

NEWS IN BRIEF

DISSERTATION ON HIDDEN TREASURES IN ESTONIAN TALE TRADITION

Mare Kalda's Doctoral thesis, *Rahvajutud peidetud varandustest: tegude saamine lugudeks* [Hidden Treasures in Estonian Tale Tradition: From Deeds to Folk Legends] (2011), provides an extremely exciting and diverse insight into Estonian treasure tradition, encompassing relevant archival texts, media coverings of different eras, associations of treasure tales with literary language, personal experience and landscape. The introductory part of the dissertation is a voluminous theoretical overview of the main characteristic features of treasure lore, earlier research done in the field (pp. 15–26), archival context (pp. 27–59), genre related issues (pp. 60–93) and typology (pp. 94–105, 131–141), followed by four articles focusing on more specific subject matter: the relationship of the 16th century cobbler's treasure tale with contemporary and later imaginations of the supernatural (article I, Kalda 2007); (inter)textual context of Kreutzwald's folk tale *Whining Shingleton* (article II, Kalda 2008); connections between the media text and legends in journalism during the first half of the 20th century (article III, Kalda 2003); and the relationship of legends and landscape in the case of riverside communities (article IV, Kalda 2004). It is possible to perceive a slight discrepancy between the two parts of the dissertation: whereas the first part is aimed at setting limits to treasure lore as such, proceeding from rather traditional folkloristic theories and keywords; the articles, on the other hand, are primarily centred on the engagement of new source materials and theoretical options. Still, the common denominator for both parts of the dissertation is the author's diversity in her points of interest and broad approach, particularly evident when comparing the whole thesis with earlier treatments on this subject matter, given in the chapter on research history. Indeed, besides the purely treasure tradition related issues, there are several themes highlighted in the introductory part and in the articles which are also expressive and of relevance to wider folkloristics (e.g. genre related issues, relationship between the media and tradition, archival context).

Kalda underlines that she proceeds from the standpoint that folklore is an ongoing process, and quotes Lauri Honko's idea of folklore as an organic part of living culture which "is recreated [...] in new performances with individual features" (Honko 1998: 57, op cit p. 10). However, when Honko meant turning away from archive-centred folkloristics then Kalda asks as to what has been the role of archives (or more broadly, archiving and written recording) in the more general process of treasure tradition: how do texts end up in archives, how are they studied and exhibited there and what is the relationship of the archival texts with these outside archives (and with the reality and landscape), and what kind of events and circumstances motivate the re-actualisation of archival records (see, e.g., pp. 27–28).



As people are in the centre of such processes, the focus on the process would also mean that consideration is given to the reality of the informant (individual) (see p. 11): why have these stories been told and written down, read, listened to and delivered, and how and in what contexts has this happened. It is difficult (and also interesting) to detect the reality of the informant as the majority of sources at the disposal of a treasure tradition researcher contain the traces of the reality of several people – consideration has to be given to the viewpoints of the storyteller and the person writing it down (see pp. 39–59), the tradition bearer as the author of a journalistic (sensational) story (see article III), and to these of the true believer as a rational interpreter (see article I). In addition, it is necessary to bear in mind the era-wise, religious, institutional and social contexts wherein all these above-mentioned persons function, and who they want to speak to, and what kind of medium or genre do they use for conveying their message.

Kalda aims at understanding the motivating factor behind the different folklore collectors who participate in the treasure lore process, and has grouped them according to the ways/methods of textualisation, using the following indicators: the proportion, content and development level of treasure tradition texts in the contributions of folklore collectors, and the emphasis in the comments added by the correspondents (p. 41). Thus, she differentiates between six groups: those telling their story (pp. 42–43), frontal collectors (pp. 43–48), collectors oriented at local tradition (pp. 48–51), collectors achieving at self-accomplishment (pp. 51–54), and the socially active ones, engaged in several domains (pp. 54–56), and also schoolchildren (pp. 56–59). Intrinsically of any division in humanities, these types of correspondents are not fully exclusive and quite a few of the collectors might fall into several groups – e.g. the work-style of some schoolchildren is similar to that of frontal collectors (see p. 56), and the difference between frontal collectors and those aiming at self-accomplishment mainly lies in the bulk of collected material (see p. 51). Still, irrespective of this, the typology is indeed very detailed and comprehensive and is definitely worthwhile to be applied by archival researchers engaged in other subject matters, or at least be used as a source of inspiration. For example, I presume that the locally oriented collectors could also have another orientation (targeted at religion, history or fairy-tales, etc.) in other fields of research.

With an aim to underline the ongoing process, Kalda has convincingly implemented the intertextuality theory. For instance, in the article on Torsten Grön's personal narrative, the concept of intertextuality has been used on one hand to analyse the accordance of different tale elements with the belief context of the observed era – revealing that the motifs and beliefs expressed in the tale were actually part of collective tradition, although the tale itself was an individual textualisation. On the other hand, Kalda also highlights the intertextual connections of this personal narrative with the personal narratives of today, spread on the Internet (see article I).

In her treatment on Kreutzwald's legend *Whining Shinbone*, Kalda uses the theory of intertextuality, in order to analyse the archival texts with the implications of Kreutzwald's legend. This, in turn, is not intertextuality at the level of motifs and beliefs, but an intertextual field with a very concrete textualisation in its centre. Attempting to differentiate between these two options of intertextual relationships, Kalda

underlines that the observed phenomenon is intra-textual, rather than inter-textual: “The present study, however, focuses on intratextuality, a narrower and more limited field of intertextuality, since it explores the relations between the recurrent emergences of what is basically the same text” (Kalda 2005: 102–103; article II: 51). Although such a use of concepts allows the revelation that the textual field is based on a particular base text, I am not quite convinced in the meaningfulness of such a differentiation. In the end, we can never be sure of how direct is the relationship between the archival text and that of Kreutzwald’s textualisation – all the relevant written records in the archives do not only proceed from the text by Kreutzwald, they are also in relation to the textual experience of each individual recorder (and potential previous narrators, readers, etc.) – a fact that can be considered within intertextuality and what tends to be left unnoticed within intratextuality. (And it seems that Kalda herself is not too sure about the need to highlight the intratextuality of the text field – in the summary of the article within the introduction of the dissertation, she describes this as intertextuality (see p. 15, 108, 112.)

Thus, when reading these very impressive and detailed applications, it is somewhat unexpected that when presenting her theoretical and methodological standpoints in the introductory part of the dissertation, Kalda does not use the concept of intertextuality, and states modestly that she “continues with the traditions of Estonian folklore analysis by way of applying comparative research and source criticism” (p 13). As much as I can note, she mentions intertextuality (in addition to the content summaries of the articles) only once, in the conclusion (p.106), whereas if this theory had been tied with the highlighted analysis traditions, it would have been an opportunity to connect the first part of the dissertation with the articles. Likewise, it would have been interesting to see how the theory of intertextualisation could be related to genre theory or the localisation of the plots of migratory legends.

One of the issues concerning the reality of an informant is the relationship of treasure lore and the landscape. The landscape related aspect is indeed one of the dominant aspects of the dissertation and has been thoroughly dealt with in the introductory part (in connection with the collectors of locality-related tradition pp. 48–51; genre related aspect (pp. 65–73)) and also in the articles (being an ancillary in article I, yet relatively focal in the rest of the articles).

Part of this involves the question about the relationship between the story and reality as a large number of tales and notices refer to specific places where treasures have been or could be found. On several occasions, Kalda repeats the argument by Tõnno Jonuks, namely, that the immediate purpose of the treasure tales is to mark the significant places in the landscape, whereas the initial meaning of the locality might have been very unique (p. 71, 89; see Jonuks 2010: 69). She also refers to Kent Ryden’s idea that the physical, historical and emotional geography are of great significance in the localisation of internationally spreading legend plots (p. 66, see Ryden 1993: 83). Thus, the task of a folklorist is not to ascertain whether, where and what has actually been buried somewhere, but instead, to ask as to what is so special in the place concealed in the narrative, for a concrete person or a lore group, so that they need to highlight this specificity by telling the story; what has been this something in certain places that has facilitated the actualisation and localisation of the plots of migratory legends.

The second keyword here is identity: localised treasure tales, placed in local relationships serve as an interesting opportunity to observe the difference between the “our” and the “other”. Kalda argues that when studying the local variants of widely spread plots it is interesting to observe “how the narrators of these tales have commented upon the situations when it turns out that their unique story had also happened somewhere else” (pp. 66), and illustrates this with the reaction of one of Bengt af Klintberg’s informants: “Ah, the tale about grandfather’s gold coin has spread that far!”(af Klintberg 1990, op cit p. 66).

A somewhat different distinction, between the “own” and the “others”, seems to be intrinsic of the legends about unknown treasure hunters (see, e.g., pp. 70, article III: 116–121). Kalda notes that although the plots of these tales are widely spread internationally, it is not expedient to talk about migratory legends; it is rather a case where a similar, “initially a real-life situation” has inspired a “similar narrative” (p. 70). Still, the emphasis should not only be put on similar real life events – instead, this is a case where treasure tales are being used in order to explain the non-understandable deeds committed by unusual people (strangers). It is indeed quite exciting that even archaeologists and other researchers of heritage can potentially occur in the centre of such a narrative, in addition to land surveyors or persons who have actually been on the spot and trying to dig out the treasure.

As much as treasure tales are part of tradition, they have also been part of the meta-language which underpins the relevance of folklore. Both Jakob Hurt and Matthias Johann Eisen have used a metaphor – *old gold* – in the reports and appeals regarding folklore collection, and have referred to heritage collectors as *gold-diggers* (see, e.g., p. 29, and also Valk 2004: 268–269), relying, supposedly, on the more general use of the metaphor complex in the national-romantic treatment of the past (see references on p. 29). The use of such metaphors can be frequently seen in the letters sent by Hurt’s and Eisen’s folklore correspondents, and we can be quite sure that the collectors of folklore who used this metaphor actually interpreted this imagery proceeding from the local understandings and examples, from local treasure lore, rather than from the international background. Thus, the relevant reflections at grass-root level can be seen as a distinctive parallel to the localisation of the plots of international migratory legends.

To conclude, it is nice to see that the author of the dissertation is eagerly ready to apply the treasure-hunter metaphor to her personal field of research – Kalda notes that “the task of researcher(s) is to [...] rediscover the treasures which are as if hidden in archives” (p. 29). In addition to the continuity of research history, the adoption of such a metaphor is also a way to relate oneself to the informant’s level.

Katre Kikas

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THESIS DEFENCE: PIRET VOOLAID

ESTONIAN RIDDLES AS A FOLKLORE GENRE IN A CHANGING CULTURAL CONTEXT

Piret Voolaid: *Eesti mõistatused kui pärimuslik muutuv kultuurikontekstis*. [Estonian Riddles as a Folklore Genre in a Changing Cultural Context.] *Dissertationes folkloristicae Universitatis Tartuensis* 16. Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, Tartu 2011. 238pp.

Piret Voolaid's thesis is composed of an introductory chapter and six articles published earlier on different forums.

In the introduction Voolaid looks at riddles and the research on them from many different points of view and presents several theories that can be used in the study of riddles and, particularly, in the study of the special riddle genres, i.e. conundrums, compound puns, acronyms, droodles, that she herself is interested in. As Voolaid states in the introduction, earlier traditional riddles were considered to be in the centre and the above-mentioned subgenres were considered as peripheral. But now



the situation is vice versa: today conundrums and other subgenres seem to form the central genre of riddles, whereas traditional riddles have become nearly extinct, i.e. only those traditional riddles are known that have been printed, for example, in school-books. Perhaps the complete change in the riddling tradition tells us about the loss of the earlier homogeneous culture, and, naturally, about the important role of the mass media in present-day culture.

Voolaid has presented many different folklore theories in the introductory chapter, which is typical of a doctoral thesis. Sometimes it can also be problematic, if these theories are not used in the analysis. In this case several of them – but not all – have been used in the analysis of riddles, however not very explicitly. This is due to the fact that the introduction has been written after the articles.

The references and the bibliography used are thorough and versatile ranging from Anglo-Saxon to Russian ones. As the thesis involves modern subgenres of riddles, the emphasis in the bibliography is on new sources dealing with the relevant phenomena, and the studies on traditional riddles are not quoted extensively.

The thesis is, in a way, the apology for archives. Archives are often conceived of as a mere stock of data, collected in order to preserve ancient knowledge from fading. The author has herself created the databases for Estonian conundrums, compound puns, acronyms, abbreviation formulae, initial letter puzzles, attention tests, calculation trick questions, puzzles of relatives and droodles. The first article, *Mõistatuste perifeeria digitaalsed andmebaasis aastal 2006. Vahefiniš* [Digital Databases of the Periphery of Riddles in 2006. Interim Finish], gives a good review of these genres and their special features and of the additional information that is given about them in the database. At the same time, the article reflects the difficulties in creating a classification, a typological taxonomy of these less studied genres.

In the article *Mõistatusžanri uuemaid arengusuundi 1992. ja 2007. aasta kooli-pärimuse kogumisvõtluse taustal* [Recent Developments of Riddle Genre on the Basis of 1992 and 2007 School Lore Collections in Estonia], Voolaid tells about the data collection among schoolchildren in the years 1992 and 2007 and of the changes that can be seen in the riddle tradition. The material shows the peripheral position of traditional riddles in modern society. In this article Voolaid clearly shows the socio-cultural aspect of her study; very interesting and true is her observation that the traditional riddles did not indicate the attitude, but rather, attitudes were expressed through joking. Nowadays, on the other hand, humour seems to be the key component in new riddle sub-genres.

Interesting is also the remark about the non-oral transmission of new folklore genres, i.e. they are transmitted not only orally but very often literally through the Internet. This is, of course, known to everybody who is familiar with present-day riddles, but it is quite contradictory to most of the earlier definitions of folklore.

The article *Zoofolkloorseid aspekte eesti keerdküsimustes, liitsõnamängudes ja pilt-mõistatustes* [Animal Lore in Estonian Conundrums, Compound Word Games, and Droodles] studies the Estonian conundrums, compound word games (compound riddles) and droodles containing some animal name. The amount of such riddles is large, according to Voolaid about one fourth of the Estonian conundrums and nearly one third of the droodles contain animal names. Many of these are based on zoological absurdities. Especially in the case of compound word games the absurdity is based on fixed phrase metaphors, dead metaphors.

In the article *Humorous interpretations of abbreviations as a socio-cultural phenomenon*, Voolaid presents the types of abbreviation riddles and their formation formulae. These are based on humour and therefore she uses humour theories to interpret them. Most of the older examples are connected with different phenomena of the Soviet era. Voolaid adopts the idea of code-mixing for acronyms based on Russian but being interpreted with Estonian words. This seems a linguistically plausible solution.

In the article *Narratiivsed piltmõistatused – mitme folkloorižanri piirinähtus* [Narrative Droodles or Droodle Tales – a Border Case of Riddles and Narratives], Voolaid describes narrative droodles as a combination of riddle + tale + drawing + humour + play, which presuppose an interactive act of communication between the one posing the question and the one answering it. They have also been called pseudo-riddles or quasi-riddles by earlier researchers. Voolaid has tried to analyse this odd genre with relatively different methods than in case of other riddles. I do not find the comparison with Vladimir Propp's or Alan Dundes' theories too fruitful, but the author does not seem to be very happy with them, either.

The last article, *Carrying a wolf, a goat, and a cabbage across the stream. Metamorphoses of ATU 1579*, brings us to the second life of folklore postulated by Lauri Honko. It gives a picture of the narrative being formed into a droodle, and the life of the droodle in different Internet games and websites, i.e. the second life of droodles as computer games. Voolaid sees in this the multi-modality or multi-mediality or creolity of folklore.

Piret Voolaid's thesis offers very interesting insights on less studied subgenres of riddles, which have become very popular during the last four decades, she presents a valid analysis and, at the same time, creates a taxonomy of these subgenres.

Sirkka Saarinen

FRAGMENTS FROM THE CONVENTION OF ETHNOGRAPHERS AND FOLKLORISTS

SIEF CONGRESS IN LISBON, APRIL 17–21, 2011

P103. Uneasy places: shifting research boundaries and displacing selves.

P203. Narrative space in a multicultural city.

The panel on *Uneasy places* aimed at interdisciplinary discussion on the connection on how social action and the places shaped by way of this are mutually interrelated, proceeding from a theoretical standpoint that socially framed places are not shaped merely by the free will of people, and more often than not do not speak of neutral feeling of belonging. Rather, the decisions about the associations of belonging are disputable, as this is to do with a constantly changing process due to social interaction, and can be assessed from several viewpoints at a time, and these assessments may refer to the belonging that has not been strived for, and to a wish to belong together, yet this desire has not been achieved. Research on the spaces with concrete boundaries, and the ac-

tivities associated with these places (e.g. religious acts, diasporic communities, criminogenic areas, tourism sites, etc.) attempts to describe these places in the context of the reciprocal relationships of the social groups therein, and also in relation to power, etc.

All ten presentations in this panel represented an ethnographic or cultural anthropology related research, whereas the most frequently used methods comprised interview, participant observation, ethnographic description, etc. As the speakers were mainly either from Brazil or Massachusetts, USA, the focus of observation was also put on the Americas. In general, the presentations fell into four larger categories with regard to their subject matter: **tourism and travel, youth culture and socio-symbolic borders in urban space; confined space; migration, race and identity**. The papers based on the research of tourism and travelogues highlighted the constructed nature of spaces – the person visiting a place created this place from the fragments of urban life, i.e. from the details characteristic of today's middle class, by way of re-sequencing these details. However, contemporary interpretation of the 19th century travel journals leads to generalisations: the descriptions of towns and cities do not only include the pictures seen and experienced during the trip, but instead, this can also be understood as a structural whole, encompassing the elements of the described town and also the values attributed to the latter, which, in turn, depend on local, national and supra-national contexts. This particular process is positioned in, e.g., a colonial or other type of historical context. The presentations dwelling upon youth culture underlined the issue of urban spaces and confinement experience. The specific characteristic of places concerning youth culture, and the moulding of social and symbolic boundaries, simultaneously refer to the confinement of this group and the relevant “place”, and to the inevitable openness, to communication beyond the boundaries. As an example of such a situation, **Otávio Raposo** showed, using the example of the Maré district of Rio de Janeiro, how a relatively confined area of illegal activities (drug dealing, etc.) has at the same time become an open space – because of the youth group of break-dancers, as these dancers have created contacts with those involved in this activity in other regions. **Ioana Florea**, presenting the mutual relationships between the youth groups in post-socialist Bucharest, showed that the listening to music is one of the markers of group boundaries in public urban space, however, when doing so, unwritten rules, valid in this particular region, are being followed. If usually, listening to music is a coping practice in uneasy public spaces, the habit of one youth group – to listen to *manele*, a type of music of the Roma, and generally stigmatised – paradoxically tends to create additional tension between different social groups.

Presentations on confined spaces (prisons, urban areas of illegal activities) revealed the connectedness between the temporal places (either time-wise, as prison or concerning a specific action, such as drug-dealing) with neighbouring areas (incl., e.g., prison and outside the prison). The speakers focusing on the migration, race and the identity created there from, highlighted the categorisations concurrent with symbolic racial and ethnic boundaries, and the subject matter of neighbourhood, a logical co-theme when talking about boundaries. For example, **Graça Cordeiro** analysed the identity of the Portuguese-speaking community in Boston: they are linked by way of their place of residence (Boston) and language (Portuguese), yet distinguished by their historical past (they originate from different continents and have come to Boston due to different circumstances); this is the reason why the observed communities do not perceive themselves as a uniform linguistic community. Hence the focus of research –

now, when living in the new environment, how is the new identity being created by way of the common language, i.e. how symbolic boundaries are being repositioned proceeding from the new context. **Isabel Rodrigues** referred to the problems concerning race and ethnicity as clearly defined categories, and to the politicisation of race in statistical records. Her research questions were associated with the differences between census data and ethnographic observations: although in both occasions, people are asked to determine themselves racially or ethnically, the ways to interpret these responses are indeed variable. In the particular case, the focus was on the category “another race”: how the respondents had interpreted this and what were the conditions for them to make the particular choice they made (e.g. the desire of the Portuguese to be distinct from the Spanish – the Latinos). **Bethan Harries** asked a methodological question: how to investigate racial boundaries at a community level in a case where this topic is kept under wraps in public. According to research results, it is still possible to learn about these existing racial or ethnic boundaries, by way of the mutual positioning of these groups, or in other words – race related issues can be studied by way of studying the space.

The presumable inter-disciplinary nature of this panel was not evident as the majority of presentations were rather case studies than generalisations instilling theoretical discussion. Nevertheless, what was revealed was the dynamics of places, generated by the social practice which is of great significance in the creation of these places. Research examples reflected the domains not perceptible and available at first glance, associated with the daily interaction of small groups, subcultures and, in some instances, with the illegal world. Irrespective of the markers used to define a group and the place created within the activity of this community, it is always associated with the neighbourhood, impacting on the communication with other groups and places. Thus, the close observation of these communities (groups of minorities, subcultures and illegitimate groups, i.e. less prestigious communities) was a cross-section of the relatively concealed levels in society. However when the construction involved the permitted and valued social places (tourism, travelling), what prevailed were the models associated with thinking, and these models could even be more dominant than the actual real place.

The panel on *Narrative space in a multicultural city* analysed the place of migration and globalisation in modern urban culture. The urban cultures of different backgrounds (particularly in cases when such cultures have evolved due to migration) might not always act polyphonically, as different lifestyles need to function in a cooperative, and sometimes in a competitive manner. The presenters argued that the places created by minority groups (museums, churches, monuments, ethnic cuisines and shops, etc.) have remarkable symbolic relevance, besides the practical function of these places. The discussion centred around the question as to how are these above-mentioned places opened and understandable to the “other”, including the tourists; would these spaces, created by minorities, yet striving towards openness, nevertheless remain the places associated solely with the minority groups, or can they also become a shared space? The presentations prevalently proceeded from the ethnographic analysis of narratives, other types of texts, or that of museums and monuments. The observed areas mainly concerned Eastern and Southern Europe and Israel. The speakers demonstrated the construction of space from the viewpoint of migrating lifestyle (e.g. Russian “places” in Helsinki which are particularly persistent and multi-layered, with tsarist and post-

Soviet strata evolving therein; or the presence of Russian and Soviet culture in Haifa, Israel, created by the community of people who had emigrated from the Soviet Union. The construction of monuments or other facilities, on the other hand, may also apply for the opposite – to restore “our” history, as shown in **Goran Janev**’s presentation on Skopje, capital of Macedonia. Allegedly, nearly 50 monuments have been erected in city centre to symbolically emphasise mono-culturalism, instead of today’s multiculturalism. At the same time, the Old Bazaar district in ancient Skopje represents cultural diversity through religious buildings, scents and sounds. Different formats of expressed multiculturalism in the city indicate that the processes concerning the multitude of cultures encompass the activities of diasporic communities and the attitudes of the public, incl. these of the power institutions, towards cultural reality.

Tiiu Jaago

P113. Experiencing movement: subjectivity and structure in contemporary migration.

The aim of the panel on the subjective and structural aspects of contemporary migration was to underline the human facets of migration, in order to counterbalance economic and political aspects which tend to be the point of interest for a majority of articles and papers in migration related research. Ethnographic approach and the focus on personal narratives can facilitate the detection of subjective, emotional and existential dimensions of migration. Yet on the other hand, the researchers in the panel were also interested in theoretical conclusions and in a more in-depth understanding of the discussed phenomenon, rather than presenting merely illustrative examples. Such a theoretical approach was accentuated in the first presentation, given by **Knut Graw**, and observing the reciprocal implications of subjectivity and structure in migration from West Africa to Europe. Likewise, a number of other presentations in the panel looked at the migration from Africa to Southern Europe, relying on the fieldwork of the authors (in some instances, the fieldwork had been multi-local, i.e. conducted in the country of origin and country of destination).

Repeated themes of the presentations concerned uncertain temporality (lack of knowledge, not knowing the length of the stay in a particular place, and what would happen next), and the changing meanings of home in the eyes of the person. Gender-specific differences of migration were also discussed in several papers. **Francesco Bruno Bondanini** talked about the journey from Africa to Europe, referring to the camp for immigrants in Melilla, North-Africa. This site, officially a temporary centre, usually becomes a years-long “home” for the people who stay there from six months to five years, waiting for their “ticket” to Europe. And the return is also not without problems. **Stephan Duennwald**’s presentation touched upon the African migrants’ involuntary return “home” where they are not welcomed, even by their family members. The returnees (and also the emigrants) are expected in Mali to have money and be successful, this is particularly true in case of men. Migration is an opportunity for young males to quickly become a proper man: in a good case, this would mean not only experience but also money and thus the possibility to buy valued goods and provide for several women. Migration from this viewpoint is a successful return rather than going

to another society. However, for the returnee, the country of origin might not be the same as it was when he once left.

A very interesting presentation, instilling contradictory thoughts was that of **Kristin Kastner's**, focusing on the body and gender-related aspect of migration in the case of Nigerian women in Morocco and Spain. Kastner referred to the Strait of Gibraltar as today's Iron Curtain the passing of which might take several years. Kastner's material speaks of the female body as an enormous resource in the migration process. The women who have already secured their place in Spain "support" the newcomers (girls) who have to pay back the borrowed sum by prostitution and will probably be similar "sponsors" in the future for the next newcomers. On the other hand, the body can be a resource when imitating pregnancy (with a pillow under clothes), in order to make it easier to cross the border. Fake pregnancy can also prevent becoming a rape victim. At the same time, pregnancy and giving birth in Spain provide better opportunities for staying in the country. Likewise, Bondanini also underlined, in his presentation on the North-African camp, that marriage and giving birth is the quickest way out for a woman.

Michael Westrich's presentation on illegal immigrants on the southern border of the European Union, where the refugees are given shelter by political activists, focused on the embodied experience of migration. The migrants had intentionally tried to change their body and its "codes" by self-mutilation to make it impossible to give fingerprints. Resistance, creativity and subjectivity were the other keywords of this presentation. Westrich underlined the creativity of the immigrants in coping with daily difficulties, attempting to access the sensual aspects of these experiences. I was deeply inspired by the way of presenting visual material in Kastner's and Westrich's research. Kastner had given the informants an opportunity to pose for photographs, in a place and with attributes chosen by themselves. Afterwards she sent the photos in a letter to the address given by the informants (e.g. to the family members and friends at home). On frequent occasions, the migrants wanted to be photographed with the so-called European attributes. This was as if a factory of dreams where they could present themselves in a way they wished to be seen by their close ones at home. Hence the question as to what a photo marks – whether a moment in the migration road (part of the process) or does it indicate a fact that the person has already got somewhere (*I am done*). People could tell their (dream) story by way of a photographic staging. Westrich showed beautiful film clips during his presentation and is intending to include these in his Doctoral thesis. Part of the clips were taken in cooperation with the informants, similarly to Kastner, e.g., a dance performed by a young man, combining the elements of traditional dance and that of modern dance acquired in the country of destination. This young man had personally asked the researcher to film him, with an aim to share the clip with his friends in Facebook. Such staged settings are an interesting object for analysis – how do the immigrants want to be seen and presented. What happens during the encounter of the expectations, the myth about Europe and the reality? It is also interesting to analyse these projects bearing in mind the dynamics of the relationship between the researcher and the person being researched: in this case the informant is also an initiator, he/she is more than an object of photographing, and can, to a certain extent, use the researcher in achieving his/her goals. Thus, both parties benefit from this encounter.

P206. Be-longing: ethnographic explorations of self and place.

Coexistence of belonging and longing was one of the permeating themes in this panel. The focus was also on narratives and construction of places in the course of social interaction: how are people affected by the stories associated with different places, and how do these narratives mould their attitude towards the surroundings? How do people position themselves somewhere, merging the memories of the past, activities of the present, and the longing projected towards the future? The presentations also touched upon the role of the already non-existent places, imagined places and virtual places in people's lives. As in the previous panel, the papers mainly observed the recent migrants, yet this time mostly in Eastern rather than Southern Europe. The main issue was centred on the changing meaning of home, and discussion about the possibility of return. When do relationships with home alter to such an extent that return is no longer conceivable? How do people maintain contact with their old homeland when going back is not possible? The means for preserving these ties are not necessarily modern: **Annikki Kaivola-Bregenhøj** referred to cases of having seen one's home in a dream. Likewise, in the panel on the day before, mention was made of a woman who had climbed a high mountain to be "in contact" with her son living on the other side of the world. All presentations were based on ethnographic fieldwork or life histories. One worthwhile to be mentioned was the research by **Petri Hautaniemi** who studied the second generation of Somalians in Finland – the author has had contacts with these men, currently in their thirties, since the beginning of the 1990s – having the opportunity to observe them growing up as adults in the diaspora. Transnational identity has not always been perceived positively; it is of great significance in this context whether the person has been forced to move or has instead gone voluntarily (in this case the term "mobility" is used). Such mobility was represented by German-speaking pensioners – studied by **Martina Kleinert** – whose lifestyle was to cruise on yachts in the vicinity of New Zealand. This was a very interesting example of how the feeling of home and locality is being created when the person is *settling in motion*, i.e. constantly moving from one place to another, without any intention to stay somewhere permanently.

Pihla Siim

TAKING MALTA OUT OF THE BOX

The second interdisciplinary Island Dynamics Conference took place in Valletta, capital of Malta, on May 11–15, 2011. The conference was dedicated to the memory of recently departed Maltese folklorist G. Mifsud-Chircop. The main organiser and island research network leader Adam Grydehøj (Aberdeen University) was proud to present more than a hundred lectures from scholars representing 39 countries. The scope of research topics ranged widely – from archaeology to folkloristics, from history to economics, from musical studies to anthropology. The conference keynote speeches, delivered by David Lowenthal, Godfrey Baldacchino and Henry Glassie were colourful

and well illustrated generalisations from outstanding researchers of their fields sharing their experiences.

Naturally, one of the focal points of the conference centred around the aspects of Maltese cultural life, tourism and economy. Isabelle Calleja Ragonesi, (University of Malta), discussed the linguistic skills of the Maltese people and predicted points of danger for the island's language usage. Malta has two official languages – Maltese and English. As she pointed out, the claim of perfect and equal bilingualism is a myth since users of one or either language lack a deep level of language skills. English also constrains Maltese in areas of fast innovation and change.

Another focal point of the conference was related to the structure of tourism, highlighting the many similarities in different regions of the world. Voon Chin Phua (Gettysburg College, USA) analysed long-term changes in a privately operated theme park of traditional Chinese culture – the park, popular in Singapore for decades, quickly lost its visitors after American-style changes and ticket price increase. Many papers were dedicated to the unique culture of specific islands, including discussions of why they have applied for UNESCO protection. That was the angle Felicite Fairer-Wessels (University of Pretoria, South Africa) used to broach the history of the small island of Robben off the southern end of the African continent. For centuries, the Robben Island had been a destination for deportations, but today the island and its prison milieu is part of the tourism industry.

Political and multiple era-encompassing problems, including expressions of identity and humanity, were the subject of numerous papers. For example, renowned American Italian folklore researcher Luisa Del Giudice (independent researcher, USA) talked about the Los Angeles city food programme for the poor where St. Joseph's Day is celebrated by filling the so-called Sicilian St. Joseph tables.

Overall, a number of impressive projects and discoveries were presented at the conference. For me, two from the archaeology section were most outstanding. Marie-Yvane Daire (Rennes University, France) introduced an international interdisciplinary research project concerning the Groix island, involving archaeologists, geologists and cartographers. Archaeological digging is accompanied by measuring GPS coordinates of historical monuments, thus creating map layers for the island and neighbourhood in different eras, which is further compared to geological data and results from laboratory analyses.

The Groix Island, 15 sq km, is 11 km off the coast. Today, its population of 2200 make their living from fishing and tourism. The project observes and reconstructs the long history of the island – from prehistoric times up to the middle ages. The original settlers of the island (500 000–300 000 BC, the Paleolithic era) erected monuments and used stone objects. The Mesolithic (8000–5000 BC) is characterised by the many small stone objects from the time, the Neolithic (5000–2000 BC) and Bronze era (2000–800 BC) are characterised by various megaliths, menhirs and dolmens. Innovation is best seen in ceramic tableware (Neolithic, 3500–3200 BC, decorated clay pottery) and architecture. In the Iron Age (800–20 BC) the main economic trade was in salt production. Accordingly, new settlements arose in sites where seawater was turned into salt, but also the first fortified settlements come from that time. During the Roman period (20 BC – 500 AD) settlement types and locations changed yet again, everyday objects were made mostly of metal and bone, but the most important legacy of the era was the establishment of the Lacarna harbour. From the Middle Ages (5–15 c. AD), the Groix

Island features Viking burials, including Viking boat burials; warring apparel changes, including the developed forged metal parts. An important new line is the establishment of monasteries, which in turn influences fishing routes and the importance of fish as a food source.

The paper very aptly demonstrated on maps how settlements evolve – they are established and abandoned according to changes in economy and lifestyle. Changes in nature and usage of natural resources are limited by the island's limited resources. Production also meant adaptation to limited resources. We can also see more open and closed eras in the history of the island, when cultural and economic contacts with the continent are either important or shunned. Archaeology was an important source for constructing the lifestyle and influences in the island dwellers' life.

A comparison of ritual sites and memorials on the Easter Island, Pohnpei and Society Islands, presented by Reidar Solsvik (Kon Tiki Museum, Norway), demonstrated the role of archaeology in reconstructing the cultural pictures. Easter Island, with its mysterious monuments, has been a source of endless speculation for more than a century. Reidar Solsvik outlined the power relations and ritual needs necessary for erecting the monuments. Once again, the limited resources of an island were discussed, how they determine or even end a certain cultural phenomena. Thus it happened on two out of three volcanic islands, first established in 700–1000 AD, that it took a few hundred years before stone monuments were erected, coinciding with the time of cutting down the forest, and the settlements collapsed around 1550–1650. The Easter Island monuments, *moais*, are located on a special platform, which originally functioned as a temple and which later became part of the funeral complex. A total of approximately one thousand figures, one to ten metres high, some of them only roughly finished, were erected during 1300–1650. Similar temples on Society Island, with large monoliths and small figures, were established in 1300–1800. Exceptional is the island of Pohnpei where more than a hundred small artificial islands were created for temples – people first settled in 2000 BC and the last monuments were erected in 400 BC. Nan Mado was an important religious and political centre where architecture accommodated for both death culture and festivities.

R. Solsvik emphasised that the largest changes took place within a short time period, approximately 400–600 years. In Austronesian culture, high status architecture was related to ancestor cult and memorisation, expressed in monoliths and stone sculptures created by a small society. In the end, several things coincided, leading to the depletion of the potential and resources of the societies that created this wonderful culture.

Each paper of this content-filled and multi-aspect conference was a filigraided presentation of novel results or long-term studies. Most of these papers will be published as articles available to the general public. However, those interested in island cultures might want to go and have a look at the portal dedicated to island studies – information about upcoming events, island life news from all over the world, a blog and references to scientific publications. The site <http://www.islanddynamics.org> was created by Adam Grydehøj.

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