

NEWS IN BRIEF

SIEF CONGRESS “AMONG OTHERS”, APRIL 26–30, 2004 IN MARSEILLES

Reet Hiemäe

On the opening day it became clear that the Marseilles congress had brought together a remarkable number of anthropologists and folklorists interested in the aspect of violence among different cultures. Marseilles, crowded with people of all races and colours and located on the border of the core Europe and the “peripheral” Europe, proved a very suitable place for such discussion. As we all know there are several Mediterranean countries (e.g. Turkey, Albania, the entire Balkan Peninsula), which are associated with ethnic stereotypes like “different”, “violent”, “disobedient”, “wild”, juxtaposed with the so-called proper and law-abiding European countries. This contrasting was discussed by Paul Sant-Cassia, head of the session. Group and ethnic stereotypes were further discussed in several capturing presentations on folklorised true experience accounts about scary but fictitious/exaggerated stories about crimes attributed to immigrants from the Mediterranean countries. Dutch scholar Theo Meder presented a treatment of the testimony of two teenagers concerning a gang rape committed by young immigrants either from Turkey or Morocco, which caused a real media frenzy. Further investigation revealed that the teenage girls had made up the story. How could such rampant fiction receive so much response among the population? Meder argues that the news about crimes committed by criminal immigrant gangs only confirmed the already existing stereotype – namely, that the Muslim immigrants of the Mediterranean countries simply cannot be trusted. It was commented that it was high time we thought what stereotypical images these “dangerous” people might have about us.

In order to proceed with the discussion on the same plane, an attempt was made to define violence. It was noted that in addition to physical violence, violence is also strongly manifested through desecration of the bodies, images or symbolic attributes of key figures of a society, in other words, symbolic violence. Allusions were made to the role of the accounts of violence as shapers of identity, also it was noted that the most terrifying stories often constitute the perfect study material for an anthropologist, as identity patterns become particularly evident there. An entire (relatively eerie) panel of presentations was dedicated to discussing the symbolic meaning of mass graves and reinterment. It was pointed out how

selective presentation of information is used to create a stereotypical image of an “enemy” in order to divert attention from the casualties whose death was the direct consequence of the political mistakes of the “own” group.

The topics of the session covered an array of topics: grandiose conspiracy theories about child abusers, who join in sects of paedophiles, Satanists and extraterrestrial forces, criminal youth gangs, architecture connected with violence, the symbolic ties of terrorism and martyrdom, political conflicts, etc. As expected, most of the presentations discussed the stereotypes of violence cultivated in mass media.

Veronique Campion-Vincent formulated the function of stereotypical violence reports, which are “exemplum”-like guidelines for people lost in modern information burst. Like older folk tales, contemporary media emphasises the dualistic distinction between familiar and foreign, good and evil. A new addition is plots with pun, where people accuse enemies from outside, but the main culprits are from their own group. Since the latter motif is very effective, it is also very apt to folklorise.

Another issue discussed was the role of anthropologists in contemporary society. British anthropologist Glenn Bowmann pointed out that there will always be things that nobody will hear (such as the details of the Palestinian conflict). If an anthropologist makes such things public, there will be a question of his or her function, as he or she has no political power to do anything about it. It was agreed that the main tasks of anthropologists is to document, analyse and publicise.

PEOPLE AND PETS

Katre Kikas

On October 26–27, 2004, the second interdisciplinary seminar “People and Pets”, organised by the Estonian Folklore Institute and the Department of Folkloristics of the Estonian Literary Museum, was held at the Literary Museum. While the first half of the seminar (held in Narva on May 7–8, 2004) focussed on traditions and changes in the relationships of people and (pet) animals, then this seminar discussed the reasons why people keep pets and how people are responsible for the welfare of their pets, in other words – who benefits most from this relationship and who has the higher responsibility, the pet or its caretaker?

This argument was most strikingly outlined in the presentations by biologist Triinu Mänd and human geographer Juhan Javoish. In the title of his presentation J. Javoish posed the question “Is Keeping Pets Justified?” and answered point-blank that it is not, or, if at all, people should prefer synanthropic animals, i.e. all the dogs, cats and other species that have traditionally been domesticated, and avoid keeping all kinds of tropical animals at home. T. Mänd approached the issue from an altogether different angle, arguing that it is not the people who exploit animals, but the animals parasitize on people. In her presentation entitled “Pet as a Nest Parasite” she drew parallels between the relationship of people and pets and that of a young cuckoo and its foster parents – the host adults clearly understand that the chick in their nest is not their own, but the neotenuous features it has, compel them to take care of the young cuckoo.

The specifically human responsibility (or, to be more precise, the lack of it) was discussed in the presentations on animal abuse by Loone Ots and Maarja Kaaristo. M. Kaaristo observed animal abuse in the late 19th century rural communities, and L. Ots in the 1930s urban communities. M. Kaaristo’s presentation was based on the 19th century court records, while L. Ots relied on articles covering this topic in the early 20th century nature magazine *Eesti loomasõber* (Estonian Animal Friend).

The most problematic and controversial topic of the seminar proved to be the definition of the concept ‘pet’, i.e. what are the features that distinguish pets from other animals, which species can be considered pets, as well as the relationship between a pet and a domestic animal. Some presentations made no attempt to differentiate between pets and other domestic animals (such as those by M. Kaaristo and L. Ots), while some addressed this very aspect, e.g. the above mentioned presentation by J. Javoish and also that by Aleksei Turovski, entitled “Which Species are Not Pet Material?” (The speaker’s answer to the posed question was *Homo Sapiens*). A similar topic was discussed by Kadri Tüür in her presentation “Can Birds Be Kept as Pets?” based on literary sources. Animal psychologist Raivo Mänd in his presentation “What Do Pets Need?” discussed animals who have for some reason ended up in a man-made environment (pets kept at home, zoo and laboratory animals), and whether animals adapt to such artificial environments, or whether the anomalous behaviour of an animal is stress-related or is it just a matter of adaptation.

Defining the concept proved least problematic for scholars of the humanities who relied on contemporary material. Mare Kõiva, Marju Torp-Kõivupuu and Ell Vahtramäe focussed on cats and dogs as the most common pets in contemporary urban community. Mare Kõiva made an attempt to map contemporary relationships between people and pets based on the results of an Internet questionnaire, and the changes the relation-

ships have undergone. Marju Torp-Kõivupuu discussed modern funeral tradition connected with pets. Ell Vahtramäe spoke about naming pets, entitling her presentation after the most astonishing example of a pet name – “Don Carlos Sant Mickael III von Kirbugot und Hyyregelder”. Liisa Vesik provided an overview of various pet portals and Web communities and their problems in Estonia.

Other seminar presentations approached the relationship of people and animals from archaeological or mythological aspects. Enn Ernits discussed prophesying on the organs of sacrificed animals, Tõnno Jonuks talked about the role of dogs in the worldview of Estonians in the Viking Age, and Väino Poikalainen spoke about whale and swan in Neolithic Karelian rock art. Arvo Krikmann approached the topic from a linguistic viewpoint, discussing personification and depersonification (particularly zoomorphic depersonification).

Both seminar days concluded with open discussion. On the first seminar day views were exchanged on pets in the service of people (supervised by Marju Torp-Kõivupuu). The main topics included the differentiation of domestic animals and pets (domestic animals as animals kept for some practical purpose, while pets provide psychological support), and keeping pets as an act of power (power over the pet, as well as through the pet over other people). On the second day the discussion dealt with pet as a sign (supervised by Timo Maran), and lingered on the topic of pet and prestige.

The seminar atmosphere was livened by the widely different angles presented by speakers of different fields as well as with the presence of pets. Representatives of *Dimela Ltd.*, who supported the seminar, had brought along their own pets. The seminar was also supported by the Estonian Cultural Endowment.

VOTIAN DAY AT THE ESTONIAN LITERARY MUSEUM

Madis Arukask

On December 2, 2004 many generations of Estonian scholars studying Votian language or folk culture came together in the main hall of the Estonian Literary Museum. The event was organised by folklorists Ergo-Hart Västriik, Taisto Kalevi Raudalainen and Madis Arukask, who in recent years have been studying and documenting present-day Votian folk culture with the support of the Estonian Science Foundation (grant no. 4939). The event was entitled “On Votes, Individually”. The choice of the theme was inspired by several facts. One of the aims of the event was to map both



Photo 1. From left: Igor Tõnurist, Piret Norvik, Eduard Väari. Photo by Alar Madisson.

the academic as well as the personal experiences of linguists, ethnographers and folklorists, who have done fieldwork in Votian villages. As most speakers had taken part in field expeditions to Votian villages under the lead of Paul Ariste, he was also the focus of several presentations at the event. The personal approach also seemed justified in regard to the small number of Votes. The ethnic group of Votes and Votian speakers, who have numbered around 50–60 persons in recent decades, is a phenomenon where the boundaries of generalisations and personal histories, interrelated with ethnos, general language and idiolect, inevitably merge. The exhibition “Votian Portraits”, displaying photos taken during fieldwork in the Vaipoole village group in 1998–2002 by Madis Arukask and Ergo-Hart Västriik, was set up in the stairway gallery of the Estonian Literary Museum.

The long day of the symposium opened with Enn Ernits’ presentation about a Votian literate Dmitri Tsvetkov (1890–1930). Ernits reviewed the facts of Tsvetkov’s life relying on the manuscript of a monograph that will shortly appear in print. The prematurely departed alumnus of the University of Tartu, author of a dictionary and a grammar book of the Jõgõperä dialect of the Votian language, preferred Great Russian identity to that of Votian even while living and studying in Estonia, although he was the brother of the outstanding Votian folk singer Matio Gerassimova (who has been interviewed and whose songs have been recorded by many scholars). Eduard Väari spoke about the 1947 field expedition to the Votian villages conducted by Paul Ariste. This was the first visit of Estonian scholars to the Votian villages after the World War II. (The very first expedition was conducted in summer 1942 on the initiative of the Estonian National Museum, also with Paul Ariste participating.) Eduard Väari vividly described the destitute post-war situation and famine in the villages, the inhabit-

ants' general distrust towards strangers, but also Paul Ariste as an instructor at field work. Apparently, this expedition was finished too early because of Ariste's fear that he might be recognised, as during the 1942 expedition he had been in Votia, although not in the same villages, wearing a military uniform. The presentations alternated with questions, speeches and reflections. Ants Viires discussed the 1957 expedition of ethnographers and linguists to some Votian and Izhorian villages. Viires spiritedly cited his field diary from the period. The need for publishing the material scribbled in notebooks and field diaries was emphasised by both Eduard Vääri and Seppo Suhonen. Igor Tõnurist's presentation "In Search of Votian bagpipe and other musical instruments", illustrated with archival photographs and sound samples, focussed on the structure and ways of playing the Votian-Izhorian psaltery, herder's horn *toro*, bagpipe and other wind instruments in the Balto-Finnic and East-Slavonic context. Next to the research of various aspects of material and spiritual culture, the study of folk instruments and folk music has been relatively random. This made the presentation of Igor Tõnurist, who first visited the Votian villages in 1966 and 1967, all the more interesting and gratifying. He also pointed out that the characteristics of folk musical instruments are regional rather than ethnic. In the following presentation, musician Lembit Saarsalu of Votian roots spoke about his musical and cultural memories. The first half of the symposium concluded with reflections by Piret Norvik. Her presentation, illustrated with photos, described her experiences and impressions from preparing and shooting the documentary *Linnutee tuuled* [Winds of the Milky Way] in 1976 and 1977, when she worked as a consultant for the Estonian national film studio *Tallinnfilm*. Having previously visited Votian villages, she first and foremost substituted Paul Ariste, organising the finding and recording of Votian informants (Dunia Trofimova, Oudekki Figuova, Kiko Georgiev and others).

The second half of the symposium opened with a presentation by Marje Joalaid, who spoke about the derivation, etymology and typology of village names in the Votian area. She also made retrospective references to the 1974 fieldwork expeditions to Votian, Izhorian and Finnish villages. In the following discussion Enn Ernits, who has visited all the known Votian villages in the past five years, commented on toponymics. Jüri Viikberg's presentation touched upon his expeditions to Votia during 1973–1982. This was an emotionally-laden reflection, illustrated with photographs from the period. Jüri Viikberg also pointed to the small number of Votes, touching upon the different aspects of this problem – the need to hide one's ethnic identity at tumultuous times and the different criteria of "Votian national self-consciousness" in the works of different authors. In his recollections Viikberg spoke about interesting incidents while interviewing Kiko Georgiev, Oudekki Figuova and others, including the Votes who have moved

to Estonia. Heinike Heinsoo, who has visited Votian villages each summer since 1980, tracking the footsteps of Paul Ariste with her students at the University of Tartu and others, presented an overview of the research and collection history of the Votian language, and the present language situation in Votian villages. She pointed out the enthusiastic endeavours to teach the Votian language in Jõgõperä School and St. Petersburg. Heinsoo's presentation emphasised the need to start giving something back to the Votians, especially since the earlier long research history has regarded them mostly as objects of research.

The largely language-centred presentations were followed by ethnological approaches by Ergo-Hart Västriik and Taisto Raudalainen. Unlike other speakers, neither Västriik nor Raudalainen belong among the generation(s) of people that accompanied Paul Ariste on fieldwork in Votia. Ergo-Hart Västriik presented a thorough overview of Paul Ariste's relationship with his informants, and the dynamics of these relations through decades. The author relied mainly on fieldwork diaries from twenty major and some smaller field expeditions to the Votian villages during 1942–1980. Ergo-Hart Västriik's presentation therefore focussed on Ariste, the scholar, and mentioned Ariste's courage in his diaries available for the academic circles, to express criticism towards the Soviet and Russianising tendencies in the Soviet period. While the folklore texts collected by Ariste were a thing from the past, then his field diaries mostly discuss matters of the present. Taisto Raudalainen began his presentation by pointing out genres of folklore that can be recorded at present (saint legends, regional lore, calendar lore, folk beliefs, commemoration and “mumming” rituals), mentioning, among others, the revived celebration of the Luutsa village feast around St. Peter's and St. Paul's Day. The main part of his presentation centred on the self-concept of the present-day Votes, discussing in detail the three most colourful Votian informants of the past ten years – late Lyolya Tsikalo from Jõgõperä, Nikolai Nesterov from Luutsa and Tatiana Prokopenko from Liivtšülä village. These three examples indicate the importance of a strong family background in preserving ethnic identity. Other topics discussed within the presentation were the relationships between the Votes and Izhorians, Finnish and Russians, and the alternating dynamics of these contacts relative to the Votian self-concept.

In concluding remarks Ingrid Rütel presented her impressions and experiences at conducting fieldwork, studying and preserving Votian folk songs and music. All the speakers and listeners were then invited to the table laid with a tea samovar and Votian dishes, prepared by Alla Lashmanova. The symposium concluded with Seppo Suhonen's documentary *Väinölään lapset: vatjalaiset* [The Children of Väinölä: Votes] released in 1996, and valuable images from fieldwork, and the documentary *...ja päästa meid ära kurjast!* [... And Deliver Us From Evil] released in 2004 by the Esto-

nian Television about the present situation of Votes through the personality of Tatiana Prokopenko.

The academic event once again confirmed the paradox that even though Votian national self-consciousness has been doomed from the beginning of its study, it does not seem to disappear quite yet. The preserving of Votian identity is noticeable even today, although it is mostly situational, as it adjusts to the contemporary situation regardless of the small number of representatives and very little external help and continues to find new survival strategies. The study of Votian language and folk culture has a long history and unique tradition in Estonia. Continuing the study – and, by that, offering moral support to the Votes – in defiance of the bureaucratic Russian border policy requires enthusiasm but also raising the awareness of the international academic circles.

INTRODUCTORY SEMINAR OF THE MEDICA SERIES

Renata Sõukand

On December 10, 2004, the interdisciplinary (folk) medicine seminar MEDICA was held in the conference room of the Estonian Literary Museum. The main aim of the seminar was to find a common theme for all the participants interested in the different aspects of the field.

Research into folk medicine has so far been largely limited to the sphere of folklorists and ethnologists, medical historians have approached the subject from a different angle, and medical practitioners from the (often very goal-oriented) viewpoint of herbal medicine. Most scholars, except for single initiatives (e.g. pharmacist Ain Raal and medical practitioner Aili Paju in their seminar presentations) in the late 1980s, have approached the issue very narrowly, without attempting to find common ground.

On the international level, medical anthropology/semiotics/folkloristics (or whatever else it may be called) has grown into an interdisciplinary field, where opinions and various angles are forthcoming from scholars of widely different fields. All the more so, as progress in general education has broadened common people's knowledge of medicine, and the ever-growing cost of medical care forces people to turn to the traditional methods of treatment.

Seminar presentations mainly discussed popular healing methods. Folklorist Piret Paal spoke about malaria, its reflections in folk narratives, and typology of preventive methods. Semiotician-pharmacist Renata Sõu-

kand discussed the formation and informativeness of texts connected with herbal treatment, as well as factors affecting the interpretation. Folklorist Marju Kõivupuu introduced contemporary student medical lore, the main emphases and changes in the past few years. Medical historian and human geographer Ken Kalling touched upon eugenics in Estonia. The seminar culminated in the dialogue of two leading scholars: folklorist Mare Kõiva's presentation on ethnopsychiatry and psychophysiological Jaanus Harro's presentation on neural mechanisms of depression approached the same problem from different aspects and also gave a chance to compare widely different language usages.

The seminar inspired lively discussion among the speakers as well as the audience, both during and after. Interesting thoughts were exchanged, many of which may be realised in the future. The seminar presentations and thoughts inspired by the following discussions will be published in the forthcoming special issue on medicine of the journal *Mäetagused*. The next MEDICA seminar will be held in May this year. Consider this as a call for presentations!

This seminar was organised by the Estonian Folklore Institute together with the Centre of Cultural History and Folkloristics in Estonia and the Department of Folkloristics of the Estonian Literary Museum.

ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIELDWORK IN VIRUMAA IN 2004

Tõnno Jonuks

In 2004 archaeological investigation was conducted at several interesting sites. The most important of these are the rescue excavation of Hiimägi I stone grave in Kunda, and archaeological rescue excavations in Viru-Nigula church yard with the collapsed tomb of the Adlerberg family.

The investigation of the Hiimägi site in Kunda was carried out by the NGO Archaeology Centre under the supervision of Marge Konsa and Tõnno Jonuks. The excavation was financed by the Gambling Tax Council, the National Heritage Board, the Chair of Archaeology at the University of Tartu, Kunda Nordic Cement Ltd., the Municipal Government of Kunda and the Vaeküla elementary school. Further information on the Kunda expedition is available at the Web site www.history.ee/arheo/Kunda.htm, which is regularly updated.

The grave was discovered at the end of year 2003 during the inspection of sacred groves, conducted by the Estonian House of Taara and Native Religions in the outskirts of the Hiimägi quarry in Kunda. This more than a kilometre long ridge, stretching from north-east to south-west, has inspired a number of folk tales, most of which emphasise the sacredness of the hill.

There is an upland near the town of Kunda, which stretches from the town of Kunda to Kunda-Malla. In its centre there used to be tall oaktrees and large rocks, which are no longer there. The oak grove was the sacred place of the local people, and it was called Hiimägi. Older people say that local people have formerly performed sacrifice and treated illnesses there. Reportedly, there also used to be a burial ground. And, they say, there used to be a settlement under the steep Hiimägi slope. The ledge protected the village from enemies. The ledge was so high that only sheep could get up there. (ERA II 217, 647(11)).

As was the case with several other sacred groves in Estonia, the Hiimägi hill in Kunda was destined to become a gravel quarry. Most of the quarrying was carried out in the 1960s, and the gravel was later used to surface the roads in the area. In the course of the quarrying nearly a third of the Hiimägi hill was destroyed. In 2003 a solid and even layer of stones, revealing uncremated human bones, was discovered in the outskirts of the quarry. Preliminary inspection indicated that it was at least some millenia old stone grave, a type which has been modestly studied in Estonia. This, and the fact that more than half the grave had been destroyed and the existing part was soon about to, led to the decision to record what is left of the information and examine the grave.

The first stage of fieldwork was conducted in spring 2004 and comprised drawing up the plan of the grave and its closest surroundings. During the first stage, another stone grave was discovered on the edge of the quarry, and this appeared to be in a better condition as quarrying had only destroyed a smaller corner of the grave. In the course of the main work the profile of the grave was cleared, the grave was photographed, its description provided, and then covered with larger stone slabs to prevent further structural damage. Even though the grave's dating remained uncertain, it appears to originate in a more recent period than Hiimägi I.

The main stage of the investigation commenced in August 2004 and lasted until the middle of September. The excavation was carried out with the help of archaeology students of the University of Tartu, and schoolchildren of the Kunda Secondary School and the Archaeology Club of the Juhan Kunder's Society.

Regardless of the fact that most of the analyses are still to be completed and the excavation of the grave will continue through the following years and will provide further information, preliminary conclusions can already be drawn. The grave appears to have been constructed in two distinct periods. The earlier part, which most likely dates back to 500–200 BC, was studied during the excavation of 2004. This part of the grave consisted of human-sized coffins surrounded by walls of limestone slabs called *tarands*. The total of eight coffins was counted in the grave, each of them including one, some two corpses. While one edge of the burial had been destroyed during the foundation of the quarry, further excavations revealed that another edge had slightly suffered from the consequences of farming, since very recently there had been a field on the roof of the Hiimägi hill. In 2004 the total of 13 skeletons were differentiated in the area of these eight graves, and it is very possible that next year some more will be found in the course of finishing the excavation and digging through the last grave layers.

All the bodies had been inhumed in the coffins on a limestone slab pavement. In some burials an additional smaller slab had been placed under the corpse's head. In addition, the corpse had been covered with a few layers of limestone slabs. Typically to the graves of this period, no grave objects were included in the burial. Only some coffins contained pottery shards or animal bones. The only "proper" grave find was discovered in the head of a later burial – namely, a knife with an arched back, which estimated the age of the burial some centuries younger than the main part of the grave.

Evidence indicating to rituals performed on the dead bodies proved most intriguing. In addition to pieces of charcoal found in some coffins, which may be interpreted as a ritual purification of the coffin with fire before it was buried, traces of a special treatment of heads were discovered. The heads of two corpses, which had been placed in the coffin as inhumation burials, were cremated. Pieces of charcoal found in the bottom of the coffin indicate that most likely the cremation occurred in situ. Also, four single skulls were found, one of which – found on the *tarand* wall of Grave I – was the most characteristic. In this grave the human skull has been placed on top of a *tarand* wall, and, apparently, an additional small stone box had been constructed around it. By the time of discovery the slabs had already sunken in and crushed the skull.

The more recent part of the grave, which was not inspected, may, evidently, be dated to the next period – the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age (200 BC – 50 AD). Unlike the part of the earlier period, this one lacks human-sized coffins and the burial site included five or six larger *tarand* graves. These may already contain mostly cremated human remains.



Photo 1. *Kunda Hiiemägi I stone grave: view on opened coffins. Photo by Marge Konsa.*

Simultaneously with archaeological excavation, new sites were searched and examined in the area. This led to registering an almost two millennia old cultural layer of a settlement, where striated ceramics were found, at some kilometres distance from the Hiiemägi hill. Also, next to the already known famous Lammasmägi settlement, another Mesolithic settlement area was discovered on the shores of former Lake Kunda. The possible existence of a Stone Age settlement was further suggested by a fragment of a smoothed stone object and quartz shards discovered on the northern bank of the former lake.

Simultaneously with the excavations of the Hiiemägi grave in Kunda, rescue excavations were conducted in the church yard of Viru-Nigula, where the vault of von Adlerbergs' tomb had partly collapsed. Since little is known on the 19th century burials, especially those of rural feudal lords, a decision was made to examine and clean the tomb with the support of National Heritage Board and the rural municipality of Viru-Nigula. The excavation was carried out by Kristiina Johanson and Tõnno Jonuks. The excavations revealed that the tomb had formed in a multi-stage process. Originally, a two-meter deep tomb chamber had been constructed in a hollow dug into the church yard, which appears to have had a vault projecting above the ground. The tomb chamber had carefully tiled limestone

walls and the floor paved with limestone slabs and finished with a coat of grout. Two main burials were discovered in the grave: that of Christina Juliana v Adlerberg, died in 1821, and Friedrich Theodor v Adlerberg, who had died in 1841. While the female burial had been modestly ornamented, the coffin in the male burial was covered with several layers of brocade laces. The most interesting of the finds were four glass plates discovered at the head of the coffin of the male burial, which appear to have been placed on the coffin lid. However, the most remarkable find was discovered inside the coffin – it was an oval glass plate, which was placed on the pillow next to the man's head, and had a male's profile painted on it in black. It may be assumed that the profile was that of the male corpse.

Anthropological analysis of bones revealed that the bodies were tall for their time (the male was 170, 3 cm and the female 158, 9 cm). Both are physically developed and well-built. At the same time both appear to have been relatively ill, suffering under various diseases. Both exhibit acute osteoporoses, moreover, the female lacked all her teeth and had lived the last years of her life toothless.

Both deceased, especially the man, had been important and respected people in their time. Friedrich Johann Theodor v Adlerberg, a Russian army major, was the landlord of the Vana-Varudi estate in the Viru County and a member of the governing body of the Viru-Nigula congregation. He married Christina Juliana, the eldest daughter of the landlord of Uue-Varudi estate, Captain Hans de Colongue, and inherited his father-in-law's estate after his death. The Adlerbergs had five children: Anette (1794), Magnus (1795), Wilhelmine (1797), Juliana (1804), Alexander (1806). They were known to have four other children, who apparently did not survive. Giving birth to nine children was probably the main cause for Christina Juliana Adlerberg's osteoporoses.

Further construction of the tomb remained unclear until the end. At some point the original vault above the ground was dismantled, and grooves were indented into the northern and southern walls of the tomb to support a new vault, which was laid only in brick and remains below the ground level. The roof of the vault had been covered with soil apparently from the same church yard, as it contained a number of human bones and also some finds. The soil also contained hand-made prehistoric and medieval ceramics, a bead, five Swedish (16th–17th century) coins and a Russian (18th century) coin. Supposedly, these may be regarded as grave objects, placed in the coffins of the dead who were buried in the church yard.

Presently it is impossible to estimate the time when the old vault was dismantled and the new one constructed. The vault could not have been constructed after the Adlerbergs were buried, since this would have thrown



Photo 2. *The Viru-Nigula churchyard, two main burials in the von Adlerberg tomb.*

the burials into disorder. Thus it is fairly likely that the Adlerbergs used a previously used tomb, on which a new lower vault was constructed. But who were the previous occupants of the tomb, remained unclear.

Brief investigation was also carried out on the Hiimägi hill in Paluküla village, Rapla County. The sacred grove of Paluküla has recently emerged at the centre of heated dispute in connection with the rural municipality's plans to construct a ski centre on Hiimägi. The vehemence of the dispute and the arguments of the opposing parties infer to the topicality of the issue of sacred groves and the need to address this issue. During the 2003 sacred grove inspection, ancient-looking stone walls concealed by dense planting were discovered on the Hiimägi hill in Paluküla. From the very beginning it was speculated that these may be "ritual stone walls", but since this rather arbitrary and premature conclusion became to be exploited in the fight about the sports centre, there arose a need to determine the age of the stone walls and their possible purpose.

Both discovered stone walls were located in places unlikely for an ordinary function of a wall – enclosing something. One of the walls was located next to the *Tõnniauk* sacrificial site, well-known in folklore, and crossed a narrow oblong natural ridge. The stone wall could be observed at the height of a few dozen centimetres and was concealed by dense plantation.

The second wall was located in the middle of a nameless steep basin slope. Since the wall was situated on the slope rather than the upper edge of the slope, where it could have served its bordering function, speculations about its “ritual” function emerged. A trench was dug through the wall, revealing that the wall had been laid in the height of ca 1 metre on a small natural terrace. On either side of the wall there were thick layers of buried soil, much thicker than in the surrounding area. Here, too, no datable finds were discovered but charcoal under the wall was dated in the Institute of Geology of the University of Tartu and it belonged to the end of 18th century.

Archaeological fieldwork thus yielded no new information on the function of the wall. The wall was laid on a small terrace located on a natural slope and its primary purpose was probably to confine the plateau above. But what may have taken place on the plateau and where did the 70-80 cm thick soil layer (while everywhere else the bedding of the soil was natural, i.e. up to 20 cm) come from, remained questionable. Could it have been an agrarian field that had been used quite recently, in the 19th–20th century? This would seem the most plausible explanation for both the wall and the thick layer of soil surrounding it. Anyway, the excavation revealed no evidence to confirm the wall’s ritual nature or its old age.

ARVO KRIKMANN WAS AWARDED THE 2004 BALTIC ASSEMBLY PRIZE IN SCIENCE

Kristi Salve

The Baltic Assembly Prize in Science is now a source of pride for Estonian folklorists, as the 2004 was awarded to our colleague, the folklorist and academician Arvo Krikmann.

Arvo Krikmann has toiled for decades in the archives, which hold more than a million pages and hundreds of thousands of entries of folklore. Next to his monumental publications of Estonian proverbs (*Eesti vanasõnad*) and Estonian riddles (*Eesti mõistatused*) and studies into short forms of folklore in earlier written sources and other exceptional works, Krikmann has compiled publications for more popular purposes, the methods, prefaces and afterwords of which have been of the highest scholarly merit. Arvo Krikmann’s bibliography includes numerous articles and monographs. In his scholarly career Arvo Krikmann has moved from studying the short forms to the more general aspects of figures of speech and the theory of humour. His interest in folk humour dates back to student years (his BA

thesis explored popular jokes of the earlier layer), so, in a sense, he has returned to the research topic that started his scholarly career. Cognitive linguistics and its subfield cognitive semantics have been the focus of Arvo Krikmann's research since the turn of the century. Still, he has received the widest acclaim for his work in the short forms of folklore.

Finnish academician Matti Kuusi, one of the leading scholars of proverb research of the second half of the 20th century, who sadly passed away a few years ago, highly valued Arvo Krikmann's scholarly contribution in the article in *Proverbia Septentrionalia* on the relation frequency of the repertoire of different peoples. Kuusi argues that Krikmann's conclusions, according to which the relation distribution of the Estonian material is balanced in every direction, whereas in the Finnish material the predominant course is westward, in the Livonian material southward, and in the Karelian, Veps and Votic material eastward, are no longer a matter of folkloristics, but constitute a reliable treatment of ethnic mentality and distribution into cultural areas.

In 1974 Krikmann published his *On Denotative Indefiniteness of Proverbs* and *Some Additional Aspects of Semantic Indefiniteness of Proverbs*, which Professor Wolfgang Mieder, editor of the journal *Proverbium*, has found revolutionary and has republished in the journal. According to W. Mieder Arvo Krikmann is one of the most brilliant folklorists of our time.

GENERATION P IN THE TUNDRA

Andres Kuperjanov

On October 8-10, 2004 the Department of Folkloristics of the Estonian Literary Museum and the Centre of the Cultural History and Folkloristics held the joint international conference *Generation P in the Tundra*..

Viktor Pelevin's cult book "Generation P", which was published in 2000, describes a new consumer-oriented generation of Russians and their world, where Pepsi Cola as a status symbol has come to exceed poetry in importance. Aimar Ventsel, who was the main organiser of the conference and has studied property relations in the Republic of Sakha over the recent years, focussed in his presentation on the influence of pop music in the area.

Scholars studying our kinsfolk in the north and representatives of various institutions from Germany, the United States, Hungary, the United Kingdom and Russia met in the inspiring and pleasant atmosphere of the

conference. The main problems were connected with the impact of mass and urban culture exerted on the indigenous youth.

The keynote speaker of the conference was Piers Vitebsky, who has conducted numerous fieldwork expeditions in Russia, Sri Lanka and India. He has studied sacred places, shamanism and the adaptation and merging of different religions in people's worldview, as well as syncretic phenomena of folk religion.

The majority of presentations discussed the results of anthropological fieldwork carried out in the 1990s and early 21st century among indigenous and non-indigenous populations in rural and urban environments. The presentations explored the establishment of new subcultural phenomena in the youth subcultures of peoples of the north, discussing first and foremost the cross-cultural spread of popular music. Contemporary popular music attracts young people's interest in their ethnic language and enhances its prestige (Kuznetsov); at the same time, kickboxing, breakdance and punk rock (Krast, Ventsel) are also important forms of youth subcultures among the northern people. A presentation described socio-political changes on the territory of the former Soviet Union and the changes in the moral values, attitudes to family and career of the youth arising from these (Habeck).

To counterbalance the topics, some presentations discussed the situation of the youth who are compelled to follow the traditional way of life, such as the Evenki, who live in contemporary villages without electricity, leading a life which resembles the 1930s when the Soviet regime exercised almost absolute control on most aspects of life. Like the older generation, the youth have few prospects for a better future, and spend most of their time fishing, preparing for hunting, and helping their relatives and neighbours (Santha).

Some presentations touched upon the relationships of indigenous people and other ethnic groups (Dugarova) and the general tendencies of ethnic identity like processes of cultural revival and native self-determination in the Russian North. Since the mid-1980s representatives of indigenous peoples have given the opportunity to receive education in literature, fine arts, linguistics and other areas of the humanities in St. Petersburg (formerly Leningrad). Prominent figures of this generation established the Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East, as well as representations of indigenous peoples at regional level. At the moment young native leaders have brought about considerable changes in the political representation of the indigenous peoples (Stammler).

Conference organisers were happy to welcome the leading scholars of the Khanty studies Olga Balalaeva and Andrew Wigget from the New Mexico State University, whose presentation was entitled *Tradition and Transformation: Agencies of Change among the Eastern Khanty*, as well as Mikk Sarv, initiator of the village movement, who introduced the project of school forests. As could be expected, the conference included presentations which discussed considerably earlier periods, and those which have been heard with slight variations at various conferences – one of such topics at this conference was, for example, war in Kazym.

For conclusion – media, music, pop culture and contemporary political situation have a great motional impact on one's individual and ethnic future plans. Even in the far North.