second War of Independence". Even though jurists and generally also historians would perhaps not agree with this claim, the mobilisations into the German Army in 1944 had interesting legal aspects as well, in addition to emotional value. For instance, citizenship of the Republic of Estonia prior to the Soviet occupation was the basis for mobilisation. Mobilisations were carried out in accordance with the laws of the Republic of Estonia (if they did not contradict German laws) and seemingly by Estonia's own institutions under the leadership of Estonian officers.

Additionally, in the latter half of 1943, Estonian military men came up with the idea of using men recruited from Estonia in the future against the Red Army as an "Estonian People's Army" in order to provide some sort of legal basis for compulsory mobilisation. In this case, the plan drawn up in the Main Administration of the *Omakaitse* (Home Guard) bearing the date of 27 September is under consideration. In correspondence to the chain of command, this plan was to be submitted to the commander of the *Wehrmacht* 207th Security Division.

It was proposed to the German military authorities that the Estonian People's Army would be formed of volunteers, men recruited compulsorily and men called up into the army through general mobilisations. It would be headed by the general staff of the commander in chief, which would have at its disposal three infantry divisions, reserve units and the *Omakaitse* responsible for securing the rear area. As the only functioning military organisation of Estonians, the *Omakaitse* would also have served as the formation headquarters for the people's army. Relations with the Germans would henceforth have been relations as allies under the operative command of the Germans.

The plan was not implemented in this form and the German military command most likely did not consider it particularly seriously. Regardless of the fact that men recruited from eastern territories were used massively on the Eastern Front, they were never trusted completely and nothing good would have been expected from this kind of military alliance. Additional concerns were purely military.

This was not the only plan. Several plans were drawn up in the Main Administration of the *Omakaitse*, and the demand for the restoration of independence and legal power was more or less clearly presented in all of them. Thus more political rather than military objectives were definitely of greater importance in these plans.

Estonian Film Archive. A Glimpse into the Life of 1990ties in Estonia

CULTURAL HISTORY ARCHIVE

Tiina Saluvere. Theatre Accumulating Cultural Instinct. Correspondence between Kuno Otsus and Vaino Vahing

The correspondence between Vaino Vahing (1941-2008) and Kuno Otsus (1943-2014) deposited in Estonia's Cultural History Archive (EKLA) derives from Vahing's personal archive, which has been recently deposited at EKLA and bears the registry number 2012/178. Most of the letters that are to be published were written in the 1970's, which was an extraordinarily exciting period in Estonian theatre that has in retrospect been referred to as an era of theatre renewal. By that time, the possibilities of psychological realism were starting to become exhausted and had become boring for young people. Estonia's young theatre people, primarily the directors Jaan Tooming and Evald Hermaküla, started creating stage productions with a different kind of theatrical language that immediately attracted attention and did not leave anyone unmoved – there were both fervent supporters and opponents. Grotowski was one of the important examples from abroad, experimentation was undertaken in synthesising Artaud and Brecht, etc. Psychoanalysis also had an important place in the achievement of a feeling of self-awareness on stage. A great deal of theory on this topic was read, especially Jung. The Vanemuine Theatre in Tartu became the centre of this renewal in theatre.

Both parties in this correspondence are closely associated with theatre renewal. They were involved in it from the very beginning and belonged to the same circle of friends, consisting of kindred spirits. Otsus had graduated from the Vanemuine Studio theatre school and worked all his life at the Vanemuine Theatre as an actor and director, but also at various times as the theatre's librarian, archivist, curator of the theatre's sheet music collection, etc. Vahing worked as a psychiatrist and as a docent at the University of Tartu (defending his candidate's degree in psychopharmacology in 1971), yet was also at the same time a writer and a theatre critic. His role was to mediate the theoretical side for those involved in theatre and to reflect it for the public. Since the new kind of theatre also needed different kinds of texts, Vahing made his contribution with his literary creative work as well. Vahing also edited a self-published underground almanac entitled *Thespis*, which appeared in the 1970's and focused primarily on theatre. It was also published in 1997 as a book.

The correspondence between Otsus and Vahing reflects the moods of that era, living for the theatre completely and without reservation, and the bohemian lifestyle of their circle of friends, which interweaved extremely intense work and the thirst for knowledge. In terms of their form, Vahing's letters are remarkable since they are written on theatre playbills, which in its own way created a communion with his friends in sharing his theatre experiences. This correspondence helps to research an important aspect of the cultural life of that period.