

ESSAY

Ilmar Vene. Dialectics of Violence

“Dialectics of Violence” introduces how the question of the extent to which people may ward off social violence using violence has been approached at different times. Naturally, it must first be clarified what is considered to be evil and what is considered goodness. In this connection, the author indicates what kind of solution was arrived at for the problem under discussion within the boundaries of dualistic Manichaeism and monotheistic Christianity.

The main part of the discussion follows the introduction. It is made known in the Christian scriptures that all manner of power derives from God. Thus it seems to be expected that social injustice was not fought against all that effectively during the Christian era. Even Thomas Aquinas, who had at first decisively declared that an unjust tyrant has no right to rule over his subjects, later became ever more reserved in reference to this question.

The general attitude does not change recognisably until the early modern era. The author highlights three major events as illustrative evidence: the Peasants' War in Germany, the English Revolution, and the Great French Revolution.

The 19th century is referred to in this article as the “century of social democracy”: scientific socialism emerges and class struggle starts being seen as the primary agent of history.

All of this previous history is crowned by the October coup in Russia, which Stalin in 1934 named the “Great Socialist October Revolution”.

ARTICLES

Inna Põltsam-Jürjo. The Pig, Pig Keeping and the Use of Pork as Food in Estonia in the 13th to 16th Centuries

The pig has been part of the diet of inhabitants of Estonia for thousands of years. It is not merely an important foundation pillar of local food culture, rather it is an equally important part of the identity and lifestyle of the people who have lived in this land. The pig has had deep cultural meaning in these parts. Living long-term side by side, getting to know the nature and attributes of the pig, yet also misunderstanding, have deeply embedded the pig in mankind's thought patterns, figures of speech, cults and magical perceptions.

Bone matter found in archaeological excavations indicates that the wild boar was already part of people's diet in these parts over 10,000 years ago, and the domestic pig appears in find material at the end of the Stone Age. More evidence and more concrete information concerning pig keeping, the use of pork as food, and attitudes towards the pig in Estonia have been found only from the Middle Ages

onward, chiefly due to the existence of written sources. It is difficult to estimate the scale of pig keeping at that time, yet in so far as the pig was an animal kept purely for its meat, cattle breeding was still of greater economic importance. At the same time, pork was valued more than beef as food, especially ham and bacon, and as a rule it was also more costly. Keeping pigs affected and shaped the everyday life of the inhabitants of Estonia in a variety of ways, both in the countryside as well as in the towns, firmly placing its stamp on people's quality of life and living space. The pig forced people to reckon with it. It was important enough to leave its imprint in laws, various regulations, ordinances and other normative sources. Among other things, articles concerning pigs in Livonian laws also express the general attitude of that time towards (domestic) animals. Animals were property that was sold, given as gifts, pawned, but were also stolen and even damaged. In the Middle Ages, people's attitude towards domestic animals was practical above all, and in legal texts, they are equated with things.

The pig had an important place in Estonian folk beliefs in ancient times. The pig cult encompassed fertility, the fortune of the family, power and might. The 13th century conquest of Livonia and the Christianisation of the land brought new value judgements and a different attitude. The pig has a negative meaning in both the Old and New Testaments. The pig is referred to as a filthy, unclean animal. The pig is associated with witches as well as vices and sins, above all with greed and gluttony in Christian iconography. The culture of ancient warriors and medieval knight culture represent a different attitude towards the pig, admittedly towards the wild boar primarily. The wild boar's warlike and courageous nature was the model for the medieval warrior. This is the reason why the boar is found on the coat of arms of some Livonian noble families.

St. Anthony – the patron saint of pigs – represented a positive attitude towards the hog-nosed beasts in the medieval church. Churches and chapels, altars and secular brotherhoods dedicated to St. Anthony speak of his veneration in medieval Livonia. The Estonian peasantry held this saint in particularly high esteem. Considering the meaning of the pig in ancient Estonian cult beliefs, it was evidently not difficult for the people to espouse the patron saint of the pig. Country chapels were built in his honour and he was brought oblations. The veneration of St. Anthony among the commoners of Livonia took on an appearance that was altogether unacceptable to the church. Thereat it is not impossible that it was the pig in particular that was the connecting link, so to speak, between the popular medieval saint and Freyr, the ancient Norse god of fertility and the phallic cult associated with him. In other words, the ancient Estonian pig cult that included fertility magic had perhaps received influences from the cult of Freyr. The Estonian

folk calendar knows the day commemorating St. Anthony as the “feast day of pigs”. Yet even still in modern times, the memory of the pig’s age-old, ancient connection to power, fertility, and also to fire and the sun had not completely died out in local folk beliefs and customs.

Enn Küng. *This Fine City will become Deserted and Destitute: Tallinn’s Economic Situation in the 1620s – 1630s*

The signing of the Treaty of Stolbovo between Sweden and Russia on 17 February 1617 generated positive expectations in Sweden’s overseas possessions in Estland and Livland, above all in the towns of those provinces. This article provides an overview of the political and economic situation of one party – Tallinn – in the time before and after the signing of the Treaty of Stolbovo until the outset of the 1630s, which more or less coincides with the reign of Gustav II Adolf. This period is characterised by Tallinn’s diplomatic efforts to bring back to the city the right to be the storage depot for transit trade with Russia, Tallinn’s attempts to drive Narva and other maritime towns along the Gulf of Finland out of the competition in trade, and the customs duty rental agreement concluded with Tallinn for six years in 1623. Tallinn’s main competitor alongside Narva was Lübeck, the merchants of which preferred to channel their dealings with Russia via Narva. The merchants of Narva and Lübeck were blamed for the decline in Tallinn’s trade and for driving Russian trade from the Baltic Sea to Archangel. In Tallinn it was believed that if the centre for Russian transit trade were to be brought back to their city, trade through Archangel would decline due to the increasing interest of Western Europeans in Tallinn. The royal authority also shared this hope. However, the position of the Swedish authorities concerning the question of the storage depot had fluctuated over the first quarter of the 17th century, for which reason sometimes Narva and then again sometimes Tallinn was preferred as the broker of Russian trade. Tallinn’s diplomatic activity aimed at Stockholm concerning trade was very active, although one and the same argument was repeated from year to year. At the same time, only a few of Tallinn’s merchants were active in Russian trade. This trade was risky and required the possession of the necessary capital, which impoverished Tallinners did not have during the period of economic decline. Thus Russians were welcome to come to Tallinn with their goods, where they were conveyed to Western Europeans and vice versa. In the summer of 1622, Tallinners realised that only anti-Narva rhetoric and petitioning for the storage depot to be brought to Tallinn was not enough. Something tangible had to be offered to the royal authority. Thus the idea was arrived at to rent the customs duties of Tallinn’s competitors for a certain period as compensation to the state.

Valdur Ohmann. *The Artist Nikolai Kalmakov and the Twists and Turns of his Creative Legacy*

Nikolai Kalmakov was an emigrant Russian artist whose paths also briefly intersected with Estonia. He stayed in Estonia in 1921–1923. His first exhibition was also a solo exhibition in Tallinn in 1922. It created a sensation, even a scandal. It split Estonian artists in two. Some branded him as being superficial and inept in dealing with art while others considered it an exaggeration to call Kalmakov a dilettante or altogether styled him as a master artist. The fact is that Nikolai Kalmakov’s painting *24. veebruar 1918* (24 February 1918), which depicted the members of the Estonian Salvation Committee declaring Estonia’s independence, became the bone of contention. Rumours were even spread in the newspapers that Tallinn’s Stock Exchange Committee reportedly wanted to buy this painting for an incredibly high price – 200,000 Estonian marks. Let it be noted for the sake of comparison that in those days, the prices of oil paintings on display at exhibitions ranged between 20,000 and 40,000 marks. No 200,000 mark transaction was found in the Tallinn Stock Exchange financial documentation from 1922. This painting was the property of the Tallinn Stock Exchange, but not for such an outlandish amount, rather for 400 Estonian kroons in 1930 (approximately 40,000 Estonian marks). The painting was on display in the Little Hall of the Tallinn Stock Exchange until 1940, when Estonia was occupied by the USSR. Thereafter Nikolai Kalmakov’s painting *24. veebruar 1918* was taken out of its frame, the canvas was folded into sixths and secretly taken to the National Archives for storage on a shelf. It was not until 1966 that the existence of such a painting in the archives was discovered but archival staff was unable to identify its *auteur*. Since the painting depicted Konstantin Päts, one of the founders of the Republic of Estonia, it was decided to deposit it in Konstantin Päts’s personal archive. Konstantin Päts’s personal archive was classified under the conditions of the Soviet regime and access to it was restricted. Nikolai Kalmakov’s painting disappeared once again into oblivion. Prior to the end of Soviet rule (1988), numerous archival materials were declassified and in the course of this process, this painting depicting members of the Estonian Salvation Committee declaring Estonia’s independence was rediscovered. Yet once again, attempts to identify who could have been the *auteur* of the painting did not succeed. Complicating matters even further was the fact that the artist Maximilian Maksolly had also depicted the Estonian Salvation Committee. He had completed the painting *Eesti Vabariigi väljakuulutamine 24.II.1918* (Declaration of the Republic of Estonia 24 February 1918) in 1925/26. Maksolly’s painting belonged to the art collection of Estonia’s other financial institution, the Bank of Estonia, before 1940. Maximilian Maksolly’s painting had found a hiding place at the Tallinn

City Museum and was brought out from there into the light of day in 1989. Confusion concerning the works of the two artists continued to prevail until 1998, when the art historian Mai Levin identified Nikolai Kalmakov as the *auteur* of the painting that had been hidden in the National Archives. This painting has been restored by now and is on display in the Independence Hall at the Bank of Estonia. Nikolai Kalmakov's painting has become a painting representing the Republic of Estonia, which has been seen by the great figures of the world in the course of their visits, the most renowned of which is George W. Bush.

Nikolai Kalmakov went from Estonia to Paris, where he died in 1955. A large proportion of his paintings went missing there as well until they were discovered in 1962 by French collectors. A half-hour long film entitled *L'ange de l'abîme* (Angel of the Abyss) has been made about the discovery of Nikolai Kalmakov's paintings and it has won a Cesar award as best film in the category of short and documentary films. Nikolai Kalmakov's paintings are on display in exhibition halls in London and Paris. His works are esteemed at reputable art auctions.

DOCUMENT AND COMMENTARY

Kai Tafenau, Aivar Põldvee. Emanuel Reger's "Memoirs" of School Matters in Livland (1708)

Major changes with far-reaching consequences took place in educational conditions and church activities and life in Livland in the last quarter of the 17th century. The development of Latvian and Estonian literary language, stocks of ecclesiastical books, and public primary schools progressed particularly energetically, so that it is not an exaggeration to see this as the protracted Lutheran Reformation finally reaching its goal. The leader of these reforms was Johann Fischer (1636–1705, in office in Riga 1674–1699), the Chief Superintendent of Livland. One of the most important sources concerning the educational work and publishing activity that he initiated is a collection of documents known as Emanuel Reger's account book (collection 4038, register 2, archival record 732). Reger himself has remained practically unknown. He is mentioned in historiography only as the secretary and bookkeeper of the chief superintendent. The "memoirs" published here are in fact an undated letter (1708) from Emanuel Reger to the *hovrätt* of Livland (literally "royal court", the highest court in Livland in the 17th – 19th centuries) in Riga. The letter is preserved at the Latvian National History Archives in the Consistory of Livland (Vidzemes konsistoria) collection (collection 233, register 1, archival record 840). A handwritten copy of Reger's letter from the end of the 18th century is found at the University of Latvia Academic Library (Ms. 1140-96, 21). It forms the main part of a file entitled "Notice of how the Chief

Superintendent of Livland, Mr. Dr. Johann Fischer blessedly worked in his position a hundred years ago and of the benefits that brought".

Reger was of German extraction, born in Regensburg. In his letter, Reger mentions that Fischer invited him to come to Riga from Stockholm to do proofreading. He initially lived under Fischer's roof and took upon himself some of the errands connected to schools as a token of his gratitude. In 1681, he became secretary to the Supreme Ecclesiastical Commission of Livland, and in the following year, he became a *notarius publicus*. Reger defends himself in the letter against two accusations. First of all, the Supreme Consistory had submitted a complaint to the *hovrätt* concerning ecclesiastical books and school textbooks that Reger had distributed free of charge to persons who wanted the books. The other accusation concerned official documents in private hands that were supposed to be handed over to state and ecclesiastical authorities. It cannot go unnoticed from the tone of the letter that Reger was irritated not only by those unjust reprimands but also by the shadow that was cast on Fischer. As the closest long-term assistant of the Chief Superintendent, he was as if living history and as such was aware of his value, especially after Fischer left Livland in 1699. In his letter he dwells quite thoroughly on the educational work initiated by Fischer without forgetting to highlight his own role and merits. The letter provides viewpoints of someone who participated directly in the relevant events and valuable descriptions that are more detailed than the corresponding sections of chronicles written by his contemporaries Christian Kelch or Arvid Moller, for instance. In terms of their content, Reger's "memoirs" can be compared to the biographical descriptions by Ernst Glück and Adrian Virginius that have been preserved from that same time period. The letter leaves no doubt that Emanuel Reger was the actual coordinator of school matters in Livland, as well as book distributor and bookkeeper in everyday practice. His activities need to be researched in greater detail.

Toomas Karjahärm. Three Anniversaries from 1987–88. Historiographical Notes and Memories I

The global crisis experienced by communist totalitarianism, the disintegration of the Soviet Empire and the Eastern Bloc ("the socialist camp"), and the *perestroika* and *glasnost* of the reformer Mikhail Gorbachov created an utterly new situation in the occupied Baltic States. Over the latter half of the 1980s, a mass, nonviolent freedom movement developed in Soviet Estonia against the Soviet occupying regime, culminating in August of 1991 with the restoration of national independence on the basis of the legal continuity of the Republic of Estonia that existed in 1918–1940. The commemoration of historical anniversaries that had until then been banned became the catalyst for the democratic

nationalist movement (also known as the “Singing Revolution”).

On 23 August 1987, the opposition’s first legal political demonstration in Soviet Estonia was held “in memory of the victims of fascism and Stalinism” at Hirvepark (Deer Park) in Tallinn, led by the former political prisoner Tiit Madisson and organised by the Estonian Group for Disclosing the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact (MRP-AEG). The disclosure of the secret protocols of the agreement between Stalin and Hitler (Moscow denied their existence until 1989), and the condemnation of the crimes of Stalinism were demanded at the demonstration attended by several thousand people. Speeches were given at the demonstration about the destruction of the independence of the Baltic countries, thus raising the question of the legitimacy of Soviet rule. Analogous mass actions took place in Riga and Vilnius.

This kind of event was an unpleasant surprise to the higher powers that be at the local level, but the event could not be prohibited due to *glasnost*. The Central Committee Bureau headed by First Secretary Karl Vaino, the highest organ of the Estonian Communist Party (ECP), issued an order to the Party’s Tallinn municipal committee before the demonstration took place to organise an ideological counterstrike “against the machinations of hostile forces and the provocations of foreign radio voices”. The municipal committee formed a “brigade of counter-propagandists” consisting of Party members, with the participation of well-known scholars and scientists.

Yet the counterstrike against the dissidents planned by the Party leaders flopped because the persons selected to be their opponents either did not appear. Many sympathised with the freedom fighters but did not dare to demonstrate their sentiments publicly in fear of possible repressions and of losing their jobs and benefits (including travel abroad).

The ECP Central Committee Bureau met on 24 August 1987, chaired by Karl Vaino. Its top secret decision qualified the demonstration, allegedly inspired by centres of subversion abroad, as being “nationalist and anti-Soviet”. The entire hierarchical machinery of the Communist Party was set to work to neutralise and root out the harmful effect of the meeting in Hirvepark. Assignments for strengthening internationalist education, ensuring the “correct” interpretation of history, and the research of “blank gaps” were distributed profusely in the work plans and instructions of Party organs. The repression and slandering of dissidents continued. The furious and hysterical reaction of the ECP Central Committee kept the theme topical and served as good advertising for the freedom fighters, which even spread abroad, accentuating attention on the Baltic question and drawing foreign journalists to Estonia.

An ECP Central Committee working group for studying the “blank gaps” in the history of the ESSR and the ECP was formed in October of 1987

as an echo of the events at Hirvepark. This working group tried to demonstrate that the “blank gaps” were only a scholarly and academic problem, and not a political and propagandistic problem, which it in fact actually was. A plan was worked out under the auspices of this working group to study questions that had emerged on the agenda and had hitherto been little researched, and to publish materials. The plan included 11 major problems, research orientations and themes from the history of the ESSR and the ECP. Nearly 30 Estonian humanities scholars, primarily historians, were appointed to conduct this research. Twentieth century Estonian history was still approached from the viewpoint of the Soviet Empire (Russia), according to which independent Estonia was an anomaly and a secondary object of research.

Moscow reacted nervously to the political demonstrations that took place in the Baltic countries, and this is verified by documents from the Gorbachov collection and of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) Central Committee Politburo that have later been disclosed. The most abrasive, however, was the secret decision taken on 14 December 1987 by the CPSU Central Committee on “Nationalist manifestations in the Baltic union republics”. This directly spelled out that the issue was not the anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact but rather the casting of doubt on the legality of the Baltic States belonging to the Soviet Union. Moscow ordered the thorough improvement of “internationalist, patriotic and atheist educational work throughout the population”, to strike a decisive counterblow against nationalist manifestations, and to expose the secret machinations of hostile propaganda abroad.

The increase in interest in history gave rise to a deluge of new publications. The gradual reassessment of Estonian history began in 1987–1988, and the historian Evald Laasi (1931–1993) was one of the pioneers of this movement. In November of 1987, he published an article in the *Sirp ja Vasar* [Sickle and Hammer] cultural newspaper on the mass deportation by the Soviet regime of inhabitants of Estonia to Siberia in 1941 and 1949 (10,157 and 20,702 people respectively).

Jaan Undusk. Jaan Kross’s Return to the Estonian SSR

Jaan Kross arrived in Tallinn from his forced exile in Siberia on 24 June 1954 together with his second wife Helga Roos-Kross. He had in his briefcase a play that he had completed in Siberia, along with an unfinished verse novel and a poem, as well as a quantity of lyric poetry. Due to his uncertain political status, he did not succeed in publishing anything during his first year back in Estonia. Even a poem he wrote as a commissioned piece for the magazine *Stalinlik Noorus* (Stalinist Youth) about the attempt orchestrated by the Soviet Union on 1 December

1924 to overthrow the government of Estonia did not make it into print. It was not until the autumn of 1955 that Kross was able to start publishing both his verse translations (B. Brecht, A. Blok, H. Heine, P.-J. Béranger) and his own lyric poetry.

It appears that somewhere around 1957 he had started writing a prose work about his period of exile in Siberia, but he evidently discontinued working on it, as was the case with his narrative fiction of the 1950s in general. Kross had not yet found his individual method of prose, which later became the prolific use of free indirect style and interior monologue, and his texts from that period still lacked the inevitable narrative energy.

Kross also tried to write critical reviews and chose as his object both Juhan Smuul, the Chairman of the Writers' Union of the Estonian SSR, and Hans Leberecht, the winner of the Stalin Prize of 1949, but naturally nobody dared to publish such texts. If the hypothesis of the author of this article holds true, then in 1956–1958, Kross nevertheless found a mode for how to earn a living as a poetry critic. The basis for this interpretation are manuscripts found in Kross's personal archive and their comparison with published texts. Apparently, Kross let his later bibliographer Vaime Kabur to stylistically and ideologically "correct" the reviews he had written. Thereafter Kabur had them published under her own name. Kross had already tested this approach while he was still in Siberia but at that time he had not found a confidant in Estonia. V. Kabur herself was a critic and officials had no reason to suspect that it was Kross who was originally the author of some texts published under her name.

Kross's first collection of poetry, entitled *Sööri-kastaja* (Coal Refiner), appeared in the autumn of 1958, causing controversy in many ways, yet from that point onwards he was considered a "bone fide" Soviet Estonian writer.

Estonian Film Archives: In the year 1917 and later

CULTURAL HISTORY ARCHIVE

Tiina Saluver. From the Work Desk of a Theatre Guru

Lea Tormis's Correspondence with Merle Karusoo Concerning Publishing Voldemar Panso's Diaries

This source publication from the cultural history archives takes a look at a personal collection in EKLA (Estonian Cultural History Archives) that is still being added to – this is the personal archive of the theatre scholar and professor of the history of the theatre Lea Tormis (1932), the transfer of which began in 2012 and is still in progress.

Numerous letters are to be found here from persons who have been important in Estonian theatre and also internationally: Ella Ilbak, Reet Neimar, Jaak Rähesoo, Natalja Krõmova, Ida Urbel, Ülo

Vilimaa, Viktorina Kriger, Terttu Savola, etc. In the case of this collection, correspondence with relatives is also more than merely material associated with personal history – thus for instance, the letters by Tormis's brother, the writer and politician Paul-Eerik Rummo, are often on the subject of theatre.

Lea Tormis's husband was the internationally known composer Veljo Tormis, whose materials (primarily joint works and shared correspondences) are also found in this archive.

In the archive, there are many manuscripts of research papers on the subject of theatre, and materials that reflect the voluminous preliminary work that had been conducted for these papers, primarily materials associated with books written and compiled by Tormis herself (*Teatrimälu* [Memory of Theatre], *Eesti teater 1920–1940* [Estonian Theatre 1920–1940], *Eesti balletist* [On Estonian Ballet], and other such works), but also reviews, commentaries and additions to books compiled by others, where she has served as advisor, reviewer or consultant. There are also materials reflecting her work as a lecturer, and in recording the history of theatre, etc.

The other party in the correspondence that is published here is the Estonian director Merle Karusoo (1946), who is known primarily for her documentary stage productions on the subject of people's life stories, since she is the founder of the so-called theatre of memory, or sociological theatre, in Estonia. Karusoo was also one of Voldemar Panso's students and has researched his creative work.

The theme of the correspondence is the publication of Panso's diaries, where Karusoo was the compiler and wrote the commentaries, and Tormis was the consultant. It turns out that Tormis's role had been quite important. The diaries were published in 2007 and the correspondence dates from the same year. From this it can be seen how complicated the work is that needs to be done in order to publish a source publication with commentary. This work usually remains hidden for the most part.

Voldemar Panso (1920–1977) was one of the most important directors and theatre managers in the history of Estonian theatre. Estonia's most important institution for teaching theatre, the Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre (EMTA) School of Theatre Arts, which operates to this day, was founded by him (1957), and he remained its leader and teacher of actors until his death. The publication of his diaries was in fact dedicated to the 50th anniversary of this educational institution. His archive is also deposited at EKLA but access to it has been restricted according to the wishes of his relatives, which unfortunately has also hindered research work.

The correspondence is to a great extent electronic, which makes it possible to also cursorily touch on the theme of digital archiving: how to ensure that e-mail is preserved in the future and makes its way to the archives, and other such issues.