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Editorial

The Cultural History of Medicine

Anne Eriksen

Popular medicine is one of the classical fields of folklore studies. In recent decades it has grown considerably in scope and ambition. Investigations are no longer limited to collecting superstitions, discussing the relation between rational and "non-rational" folk medicine, or exploring formulas and remedies employed by the "wise people" of rural communities (Alver 2013). Since the late 1980s, folklorists and cultural historians have also been investigating contemporary alternative medicine (Alver & Selberg 1992). Close investigations of the complex relationships that can be found between scientific and popular understandings of health and medicine are equally important (Mellemgaard 1998; Alver, Fjell & Ryymin 2013). Studies of how "ordinary people" relate to school medicine and the services that are offered them by the systems of public health have a strong social and political potential (Rørbye 1980; Nylund Skog 2002; Selberg 2011).

During the same period, similar developments have taken place in medical history. This field has moved from being a grand narrative of scientific and medical progress and the gradual obliteration of "errors", to an interest in how medical knowledge is constructed and put into use in different historical contexts (Porter 1985). Even here role of lay people – the patient – has been reconsidered and ascribed new significance. Moreover, the social and historical conditions of possibility of medical practices and insights have been acknowledged and are regarded as far more than "mistakes" or obstacles. Among the most important sources of inspiration behind this "new medical history" are social constructivism and science and technology studies (STS). Both have contributed to an understanding of scientific and medical knowledge as something that is made rather than found (in nature). Both also deconstruct the traditional hierarchy between science and scientists as supremely elevated above social forces and structures, and lay people as helplessly embedded in them (Jordanova 1995).

These rather parallel developments in two different and originally clearly separate fields have created a wide and very vital common ground: The study of how medical knowledge – of very different kinds – works in soci-

ety, how it is produced and set into circulation, and how a wide range of different actors and agents take part in this. The present volume of *Arv* inscribes itself into this interdisciplinary field or meeting-place. It presents a collection of articles by authors who, from different academic backgrounds, investigate how medical knowledge is organized, how it is communicated and put to work. The articles cover a considerable span of time, from the seventeenth century to the present. They investigate knowledge production by physicians in the medical field itself, as well as popular and vernacular traditions of knowledge, narration and practice. They also explore how expert knowledge has been disseminated, circulated and popularized. Despite these dissimilarities, which concern time, traditions and agents, they share the conviction that knowledge is always produced socially. It is shaped and conditioned by the technologies that are put to use to produce it.

The articles discuss how categories, forms and instructions not only organize pre-existing knowledge, but also shape the phenomena that the knowledge is about. Reports and narratives do not only refer to an external reality, they also contribute to creating it – they define, stage and in a certain way perform the diseases and cures which they present. From such perspectives the production of medical knowledge will involve a wide range of agents. The physicians are important, but so are their patients – the carriers of the diseases which are described and treated by the medical men. However, the opposite perspective is also present in this volume: in popular narratives and practices the physicians, their science and the health care system will become the objects of knowledge, of judgement and of evaluation. They will work as more or less important elements in other ways of knowing what diseases, cures and medical practice are all about.

Understanding medical knowledge as socially created implies putting an emphasis on interaction rather than on diffusion, dissemination and distribution. Communication is not something that happens "afterwards", when the knowledge is already made, but is part of the production itself. The articles in this volume share to interest in investigating how these processes occur.

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Vernacular Medicine, Narratives and Miracles

Healing Narratives in the Context of Popular Storytelling

Torunn Selberg

"I was helped by the Snåsa Man. I don't care whether it is the placebo effect", says a headline in the Norwegian newspaper *Dagbladet* (21 March 2014). The headline refers to the famous Norwegian folk healer Joralf Gjerstad, called the Snåsa Man from his local home place. The statement is from former police chief superintendent and current author, Hanne Kristin Rohde, a person holding a high profile in Norwegian public life. A year later she was portrayed in the Christian newspaper *Vårt land* (16 May 2015), where the meeting with Joralf Gjerstad was an significant part of the story. In this interview Rohde says that both she herself and her son had received help from the Snåsa Man and she states: "I still feel as if I have fallen from the sky. It is completely incomprehensible. We experienced that *something* was present, there is no doubt about that." Rohde's utterances can be seen as parts of well-known narratives about unexplainable healings, the topic of this article.

Popular ideas, narratives and practices tied to illness and healing, in the same way as other categories within popular culture, were classified together as a counterpart to categories within the elite culture; in this case "medicine". In different frameworks such ideas and practices were studied as a primitive variant of – or forerunner to – scholarly medicine, and often on the terms of, and in a language tied to scientific medicine (Alver & Selberg 1992; Alver *et al.* 2013:100). Medical concepts such as patients, treatment, diagnosis – even anamneses (see for instance Honko 1962/63) were employed to explain the possible effects of vernacular medicine. Even though the interest in medical effects is not much present today, vernacular medicine is still often studied as forms of *alternative* medicine, and as part of health care systems (Kleinman 1980; Alver & Selberg 1991; Alver *et al.* 2013) or as part of a "medical market place" (Alver *et al.* 2013:39ff). In these perspectives stories about healers and healings were – and are – conceived as *sources* giving information about questions of a medical character.

From this perspective the value of the narratives lies in the kind of information they can provide about the type of illnesses the healer treated, how he or she communicated with the sick person, what he or she might have known about different diseases, and how confidence between healer and the patient was created (see Alver & Selberg 1992; Bø 1972; Honko 1962/63; Alver *et al.* 1980; Alver *et al.* 2013). From this viewpoint various narratives and utterances about popular healing are conceived and analysed as sources for an (extended) medical reality. Vernacular medicine is thus treated as a form of medical practice.[1]

But can narratives about healing be understood from other perspectives? The Finnish folklorist Pertti Anttonen (2005) has stated that folklore concerns the narrative construction of reality. My purpose in this article is to discuss narratives about healing from this perspective. Folk medicine, understood as a field or category, has unclear borders both overlapping and touching upon different discourses and ways of thinking. Are aspects of popular stories about healing equally related to other categories of popular narratives and thinking? My question is: can stories about healing be understood as narrative constructions of realities that concern other aspects than medicine, and what are the characteristic qualities in these stories? How is the miraculous formulated and contextualized in the narratives? In what ways do the tellers try to convince about the inexplicable happenings? I will discuss narratives from the past and the present, communicated in various channels – through oral communication, books and mass media.

The healer referred to in Rohde's statement in the introduction has attracted enormous attention during the last ten years and accounts of his healing powers are to be found in all kinds of contemporary media, from oral communication to television documentaries (see Hoff 2009). He became nationally famous through the biography *Snåsamannen* ("The Snåsa Man"), written by the recognised journalist and author Ingar Sletten Kolloen, a book containing numerous healing narratives. In that way this book is similar to most biographies of folk healers, but in other ways it is different – even unique – first and foremost through the author's standing in contemporary Norwegian society.[2]

A story like the one Rohde is telling to various newspapers covers ideas about, and attitudes to, contemporary folk healing, and demonstrates that popular ideas and narratives about illness and especially healing are present in various contexts even today. At the same time, these stories carry an echo of older and often well-known narratives. We cannot confirm whether an interest in popular healers is increasing, but we can notice that accounts of healing are constantly more observable and visible in the public sphere (see Goldstein 2004; Alver *et al.* 2013).

Narratives

As an unofficial "system" of knowledge, vernacular medicine is communicated in narratives of various sorts and through diverse channels. Such narratives are especially important in the shaping and reshaping of the healer's informal status. Stories that the healer tells about herself are important here, but even more so are the histories people tell about her. The construction of healers and their fame materializes to a large amount through narratives about their doings, knowledge and capacities (see Alver & Selberg 1992). A related and partially overlapping field to vernacular medicine is popular religiosity, containing forms deviating from institutionalized religion. In the opinion of the British religious scholar Marion Bowman, narratives are invaluable in relation to alternative religious phenomena, providing insights into the worldview of groups and individuals for whom there is no official spokesperson or recognized "canon" of literature. … Here the 'grand narrative' which frames different world views is refracted through many little, everyday, not so grand narratives" (Bowman 2000:6; see also Bennett 1989). Conceived of as a category, folk medicine lies at the crossroads of various aspects of human life, and the frameworks a person use when interpreting healings are collected from various areas, thus constructing different elements into a collage or a jigsaw puzzle (Alver *et al.* 2013:13). A jigsaw puzzle like this is expressed in narratives.

In the introduction I quoted Rohde, who tells about a sudden healing performed by a man with "warm hands", an experience that cannot be explained in ordinary ways. Narrating about such experiences is a way of interpreting them. The anthropologist Edward J. Bruner (2005:20) writes: "In itself an experience is inchoate without an ordering narrative, for it is the story, the telling, that makes sense of it all, and the story is how people interpret [their experiences]". In Rohde's story the experience is contextualized by other ideas and narratives that are set in motion. In her assertion, various utterances and meanings about popular healing are included; for instance, "medical" explanations claiming that a form of placebo effect was present, something she dismisses as of no interest. Instead she stresses her own *experience* and claims that "something" was present. However, she further states that what was most surprising to her was "all the people that categorically rejected the occurrences with anger and attacks on her person" – and she also says that "several people were of the opinion that a person who believed in something as supernatural as a healing was not suitable for the job (as police superintendent) (*Vårt land* 16 May 2015).

The relation between a narrative and the narrated events and experiences can be understood in (at least) two ways. In his seminal book about storytelling, *Story, Performance, and Event*, Richard Baumann (1986:5) explicates the relation in a simple way: "There has been a widespread tendency to view narratives as icons of events, that is, to consider events as somehow

antecedent or logically prior to the narratives that recount them." "An alternative view," he further says, "is that events are not the external raw materials out of which narratives are constructed, but rather the reverse: Events are abstractions from narrative. It is the structures of signification in narrative that give coherence to events in our understanding, … Narrative is a primary cognitive instrument [for] making the flux of experience comprehensible as 'event'" (Mink 1978:131 in Bauman 1984). It is a common experience that we often think about how to compose a story almost at the same moment as events take place. We do not experience things we are not able to tell stories about (Palmenfelt 2000:43). This does not mean that experiences people are telling about are not real to them, but rather that narratives we know or have heard are part of forming and framing what we experience, and even more so when we recount the events and narratively shape and reshape our reality. Interpretations take place when we tell about the happenings, and our experiences cannot be distinguished from language because experience itself is discursively determined (Jordheim 2001:149 in Kverndokk 2015:21).

Healing Narratives in the Context of Popular Storytelling

Healings such as those Rohde tells about go beyond our experience and our understanding of the order of the world. There are no natural or scientific explanations for the happenings. This relation makes them good stuff for narratives. As such histories about healings are related to, or part of, a popular storytelling tradition where a great variety of unexplainable and supernatural happenings are the main topics. The American folklorist Elliott Oring (2008) writes about folk legends: "The stuff of legends – the supernatural, the horrific, the disastrous, the uncanny, the improbable, and the comical – is the stuff of our everyday attention and conversation" (ibid.: 127). Such narratives relate to the border between the possible and the impossible, and he argues that this quality gives them a wide interest. Accounts of sudden and unexpected healings are the kind of unbelievable happenings that arouse interest. They are what Elliott Oring refers to as "legendary narratives" – stories that concern matters of truth and untruth. This implies that the narrator must control rhetorical means to convince the audience about the content of the story. Oring refers to this as a popular form of rhetoric, stating: "Rhetoric is the art of persuasion. But if the legend's rhetoric of truth is learned, it is not explicitly taught. There are no manuals for its instruction or schools dedicated to its practice. It is a 'folk' or 'vernacular' rhetoric learned through the socialization of story-telling." (ibid.:130). In the following I will discuss how the topics of the unexplainable and supernatural in healing stories are formulated, expressed and convincingly narrated.

Miracles, Omniscience and Clairvoyance

Stories of healings are primarily recognized by the way sufferings – often long-lasting – suddenly disappear after the first meeting with the healer and with no natural explanations at hand. Such healings may be described as a miracle, and miracles are worth telling about; the New Testament is full of tales about Jesus's miraculous deeds. Miracles are described as unusual, extraordinary and supernatural events or experiences (Neiman 1995) and such notions imply that these are experiences and events which have no place in a rational and enlightened world. In various ways such happenings can be interpreted as manifestations of divine or supernormal forces that can also be implemented by charismatic persons. A miracle implies forces that are not a part of everyday life, and can be both amazing and shocking. Implicit in stories about the miraculous there are often questions tied to doubt and belief. The miraculous is also underscored by the healer's abilities to *know* everything about his visitors – without they telling him anything about themselves. Such topics describe healers as unusual people possessing powers that are impossible to explain.

The newspaper *VG* (9 March 2012) tells about how Rohde's son had been bothered by stomach pains for a long time, that among other things had led to extensive absence from school. The newspaper reports:

> A meeting with Joralf Gjerstad was arranged through a friend. We told Joralf that our son was sick, but we did not tell him where the pain was, she says… We stayed for half an hour. I did not say anything. He knew nothing about us. Still, he drew extracts from our everyday life, personal information that he could not possibly have known about … Joralf touched exactly the area where the pain was, she says. After the meeting things quickly went the right way. That very same evening her son felt better, and on Monday he was back at school.

As we see, classic topics like the sudden and permanent healing, together with Joralf's *knowing* where the sick person feels the pain, are central points in Rohde's story, and this is also a classic topic in narratives about wise people.

In his autobiography *Overnaturlige helbredende nådegaver* ("Supernormal Healing Gifts of Grace") from 1947 the healer Henrik Schei – known as the Pilot and a well-known healer in Bergen in the 1940s and 1950s – tells about his many successful healings. One of his stories is about a man who came to him after the Pilot had healed his wife. He was in a very bad shape, having suffered from rheumatism for 20 years, so

> he had to use two sticks to help him stump along. 'Do you think you can be free from rheumatism and get well?' I asked him when he came into my office. 'Yes,' he answered, 'just as certain as my wife got well, so will I.' 'With such a belief you will soon be free from rheumatism,' I said and gave him God's holy power and blessed what I had done. 'Now you can go home with confidence to God and believe that he will make you well.' The man got up as if nothing was wrong, and said: 'Now I am

really well and don't need the stick any longer.' 'No, you can do without the stick forever,' I said, 'because you will be quite well and never have any relapse. But promise me that you will thank God and give him the honour for what has happened to you now. He has done this to prove that he is the same today as before – and always will be.' With that we parted. The man took the sticks in one hand and walked erect and fast out through the waiting room. It was almost unbelievable that it was the same fellow who had struggled into my room ten minutes earlier, tormented with pain and supported by two sticks.

The Pilot often ends his stories by telling about letters he has received from the patient – in this case it is the wife who has written the letter and she confirms that she got well the day after she met the Pilot.

The Pilot's story stems from a different time than Rohde's story. But they tell about similar things, about miraculous healings on the one hand told by the sick person, on the other by the healer himself. They also tell about all the things the healer *knows*. The way Rohde tells about the Snåsa Man we get the impression that he knows everything about her and her son and about how it will work out later. The sudden healing, together with the healer's ability to know everything about people before they have said anything about themselves, is a typical trait in the narratives.

Such incidents break with all common sense in the world *outside* the narrative. But the teller shapes trustworthiness by organizing the happenings in such a way that they fulfil expectations and convention *within* the universe of the narrative. An internal causality is constructed, producing credibility for some people, for others the opposite. A satisfying story about a visit to a folk healer must end with sudden healings. Repeated visits and gradual improvement are not what the audience is expecting. In the same way as we know and accept – without necessarily believing it – that the troll in the fairy tales will crack if it sees the sun, we expect that a story of the meeting with a folk healer will give immediate results (cf. Kverndokk 2015:25).

The motif of the healer's clairvoyance also belongs to the genre of miraculous healings. As in Rohde's story, a common motif is that the sick person does not need to tell anything about herself, the wise person still knows everything there is to know. Rohde makes it a point that she does not tell anything about herself to the Snåsa Man, but still he knows important things about her and her son, and not least of all he knows where to touch the sick person. Another person who has visited the Snåsa Man recalls: "The moment I entered the room Joralf said that I had poor hearing in one ear. That was a thing I had just told a few people, but Joralf knew it the moment he saw me, and he fixed it with his hands. Now I am actually better" (*VG* 21 October 2016).

A common motif is that the wise person knows exactly who, in the great crowd of sick people waiting for him, is most in need of his help. A woman who once visited Marcello Haugen on behalf of her sick father tells that when she came to his home, Svarga, "a whole crowd of people were waiting

in the courtyard. Then Marcello came out, passed the crowd and went straight to her: 'I must talk to you first, because it seems to be most urgent with you.'" When she entered Marcello's house, he already knew her father's name and also what was wrong with him without her telling him anything about her reason for visiting him (Parmann 1974:135). In the book about the Snåsa Man, Kolloen relates:

> Gjerstad nods towards the lawn in front of the entrance where he had his waiting room and office. 'This is a strange place. Outside it could be black with people waiting to enter. Luckily we filmed the whole thing; otherwise nobody would have believed how crowded it really was.' On certain days there were so many people that some had to wait till the next day. Joralf was always careful about clearing some time for himself before he let the next person inside. In those moments he tried to find out who ought to be the next. One Saturday some years ago there was a huge crowd outside. 'I looked outside, and my eyes were drawn towards a young man. I immediately felt his great pains and went outside to let him in. Many protested, they had come here much earlier than him, they shouted with anger in their voices. What people can do! They had to know there was a reason for taking him first!'

Whether the wise person really is clairvoyant or not, Bengt af Klintberg (1980) says, the motif of the healer's clairvoyance is important in the oral tradition. He is of the opinion that this quality strengthens people's belief in the healer. Many questions were raised – and still are – about the abilities of wise people, both from medical institutions and from other parts of society. Stories about the healer's omniscience are a declaration by the believers; af Klintberg says that at the time it could be understood as an expression of class loyalty. But not least of all, this motif functions as evidence about and allegiance to people with knowledge not granted to everybody (af Klintberg 1980:29).

Everyday Life

Although the stories concern extraordinary happenings, they are usually contextualized in a mundane everyday life. Such a contextualization can have the effect of playing down the extraordinary aspect of the story, and thus make the narrated experience more convincing.

In an interview that was part of the fieldwork for the thesis *Der er mer mellom himmel og jord* (Alver & Selberg 1992) I was told the following story by "Helga":

> My father used to make fun of all this, but then he got unwell, it was something with his balance. It happened quite suddenly. He had worked a bit too hard, and it was very hot. My mother wanted him to see Margit Evanger.[3] Well, he did not believe one bit in her. 'But, please try for my sake,' my mother said. 'OK,' he said, 'he can give it a try.' So, he took the bus and then the train into town, where I met him. I said to him, 'We can walk to her place.' 'No,' he said, 'I'm not able to walk, we must go by taxi.' We took a taxi and went to Margit's place. He was with her – let us say, for fifteen minutes. She talked to him, and asked whether he believed in her. 'No,' he

said, 'but I promised my wife that I would give it a try.' 'Perhaps I can make you believe,' she said. 'Yes, it would be very good if that could happen,' he answered. After a quarter of an hour, he came back. And I said, 'Will you ask her to call for a taxi?' And he answered, 'We don't need a taxi, I'm quite all right.' And he has been well, and has not noticed anything wrong since. It was two years ago last Christmas. Since than he has not uttered a single insulting remark about such things" (Alver & Selberg 1992:184–85).

In this account, the miraculous healing is framed by trivial information about buses, trains and taxis. This information also has the function of communicating how bad a shape Helga's father was in. He was actually unable to walk. But a more crucial matter is the father's scepticism towards the healer; the narrative is introduced with the reference to his scepticism and ends with him being converted to a belief in the powers controlled by the healer. Margit Evanger, the healer, on the other hand, is not presented as a doubter when she states, "Maybe I can make you believe." After fifteen minutes Helga's father is as good as new, and he has been well since then. However, the meeting has in some ways made him "see the truth"; he has never uttered derogatory words about faith healing since this meeting. As told in the narrative, it was quite a struggle for Helga's father to get to the healer's place, but afterwards he walks. This is a common motif in narratives about healers, Bengt af Klintberg (1980) claims: "The walk to the house of the wise woman is slow and heavy, but the walk at home is fast and easy. The most reasonable interpretation of this motif is psychological; the journey to the healer' s home is slow because one feels uneasy and anxious, the journey home, on the other hand, is easy; with the sick person feeling relief" (ibid.:27).

Although events told about wise people go beyond well-known and common situations and experiences, narrators place the extraordinary happenings in unexciting and commonplace contexts. In Helga's story trivialities frame the events she tells about, and the language used when telling about unusual happenings is often rather ordinary, using no big words. Nor do the events lead to new understandings of extraordinary powers; instead the narrator just recounts the experience of getting well (see Kraft 2010), and affirming that "something" was present in the meeting with the healer.

A story that both Kolloen and also Gjerstad himself tell in his book *Det godes vilje* ("The Good Will"), is about how Joralf Gjerstad healed the famous Helge Ingstad of pains in his knee. This happened in the home of a mutual friend during a visit by Ingstad:

Ingstad, who turned 75 that summer, declared that some of the best doctors in the country had tried to repair his knee, without success. Sometimes the knee became quite impossible, like now. 'My goodness what a warmth you give off,' Ingstad said after Joralf had laid both of his hands on his knee. … After a while Ingstad was told to bend the knee. 'I feel something has changed,' he concluded. Then he took a walk on the floor and after that he went the four hundred metres down to the shore. Joralf

and their mutual friend were looking at him from the window and the friend said that Ingstad had not been able to use the stairs. This very day the knee had been especially painful and Ingstad planned to go back to Oslo. But soon he returned very surprised and happy – 'The knee is well. I have gone over stock and stone without feeling any pain.' Later Ingstad told him, 'I have to admit that I did not believe that you were able to remove my pain, but you have proved that miracles also happen in our time'" (Kolloen 2006:92).

The main person – Helge Ingstad – is far from ordinary, and telling a story where such a person is the main character gives the events credibility and authority (see Jakobsen 2010:135). However, the surroundings and circumstances of the happenings, and the way they are retold, makes the events seem trivial and normal. The religious scholar Siv Ellen Kraft (2010) is of the opinion that the Snåsa Man's popularity has to do with his ordinariness, he is an exceptionally clear image of commonness, niceness and ordinariness, and in a variant that is unmistakeably Norwegian. Contextualizing the unexplainable into everyday reality produces credibility, af Klintberg says, thereby creating confidence in the ability of the healer (af Klintberg 1980:29).

Doubt and Scepticism

A common trait in narratives about healers and healings – stretching from personal oral communications to books and biographies – is that a point of departure is scepticism and doubt, creating a tension in the stories. By taking such a stand the narrator places herself within the predominant ideas in the surrounding world. Helga introduces her story by saying that her father "just made fun of all such things". He is a sceptic, and scepticism and doubt are a motor in many stories about the unexplainable (see also Alver 2011:145). In her narrative her father's conversion from doubt to belief is as important as the motif of the healing. The introduction in Kolloen's book is formulated like this: "Joralf Gjerstad stands in the doorway of his house below the stone church in Snåsa. He extends his large, right hand – and as with most older people it is dry and cool – sets his eyes on me and says: 'You are sceptical, Kolloen.' One does not need to be clairvoyant to notice that, I think and follow him inside" (Kolloen 2008:13). Both Helga and Ingar Kolloen illustrate Elliott Oring's idea that narrators often "introduce their account by highlighting its incredibility, only to trump it with the evidence of their own experiences" (Oring 2008:136). About his meeting with the Snåsa Man, one person tells the newspaper *VG* (21 January 2016) about how he, after an accident, had struggled with pains for a long time. The story is introduced like this: "That the Snåsa Man should be able to fix him was not something that this 60-year-old man believed. But he was to have an experience he had not expected."

Another aspect of communicating scepticism towards healers is expressed in ideas about their relation to money. A widespread, if not always

explicitly articulated idea is that if wise people crave money for their services it is a proof that they are not honest and that their gifts are not real. The idea is that if the healer's abilities are genuine they will want share them, free of charge for everybody; if the healer tries to profit from them he is not honest. Kolloen himself said that he would not have written the book about Gjerstad if he charged money for helping people. About Marcello Haugen one person tells:

> An acquaintance of mine – who wants to be unnamed – told me that when she was in her twenties she discovered that her son's head was growing in a strange way. She became anxious and wanted to see Marcello Haugen, but in her husband's mind that was a bad idea. She wanted to go anyway and asked for some money. "Here's two kroner for you," her husband said, "it might be enough for that quack." Nevertheless she took some more money, which she put in her stocking. After the visit to Marcello she asked the price. "Two kroner can be enough for that quack," he smiled, "the money you have in your stocking you can keep" (Parmann 1974:130).

This story includes well-known opinions about the relation between healers and money, here represented by a third person's scepticism, and it also demonstrates how the healer' clairvoyance can be narrated. The disclosure includes a strain of humour on the part of the suspicious husband and heightens the value of the narrative, at the same time as it confirms the honesty of the healer.

One of the strongest critics of the Snåsa Man, the journalist Ronnie Johanson is of the opinion that an important reason for Joralf Gjerstad's popularity is that he claims never to have accepted money for helping people. But Johansson thinks that Gjerstad is lying about this. In an interview in *Fri Tanke* he says:

> In my last book I said that I was told that it was a common thing to pay him, but that I did not believe in such rumours. But now I know that the rumours are true. I myself have talked to people who during the seventies left a hundred kroner note. Several people have said that this was standard, among them a friend from the same locality. In other words it is a lie when he repeatedly says that he "never had taken money". He did not ask people to pay, but it was indicated quite strongly, and the money was accepted.

Hinting at relations between healing and economic profit implies that the healers use their gifts to earn money, and this is a way to reduce their credibility. The idea behind this could be that the gifts the wise person has been given should be shared with other people without profit, that genuine religion and honest desires to help should be free.

The widespread scepticism towards popular healers can be expressed in accusations that they are frauds taking advantage of credulous people. Even though he recognizes that the Snåsa Man has abilities to mobilize people's "self-healing capacities", the journalist Ronnie Johansen says that he "resorts to rather vulgar tricks to make people believe that he has supernormal

gifts" (*VG* 10 October 2016). Professor Kristian Gundersen, the author of the book *Snåsakoden*, says about Kolloen's biography: "Kolloen and Gjerstad do not deny themselves anything when it comes to supporting old folk belief" (*Dagbladet* 6 February 2009). This kind of scepticism is to be found on many levels and in many circumstances. It is common that narrators admit that they know about, and to a certain degree take part in, such disbeliefs and include them in their narratives. Including alternative interpretations in the story can increase the credibility of what is told (Oring 2008:144). Stories that call the miraculous in question may also be seen as counterparts to narratives about the miraculous. The American folklorist David Hufford uses the expression "traditions of disbelief" (1982) and claims that in the narrative tradition about inexplicable happenings two opposite groups stand against each other in mutual mistrust: the believers and the sceptics. These two groups belong to the same cultural context and the main argument of the sceptics is the non-existence of proof. However, in some ways utterances by the doubters also carry on the folk-medicine tradition. When stories start by indicating mistrust, they include the voice of the sceptic in their narrative. The stories became utterances and answers in a debate about the place of the supernormal and the extraordinary in our world and doubt brings tension into the narratives.

Jesus

Miracles are worth telling about. In the New Testament we find many stories about Jesus's miraculous deeds, and it has even been claimed that tales of the miraculous were of great significance in the spread of Christianity. The theologian Rolv Nøtvik Jakobsen states that "In what is told about Gjerstad there are many parallels to what is told about Jesus" (2010:146). He is of the opinion that when it comes to the vocation, descriptions of actual procedures and personal sufferings there are important common qualities in stories about folk healers of our times and about Jesus as a healer. He asks whether it can "have its origin in a common tradition" (ibid.:147). Jakobsen refers to research that has emphasized Jesus as "a popular healer" (Craffart 2009). Jakobsen's interpretation is "that in people's expectations of Jesus, and in the way he acts to heal people, there are significant common traits with a long and almost invisible tradition of folk medicine" (ibid: 148). His idea is that it is possible to focus on some similarities between Jesus and Gjerstad "as two representatives of a long and complex folk-medicine tradition" (ibid.: 148). Descriptions of healers have some stable genre traits, he states: they begin with family background, then refer to the gifts as inheritance, experiences of being called, and the fact that the healer to start with resists acknowledging, and then fight against the powers. Further, it is typical that the healing is by touch and that the healer is drained of strength.

He writes: "When it concerns Jesus it is easy to see most of these features in the evangelical stories (ibid.: 149; see also Alver 2011).

However, the New Testament's descriptions of Jesus as healer are also present in what people tell about experiences with wise people. Typical features of the New Testament stories are sudden healings after a short meeting with Jesus. In Matthew's gospel we can read: "When he came down from the mountain, great crowds followed him; and behold, a leper came to him and knelt before him, saying, 'Lord, if you will, you can make me clean'. And he stretched out his hand and touched him, saying 'I will, be clean.' And immediately his leprosy was cleansed" (Matt. 8:1–3). In the same chapter we read: "And when Jesus entered Peter's house, he saw his mother-in-law lying sick with fever, he touched her hand and the fever left her, and she rose and served him" (Matt. 8:14–15).

As mentioned earlier, the large crowd of people waiting for the healer is a typical motif in stories about healers. Kolloen tells how crowds arrived in Snåsa on the first morning train and then gathered on the lawn outside Gjerstad's waiting room, and at Marcello Haugen's house people crowded in his garden. In Mark's gospel we read: "And when he returned to Capernaum after some days, it was reported that he was at home. And many were gathered together, so that there was no longer room for them, not even about the door; and he was preaching the word to them. And they came, bringing to him a paralytic carried by four men. And when they could not get near him because of the crowd, they removed the roof above him; and when they had made an opening, they let down the pallet on which the paralytic lay" (Mark 2;2–4).

The Biblical motifs in the healing narratives discussed here are more an echo of the stories about Jesus's healings, than deliberate references to the Biblical stories. On the other hand, such resonances mediate additional and more convincing words about the doubtful happenings related (see Bauman 2004). "A narrative may be embedded in the midst of narratives whose truth-value is higher or contrasted with narratives whose truth-value is lower," Oring (2008:141) claims. The Biblical stories are framed within the healing narratives, and the references to the Biblical narratives can increase the authority of stories about miraculous healings. Eriksen, Krefting and Rønning (2012) write in the introduction to the book *Eksemplets makt* ("The Power of Example") that especially the Bible has been the source of a range of texts repeating certain narrative examples, and thus bringing their authority and normative status further in a steady flow of new texts, new relations, to new audiences (2012:16). In line with their opinion, I would say that narratives about Jesus's healings are present as both authority and norm in older and contemporary healing stories.

Contextualization

In his book *A World of Others' Words* (2004) Richard Bauman says that context "directs attention to the anchoring of verbal art in the social and cultural worlds of its users, to the … interrelationships that link performed texts to culturally defined systems of meaning and interpretation and to socially organized systems of social relations." This is a way of approaching texts from the outside, Bauman claims. However, context can also be explored from the inside; the narrator produces "links of contextualization to give shape and meaning to his expression" (Bauman 2004:32–33). For example, scepticism can be included in the narratives so that the narrator may argue against it. This is one way of contextualizing an unusual experience and thus adding meaning to the experience. Framing the unexplainable into an everyday context can be another way to trivialize the supernormal and thus make it believable. The (unconscious) references to the stories from the Bible shape significance because another and more authoritative discourse is mediated in the healing narratives. In the narratives the miraculous events are contextualized into connections giving them meaning and authority. By linking the supernormal to the everyday, by turning scepticism into belief, by stressing one's own experience and in a rather restrained way stating that "something" was present, the narrator makes the events believable and thus shapes credibility.

The Authority of Experience

As stated earlier, when a narrative begins with doubt and scepticism, the narrator in some ways join forces with the critics, but then she *experiences* something that overcomes the doubt present in society. Bjarne Håkon Hanssen, former health minister, said on television that the Snåsa Man had cured his little son of colic – and he also started his narrative in a doubting way. "It was desperation rather than conviction that lay behind the decision to call the Snåsa Man", the religious scholar Siv Ellen Kraft (2010) writes and goes on, "it was only when meeting robust proofs based on personal experience that he changed his opinion, but not in a shape of a Hallelujah experience or religious awakening. Hanssen simply stated that it worked. He could not explain why or how, and it was apparently not in his interest to know it either. What he and other supporters did was to confirm that there is "more between heaven and earth", a description of what happened that is just as weak as to claim that "something was present". However, such descriptions give the happenings more significance than any arguments against an unexplainable experience. Kraft designates this as a minimalistic form of religion "…that belongs to us all, our history, or religious heritage and our traditions" (Kraft 2010:135).

The author of the critical book *Snåsakoden* ("The Snåsa Code"), Kristian Gundersen, discusses the Snåsa Man in an article in the newspaper *Dagbladet* (6 February 2009). As a "solution" to the question of why so many people claim to have been helped by Joralf Gjerstad, Gundersen says that Gjerstad "has great power of influence and great diagnostic experience". He refers to one of Gjerstad's backing figures, the lawyer Cato Schiøtz, who "acknowledges that Gjerstad's healings are difficult to separate from the placebo effect". The journalist Ronnie Johansen likewise says, "We are talking about a classical placebo effect that is well-known within scholarly medicine. I do not deny that he has a special capability of triggering and also affecting the body's self-healing abilities" (*VG* 21 January 2016). Referring to placebo is one way to say that people have been fooled into believing that they got well. In the introduction to this article I quoted Rohde, who said that she did not care whether it was placebo, because she *experienced* that *something* was present. *Something* is often referred to in narratives about healings. In *VG* (21 January 2016) "Kåre" says: "I cannot do anything other than believe in what he does. I cannot explain it, but I am a proof that there is something," he says and goes on: "I thank him in my prayers every evening." Jim Rune also tells of his meeting with the Snåsa Man in the same newspaper story: "I do not know how he does it, but he makes things better. … It is a bit strange but there must be something…"

The narratives cited here are personal stories. The narrators have personal experience of how long-lasting pains or illnesses disappeared within half an hour or at the latest 24 hours. This is a general trait in the narratives to be found in biographies about wise people, in oral communications or stories in newspapers or on the Internet. The sudden healing is what give these stories a point, and makes them worth telling. A personal narrative concerning a *personal* experience – told in the first person. But even if the *content* of the story is personal, collective ideas and values are still present – both in the way the experiences are retold and evaluated and in the ways the elements in the experiences are remembered, forgotten and emphasized (Stahl 1977, 1989; Alver & Selberg 1992:42–45). When the experiences and happenings are retold they are affected by narrative conventions. The narrators emphasize their own experience, that "something" was present, in spite of what the surroundings might mean and express about the events being told about.

On the cover of the book about the Snåsa Man we are told, "The narrative about Joralf Gjerstad tests common sense". The narrative about the Snåsa Man shares this challenge with lots of other popular stories whose topic is the borderline between probable and improbable (Oring 1990). Such narratives investigate what is normal, natural and credible, they tell about something at variance with the general opinion, and this makes the listeners get involved – whether they believe in the events told about or not. Stories about

the miraculous will always attract people. The narratives discussed here are personal contributions in favour of the healer, but also in favour of a certain way of comprehending reality. Stories about healings and wise people are part of a vernacular narrative tradition concerning the supernatural and the improbable (Oring 2008), about events on the border of our worldview, and this is what makes a legend interesting (Oring 1990). A significant feature in the narrative tradition about unexplainable healings is how the miraculous is contextualized in various ways to create credibility for the events in the story, and how a narrative reality is created that concerns far more than just ideas about sickness and treatment.

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[1] Important contributions to this perspective were published in the Nordic countries in a period from the 1960s onwards. A Nordic seminar, published in *Arv* 1963/63 is characterized by Bente Gullveig Alver as a turning point that put folk medicine on the Nordic research agenda (Alver 2013:408–9). Another important contribution from Nordic scholars was the collaboration of Bente Gullveig Alver, Bengt af Klintberg, Birgitte Rørbye and Anna Leena Siikala resulting in the book *Botare. En bok om etnomedicin i Norden* (1980) focusing on the healers and on the relation between the healers, the doctors and the patients both in past and present (Alver *et al*. 1980:6). See also Alver & Selberg 1991. Bengt af Klintberg's contribution in *Botare* has been a great inspiration for the present article.

[2] The great attention concentrated on the Snåsa Man was not because something new was being told; what was innovative was rather the new position popular healers acquired in the public sphere through this book. Folk healing was, so to speak, upgraded and lots of stories flourished and still do, and well-known people like Rohde cited at the beginning, and even the health minister of that time, communicated their experiences of the Snåsa Man.

[3] A folk healer in Bergen during the 1960s.

Enacting Disease

Chorea Sancti Viti in Nineteenth-Century Norway

Lise Camilla Ruud

In 1860 a description written by the district physician Johan C. Lund was appended to the annual national health report published by the Norwegian government: "Chorea St Viti seems to occur as a hereditary disease in Saetersdalen." Lund stated that it was "commonly known as 'the twitches', sometimes as 'the inherited disease'." The disease existed within two families in the valley and normally the onset came "between the ages of 50 and 60". The disease usually began "with less conspicuous phenomena, which at times progress only slowly". More often, however, "and after a few years having elapsed, the symptoms reach such a state that any work becomes impossible". The patients observed had severe difficulties in directing food to their mouths, and "their entire body, though chiefly the head, arms and trunk, is in constant, wild twitching and jerking movements, except during sleep, when they normally are calm." Lund added that some of the "severely affected, have in late periods of their lives become fatui." A pedigree chart was added: "The disease occurs in two families, which are here recorded" (Lund 1860:137f).[1]

Lund's report about a hereditary version of Chorea Sancti Viti has, in line with the publications of a small number of other physicians (Charles Waters, Charles Gorman, and most notably, George Huntington), gained the status of one of the pioneering texts outlining the pivotal characteristics of Huntington's disease: the hereditary character, its late onset, the jerky movements and the mental decline. Scholars have emphasized how these early descriptions captured the essence of Huntington's disease and how their contemporaries "failed" to see the importance of their findings.[2] Only at the turn of the twentieth century, with the rediscovery of the Mendelian laws of inheritance, did heredity turn into a topic of interest for a broader medical community, and thus the pioneering writings came to be seen in a new light. Within the corpus on the history of Huntington's disease, a realist perception of disease has dominated and the genetic disorder "discovered" by these men has been written back into history. While the tiny group of pioneering physicians contributed to the history of Huntington's disease, other nine-

teenth-century accounts have received little attention, often with reference to William Osler's famous statement from 1894, that "there is no such *olla podrida* [rotten stew] as chorea" (Osler 1894). The pioneering descriptions have been separated from the hodgepodge, the messy contemporaneity, and placed into a coherent progress-oriented narrative of disease.

Within Nordic history of medicine, Anne Kveim Lie's insightful work on the *radesyge* represents a turn towards historicizing disease (2007). Instead of treating disease as a static entity independent of its surroundings, she explores how disease comes into being through relations and networks. In opposition to the oft-seen approach within history of disease where investigations, based on today's diagnostic tools, centre on what a disease "actually" or "really is" – she argues that disease should be analysed as a situated product of its own time (Lie 2007:11ff). This article follows her line of inquiry by deploying approaches developed by actor-network scholars.

The article explores different enactments of Chorea Sancti Viti in nineteenth-century Norway. What kind of disease was it, and under what circumstances did it appear? What versions existed, and how did Lund's suggested version relate to these? These questions will be discussed by seeing disease as a relational phenomenon: it comes into being through networks where human and non-human actors connect and contribute (Latour 2005; Law & Singleton 2004; Mol 2002). Networks hold disease together, and when new actors are introduced it will change. Networks are thus unstable structures, a series of transformations and translations – and actors are not independent, rather they are effects of their relations with other actors. Patients, symptoms, physicians, medicines, national politics, texts, health concerns and institutions connected and together they made, translated and transformed disease. A disease does not exist in and of itself, then, but is regenerated and reshaped through its relations – and it is the exploration of the configurations and reconfigurations of these relations which are of concern in ANT (Law 1999:3). One cannot in advance decide who the actors will be, this must be empirically decided; one must "follow the actors" (Latour 2005:179).

Bruno Latour has suggested a theory of "relative existence" as an intermediate position between realism and relativism, influential opposites within history of disease. While a firm realist would argue that a disease is always and everywhere the same, thus ahistorical and able to travel in time and space – the extreme relativist would argue that a disease is never and nowhere the same, it is deeply historically embedded and cannot travel anywhere. An intermediary position, and a way to avoid the choice "between never-nowhere and always-everywhere" can be obtained by granting "historicity not only to social, technological, and psychological agency, but also to natural agencies" (Latour 2000:251). The task of the analyst is to make it impossible for a fact to escape from its network of production (ibid.). With-

out networks enacting disease, without the heterogeneous set of actors contributing when it comes into being, there would be no disease.

Chorea Sancti Viti will have partial existence: "Existing somewhat, having a little reality, occupying a definite place and time" (Latour 2000:253). A disease becomes real when it is associated with many collaborating actors – and it loses reality if these associations are weakened, if connections are cut (Latour 2000:257). Disease will be explored as a decentred process; it does not only happen within the body of patients, it happens at various places at the same time. Nineteenth-century Chorea Sancti Viti will result multiple since it is done differently, since various versions of the disease were enacted through its incorporation in different practices (Mol 2002; Law and Singleton 2004; De Laet and Mol 2000).

The article is divided into four sections. The first section "counter-enacts" the pioneering status attributed to Lund's report. The second section explores how Chorea Sancti Viti was enacted as epidemic outbreaks, connected to Paracelsus' and Justus Hecker's works on medieval dancing plagues. An alleged outbreak among nomadic Sami, leading to rebellion in Kautokeino, is detailed in the third section. Lastly, treatments are discussed, centring on connections between cause and cure.

Counter-enacting a Pioneer Version of Hereditary Chorea

Lund's description of a hereditary version of chorea formed part of the annual report about local health conditions sent by him as district physician to the governmental authorities. In this section I will borrow the term "counter-enactment", used by the literary scholar Howard Felperin (1986) in analysis of wordplays or puns, in order to explore Lund's report. Word-plays contain enactments and counter-enactments, and if "the figures of enactment […] work cumulatively to integrate the jigsaw puzzle of language […] the pun is precisely that piece of language which will fit into several positions in the puzzle and thereby confound attempts to reconstruct the puzzle into a map or picture with any unique or privileged reliability" (Felperin 1986:186). Interpreting the physician's report as wordplay implies seeing at least two competing versions of disease resulting from the same words: one pointing forward in time, the other situated in contemporary practices. Wordplay "turns our understanding of things upside down" and the same description will lead to the emergence of enactment and counter-enactment. (Kjerkegaard 2011:5). While a pun is deliberately constructed with the use of words placing the reader in an ambiguous state, effectively destabilizing "whatever conventional stability the relation between sign and meaning may be thought to possess" – the ambivalence in Lund's text (or any other written source) results when the text moves in time or space and is situated within new networks. Later knowledge-producing actors have translated

Lund's text, and the counter-enactment will function as an analytical tool specifically targeted for challenging the established, pioneering status of Lund's text. Instead, the analysis seeks to take the analysis into the nineteenth century's "hodgepodge" and situate Lund's descriptions within his own time.

"Concerning hereditary occurrence of Chorea in 2 families in Saetersdal, district physician Lund has given notice, enclosed as appendix III" (1860: 69). The disease reported by Lund was incorporated into a specific network of knowledge: the district reports formed part of a long-standing tradition of governmental preoccupation with and regulation of public health. Since eighteenth century, physicians had been obliged to report, first to the Danish-Norwegian government, later to the Board of Health. After Norway's separation from Denmark in 1814, the reports were submitted first to the Ministry of Church and Education, and after 1846 to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. During the first half of the nineteenth century local reports varied in form and content, and as a whole they did not provide the desired national oversight. From 1853 onwards, all local reports were first directed to the district or town physician who controlled and edited the content according to a standardized scheme, before it was sent on to the governmental authorities that structured the reports by county. In this way, the reports took on a standardized form suitable for national statistical overview (Bore 2007:8ff; Schiøtz 2003:32ff; Schjønsby 2009:22).

All county reports began with a brief description of the general state of health and the diseases which had dominated. Thereafter the most frequently recurring epidemic and chronic diseases were treated in separate sections, as well as rates of births and deaths, surgical and obstetric procedures performed; availability of medical personnel and institutions. Descriptions of climatic and general living conditions were also provided (Bore 2007:11, Schiøtz 2003:35ff).

Lund's report was added as an appendix, not recounted in the main text for the county of Nedenæs and Raabygdelaget, probably due to its length and level of detail, which did not correspond to the standardized structure of the national report. Historians of Huntington's disease have speculated about why Lund's report did not attract more attention when it was published. It is underscored how he wrote in Norwegian and in an inaccessible report. Added to this, Lund's findings were disqualified by the German professor of medicine August Hirsch in his influential *Handbuch der historisch-geographischen Pathologie*, published in 1862 (Ørbeck 1959; Wexler 2008:60f; Vale & Cardoso 2015:4). A few Norwegian scholars have dedicated themselves to a patriotic quest, highlighting how Lund's text was published before Huntington's, some suggesting the disease ought to be named after the district physician (Hanssen 1914; Ørbeck & Quelprud 1959; Ørbeck 1959). Such discussions tend to cut Lund's text loose from the net-

works it was incorporated in. His text was not intended as a contribution to a scientific field; the national reports were medico-political tools, and Lund reported on a variant of a disease. No one can be ahead of their times, physicians can be innovative, but they still belong within contemporary networks. A counter-enactment of chorea can follow the historian of medicine Claudia Stein's recommendation to explore materials that "highlight the very moment when disease identity was established in the public domain, that is, to the moment of the diagnostic act itself" (Stein 2014:56). Lund's pedigree map of the two families are such diagnostic acts.

One of the families lived in Valle parish, the other in Bygland parish, and the map sketches out individuals throughout four generations, although "not as complete as could be desired" (1860:137f). Lund estimated the age of onset of affected persons, how long they had lived and the age of non-affected children. To characterize the degree and condition of the disease among the individuals, he used five labels: strongly affected, quite strongly affected, less strongly affected, affected to a minor extent, and healthy.[3]

The Valle family pedigree started with Borgaard, who fell ill at an "old age" and had been strongly affected. Among Borgaard's four children, two were strongly affected: Torjus and Thor. Torjus had fallen ill when he was about 60 years old, and had suffered from dementia. Thor, unmarried with no children, became sick at the age of 50 and died around 60 years of age. The two other children, Lars and Ragnhild, had both been healthy, not affected by the chorea. In the third generation, Torjus (affected) had nine children, and two of his sons fell ill, both strongly affected. One of them, Torjer, fell ill when he was 20 years old, and died ten years later, unmarried. The other son of Torjus, Lidvor, got it when he was around 50 years old, and had died around 70 years of age. Lars, the third and healthy son of Borgaard, was father of one child and many grandchildren, all of them healthy. Borgaard's fourth child, Ragnhild, had also been healthy throughout her life. She had five children, and out of them three got the malady: Osmund when he was around 50 years of age, he had been strongly affected, dying at the age of 56. (Osmund had seven children, one of whom fell sick.) The second child of Ragnhild with chorea was Torjer, strongly affected, unmarried and still alive. The third one, Tone, got the disease at 50 years of age, and she was quite strongly affected and still alive. She had three children, all healthy in 1860.

The pedigree of the Bygland family began with three less strongly affected half-brothers, one of them unmarried and with no children, thus leaving no lineage to study. Another of the three brothers, Liod, had 8–10 children, among them one daughter, Birgit, fell ill who at 60 years of age, less strongly affected. Of Birgit's five children, three got the disease: Torjer had been strongly affected (he fell ill at 46 years of age, and died at 51), Gunhild was quite strongly affected, and Anne was affected to a minor extent. The three

affected siblings all had children: Torjer's two children were healthy, both under 20 years of age; Gunhild's five children, all under 40 years of age, were all healthy; and among Anne's five children, one daughter had been strongly affected at the age of 30. The third brother starting off the Bygland pedigree, Torjer, was less strongly affected. He had many children, and among them a daughter had fallen ill at the age of 40, strongly affected. She had many children, and none of them were affected, the oldest being around 40 at the time of the report.

Today we know that Huntington's disease is a genetic disorder which was transmitted in an autosomal dominant pattern, and that children of affected persons have a 50 per cent chance of inheriting it. If a child does not get it, then the following generations will not either, and the family branch is liberated from the malady. But Lund did not know this, so the pedigrees must be approached accordingly. The late age of onset was quite stable, although it could even break out in young persons. Another seemingly stable dimension was how children of healthy parents normally would not get the disease, but he had found a contradictory example. Apart from these quite stable characteristics, there seems to have been a broad range of variation. Firstly, the number who would get the disease within a group of siblings; this ranged from one out of eight or ten, to two out of four, or even none. At the time, the question of heredity did not only concern transmission from one generation to the next, but also among siblings, implying that heredity could be a matter of the family present (Wexler 2008:58) Secondly, the striking variation in affectedness: the degree of affectedness could in some cases be passed on from one generation to the next, or among siblings – but more often it would not. It would alter, becoming better or worse. One can imagine how these two dimensions triggered Lund's interest: given the prevalence of the disease within a family, what caused only some individuals to get it, and why did the degree of affectedness vary? There seems to have been no certain way to predict whether or to what degree the disease would be passed on. Heredity was not a question of simply having or not having the disease, rather it seems to have been a matter of degree. The range of variations needed explanations, and maybe this – seen as what Stein terms a diagnostic act – was what Lund hoped for when he commented on the content of the pedigrees: "the details of information are surely not as complete as could be desired, but they suffice for a starting point, given that future physicians in Saetersdal would direct their attention towards the disease" (Lund 1860:137, Stein 2014).[4]

Eight years later, in another report written by Lund, the chorea was once more commented on and included in the national health report (1868:163ff). Here, chorea is grouped with two other diseases related to inheritance: phthisis and syphilis. The section discussed the causes and spread of these three diseases and was placed at the very end of a thorough six-page report

describing and analysing the general hygienic conditions of Saetesdal. The section began with phthisis (also called *tæring* or *svindsot*). The disease accounted for nearly ten per cent of the death rates in the valley, and Lund noted how: "The hereditary factor I have found prominent in about half of the […] cases; for contagion I have only found little and dubious support, while neglect of Catarrhs and Bronchitis seems of greater importance" (Lund 1868:168).[5] In order to explain the spread of phthisis, Lund had investigated hereditary and contagious transfer as well as individual or medical neglect of associated conditions, and disease could in theory break out as a result of all.

A discussion of syphilis followed the same scheme. Lund explained it as the tertiary form of rade-sickness (*radesyge*). The rade-sickness had been frequent in the valley 25–50 years earlier, but had almost entirely disappeared by the 1860s: "the harmful effect on posterior generations now seems scanty or absent." Lund personally knew "most of these in formerly rade-sick families, living in very good economic conditions and belonging to the most prominent people of the valley" and he had paid particular attention to and examined the members of these families without "finding any prominent sickly disposition" (Lund 1868:168). Implicit in his account is the social and moral degradation associated with the widespread rade-sickness in earlier times, but by 1860 the sins of earlier generations had been overcome through the improvement of their social and economic status, the formerly sick families were now free of the disease. Hereditary disposition could not in itself account for the outbreak of disease, which was influenced by moral and social factors.[6]

In between his reflections on phthisis and syphilis Lund wrote about the hereditary version of Chorea: "In my medicinal report from 1860, I described how Chorea St Viti seemed to be hereditary within two families, with their pedigree being detailed." Aware of how the German Hirsch had disqualified his findings, he commented: "In a German journal (Hirsch) the correctness of the diagnosis is doubted; to this I can only respond that I have not and neither do I have had the slightest doubt in the matter", and he added that the "clinical picture, when the disease has reached a certain stage, is as characteristic as possible. The disease still abides in the same families and in the same way as described in the report of 1860" (Lund 1868:168).[7]

In literature on Huntington's disease, there tends to be a focus on how Lund defended and maintained his findings as a response to Hirsch's misinterpretation of his previous report – an argument strengthening Lund's pioneering position as a forward-pointing physician. With a counter-enacting approach, the attention is directed towards networks of Lund's times. The chorea was related to phthisis and syphilis, all three connected to hereditary influences. In half of the cases phthisis would be hereditary, in the other half

caused by neglect or contagion. The families with rade-sickness had overcome hereditary disposition through a climbing on the social ladder.

If one isolates the phrases about chorea, cutting them loose from their association with the two other diseases, Lund's status as pioneer seems quite logical. He insisted he did not have "the slightest doubt" and that the "clinical picture" was as characteristic as possible. His words have later been read as one of the very first clinically accurate descriptions of Huntington's disease. Lund's words, however, could also be counter-enacted with a historicizing approach (Latour 2000; Lie 2007; Stein 2014). What entities and actors were connected when the disease came into being, what set of relations was established? Lund related Chorea to two other diseases; heredity was seen as a matter of degree, and affected by environmental factors such as degree of care and social and moral conditions. Returning to the Saetesdal pedigrees, one can imagine questions posed by Lund: Why did half of Borgaard's children get the disease, while only two out of Torjus's nine? Why had three of Ragnhild's children become sick, while she herself remained healthy? Why did the degree of affectedness vary between generations as well as among siblings? What caused the malady to disappear from one generation to the next, and why did it reappear? Since Lund could not have anticipated the rediscovery of the Mendelian laws some decades later, it is logical that questions like these preoccupied Lund and were implicit in the hope he expressed that later generations of physicians to focus on the chorea. The hereditary influence he believed to be stronger in the case of the Saetesdal twitches than in the two other diseases, but this component could still merge with environmental and societal factors when the disease broke out. Was it possible to identify any social or moral issues within these families which could explain why some individuals got the malady and others not? What differences concerning care and medical attention could account for the varying degrees of affectedness? It becomes apparent that heredity was a fluid category, and that disease depended on an entanglement of factors. If families improved their social and moral ways of living, and individuals were taken good care of when sick, the effect of hereditary influences could be prevented or halted.

The term heredity was rarely mentioned in the national health reports during the latter part of the nineteenth century; in fact, years could go by without any mention of it at all. This corresponds to the argument by Alice Wexler (2008:65f) and Carlos López-Beltrán (2003:10), that heredity was not considered scientifically interesting among physicians. Still, the national reports were not fora for scientific reflections; they described matters of health of societal and governmental importance (Larsen 2009:297; Schiøtz 2003: 35ff). In 1878, it was reported from the county of Nordre Trondhjem about phthisis that "heredity could often be determined, contagion not so often" (1878:268). The physician Brinchmann in Namsos commented on probable

causes for the increased occurrence of phthisis: "The generally more poor and less solid way of living, the less justifiable way of dressing, poor housing and the more frail frame of mind are assumed elements contributing to the development and spread of the disease" (1878:268).[8] That same year, heredity appeared in the report from Buskerud, related to the same disease. It was noted that the number of persons treated for phthisis was uncertain, one of the reasons being that many of the sick did not call upon the doctor "based on the idea that the disease is incurable, or they get assistance from some quacksalver or other who knows to take advantage of the ignorance of the common people." A district physician had adduced "that out of 21 new cases most are caused by heredity" and from a neighbouring district "out of 10 cases 3 depended on heredity within the family, in 2 young women a long-term neglected chlorosis was the probable cause, in the remaining 5 the cause was unknown" (1878:59).[9] Heredity could thus be influenced and overcome – heredity triggered the majority of cases of phthisis, and disease caused by hereditary disposition could be cured.

Among the few reports on heredity, a detailed one was given by Christopher P. Munthe in 1872, as an appendix to the national report (Munthe 1872: 153ff). It concerned leprosy, but the remarks made by the district physician in Hedemarken manifest contemporary and general ideas about heredity within the context of health policies and local practice. Munthe argued that heredity in the case of leprosy was determined not so much by a "specific disease-matter reproduced throughout the pedigree, but by the organic and dynamic particularity of larger or lesser disposition within some families, which through a marriage is mixed with strange blood […] could become stronger or weaker" (Munthe 1872:154). Heredity here appears potentially to take the form of transmission of some specific and more stable disease substance, and it could be transmitted due to a more dynamic, fluid familial disposition which in turn could be influenced by the mixing of blood. In the case of leprosy, Munthe judged the latter to have most influence. The disposition of families, according to the physician, bore much resemblance to the "nervous strength of a person", the disposition could not be "observed under the dissection knife or the microscope" – and he assumed it was acquired over time, influenced by various factors which "had their root in the individual's dietary, social and moral conditions, their ways of working, habits etc. or in other words, from a life with particular shortcomings." Once a disposition had been acquired, accidentally and unconsciously, an outbreak of disease could be triggered even by a minor incident. Still, a trigger was necessary: "a larger or smaller calamity is needed to bring this disease to outbreak" (Munthe 1872:154).[10] At least three different principles contributed to the characterization of heredity: a stable disease-matter; a dynamic family disposition influenced by various surrounding factors; and a triggering incident.

Connecting Munthe's reflection to Chorea Sancti Viti, one can imagine –

given Lund's highlighting of the hereditary dimension – that in the case of hereditary chorea, the presence of a specific disease-matter would be stronger than the presence of a dynamic family disposition and the nervous strength of each individual within it. This, however, does not imply that acquired dispositions and triggering incidents were not important when the disease manifested. Rather, an entangled interplay could account for variations in terms of who got it or not, and for the different degree to which the disease affected a person.

The intertwinement of factors contributing to disease, as seen in Munthe's reflections, implied that disease transmitted through inheritance could be cured. An outbreak depended upon individuals "for physical or mental reasons, stronger or weaker inclination" and so he argued that "if the individuals […] from early infancy are introduced to favourable living conditions, withdrawn from the harmful factors, which provoke the disease with greater or lesser strength" an outbreak would quite certainly be prevented. Such favourable conditions he connected to the general improvement of civilized society and culture: "In places where Culture with its increased insight, its broader sense of comfort, cleanliness and healthfulness, where expanded wealth permeates, where communication extends, and strange blood through marriage gets the opportunity to neutralize family particularities through marriage of wider circumference, in these places I have every reason to believe that the disease will be eradicated" (Munthe 1872:154).[11] Maybe members of the two Saetesdal families would be liberated from the disease if they were placed in healthier environments?

While the oft-seen version of Lund's report cuts the contemporary networks it was integrated in, the counter-enactment expands them broadly. The nineteenth-century district physicians were preoccupied with a range of factors contributing to public health and outbreak of disease, they were incorporated in medico-political networks. The same year as Lund reported the hereditary chorea, a new health act was approved, increasing the local authority of district physicians as they became leaders of municipal health commissions with the task of overseeing and improving on matters of local health and hygiene. The health act stated that health commissions should direct their attention towards factors which could have an impact on matters such as "cleanliness, the diversion of detrimental water, the organization and cleaning of pump houses, places for urination and pig dung, the organization of manure or other items […]. The quality of drinking water, the intake of harmful nutriment, houses which for lack of light or air, for moisture, uncleanliness or overcrowding, have often been shown to be harmful to salubrity" (Larsen 2010:12).[12] Further, the commission was required to develop local health regulations, and in cooperation with local police to oversee the population's compliance with these (Larsen 2010:12). Such regulations

could for instance specify how often people should clean their floors, or clean up around their houses (Bore 2007:14; DI 1868:167).

As leaders of the local committees, district physicians were vital in the promoting of local health, and their often broad approach to local matters is clearly manifested in Lund's writing. His reflections on the three hereditary diseases formed the closing paragraph of a detailed description and analysis of "the hygienic circumstances which are of some interest" in Saetesdal (DI 1868:163). He started by accounting for the climatic and natural circumstances in the valley, which he considered good in comparison with the rest of the country. The Saetesdal people had access to very good drinking water and the farming and forestry, major professional occupations, provided highly suitable activities in the open air. Further, the nourishment was generally appropriate and contributed to a "well-shaped, strong and to some degree beautiful" population. The food was simple and unvaried, though, and consisted mainly of porridge, bread, sour milk, flatbread, butter and cheese, potatoes, dried, smoked or salted meat and fish. Lund identified a major problem related to nutrition: the valley population ate food based on far too much wheat flour. The proportion of carbohydrates in nourishment was three times as high as it ought to be, as illustrated by the local habit that after each meal one or two "strong belches, as part of good tact" would always be heard (ibid.:164). The overeating led to serious health problems in Lund's district; various digestive disturbances, such as ileus, he considered caused by frequent over-eating of wheat. Ascaris roundworms were likewise often observed in the population, probably a direct effect of excessive intake of wheat-based food, even though Lund noted he was unable to explain how the roundworms got inside the intestines in the first place (ibid.:167f). Another critical problem related to nutrition was the widespread coffee drinking. Particularly for women who spent most of their time indoors, as well as for poor people who subsisted almost exclusively on vegetables, the massive coffee consumption concerned Lund: "there are those who drink up to 2 pots a day" (ibid.:164). In recent years, Lund had observed an increase in nervous conditions, and he had no doubt this was caused by the abuse of coffee (ibid.:168). The consumption of coffee had by far surpassed alcohol, with negative and positive effects. Beer could, if taken in reasonable quantities, be healthy and nutritious and was to some extent preferable to coffee. On the other hand, he considered the Saetesdal people incapable of restricting themselves, and the main reason why there were no alcoholics in the valley he judged to be the absence of a liquor store: "they have a liking for consuming all the good they have, as soon as possible, and with strong beverages they cannot at all stay in the same house. If they have beer or liquor, they will drink uninterruptedly, as long as it lasts" (ibid.:165). In general, moreover, they did not clean themselves, and their clothes were normally "dirty and repulsive" (ibid.:166).[13]

The Saetesdal people lived in cogged timber houses of one or two storeys. The old-fashioned many-levelled stove, in combination with an open stove placed in a corner of the kitchen, used in most houses required a lot of firing wood but it also ensured a healthy indoor circulation: "the air in the rooms, in spite of the huge uncleanliness of the Saetesdal people, is mostly good and fresh", contributing to a reduced prevalence of various diseases. However, many factors contributed to a low hygienic level: they cooked their porridge again and again in the same pot without cleaning it, and they licked their spoons clean. Their eating tables were cleaned only once a week, the floor in the living room was normally never cleaned, although it would be swept once or twice a day (ibid.:166). Another factor when considering the local hygienic conditions was the traditional dress. About fifty years earlier, the traditional costume for men had changed into "a complete opposite to the previous one, which in ugliness and incongruousness can hardly be surpassed." The sweater and vest barely reached beneath the armpits, and the bulky, voluminous trousers extended up to the neck, "standing out like wide bags" under the arms. The "abnormal dress" thus left the chest exposed to the elements, the sweater was too short, and the trousers too wide to protect and shield.[14] The female dress Lund considered somewhat more appropriate, with a skirt that ran from the armpits and widened towards the knees. During summer this costume was appropriate, during winter however, it resulted harmful due to the little length and wide shape of the skirt. Because cold wind could easily enter and circulate underneath it, the dress contributed, according to Lund, to a high prevalence of menstruation anomalies and various uterine conditions in the female population (ibid.:166).

When Lund wrote his report, he had lived ten years in the valley, and during this time he had witnessed some improvements. He was happy to observe that some people had started cleaning their floors, and that the health regulations he had helped to elaborate to a large extent were implemented: "so that the pigsties around the houses are nearly gone." Other important improvements included increased breastfeeding of babies, and mothers now consumed less alcohol during pregnancy. The construction of a proper main road to Christianssand also helped, by connecting the isolated population to the outside world (ibid.:167). All things considered, though, the Saetesdal population stood on a very low cultural step and were a "slow and lazy people, to eat and drink well and having nothing to do, is regarded as the greatest good, and therefore also the aim of their endeavours." Because of this, the population seemed unable to improve much on their living conditions. In spite of the rich natural resources, due to a lack of enterprising spirit the entire community seemed unable to move into the state of well-being "which should and ought to have existed here" (ibid.:166).[15]

As mentioned, the discussion of chorea, phthisis and syphilis is placed in the concluding section of Lund's detailed report on hygienic conditions in

Saetesdal. The content of this report has been detailed in order to stretch out a network which has formerly been cut, with the intention of rendering the disease unable to escape the networks through which it came into being (Latour 2000). Are there any connections between porridge, traditional costumes, climate conditions, and hereditary chorea? The counter-enactment does not isolate heredity but places it in line with all these other factors, since they all contributed to disease. Heredity formed part of a broad arsenal of elements, which would appear in changing constellations and combinations. If the Saetesdal population would stop licking their spoons clean, eat less wheat and cut down on their coffee intake, dress more rationally, start cleaning their houses, dedicate themselves to exploiting the natural resources in beneficial ways, in short: if they would connect to the ongoing civilizing and modernizing projects of the nation, they would also reduce their risk of falling ill. However, given the present state of being, according to Lund, this was a rather illusionary hope since the rural population, the two chorea-affected families probably included, was lazy and dirty, having no aspirations for improvement.

Disease can be imagined as a set of changing relations. Chorea Sancti Viti was a decentred process, done in various places at the same time (Law & Singleton 2004; Mol 2002). To see chorea as integrated within networks of state and municipal health policies, in which heredity was rarely mentioned, is a decentring that stretches analysis of disease far in order to connect actors, establish associations and to create a counter-enactment of Lund's hereditary version of Chorea Sancti Viti. The next section explores occurrences reported in the national health reports and discusses how they were connected to medical knowledge.

Enacting Disease with Medical Knowledge

During the 1850s and 1860s, a small series of reports about Chorea Sancti Viti appeared in the national reports. Due to its length and level of detail, Lund's report was added as an appendix. In the report's main text about the county, the Saetesdal occurrence was mentioned briefly and readers were informed about the appended description. Preceding this mention, another occurrence of chorea was mentioned: "For a brief period of time, half of the 18 inhabitants in a poor house" suffered from chorea. The affected, "of whom 6 were children and 3 adult women, were all cured in the course of approximately 3 months, and after 3 of the most severely attacked children had been admitted to hospital" (DI 1860:69).[16] The notice was given by the district physician Scheen, practising in a community near Saetesdal. In 1853, from the district of Modum and Ringerike it was reported that: "Among diseases of rare occurrence, an epidemic of Chorea St. Viti in the parish of Sigdal and Eggedal, in the district of Modum and Ringerike […]

must be mentioned" (DI 1853:12).[17] In 1856, also in a nearby district, the physician Bryn had "treated St. Vitus Dance in 3 sisters, 7–12 years of age, from Silgjord; from the same farm he later treated yet another incidence of the same disease" (DI 1856:23).[18] In comparison with Lund's testimony, these reports all presented the disease as epidemic and curable. Outbreaks took place within crowded, poor households and both children and adults, mostly women, fell victim to the disease. How did nineteenth-century district physician understand such epidemic outbreaks, with entire groups of children and women affected by uncontrollable spasms?

Saint Vitus's dance was a rare but known disease. In the national reports, no one explained what kind of disease it was; readers would be familiar with the term. Lund highlighted the hereditary version in contrast to other reports where the epidemic character was noted. Thus it can be assumed that the chorea normally appeared in epidemic form. Although rare, the epidemic character made it interesting within the context of national health politics. Since the 1830s a series of cholera outbreaks had struck the country, with mortality rates reaching as much as 70–80%. The historian Aina Schiøtz describes cholera as an "eye-opener" paving the way for a broader understanding of relations between hygienic and social conditions and disease, leading to strengthened governmental efforts in matters of public health (Schiøtz 2003:25ff). The physicians, by reporting the disease to the authorities, thus connected Chorea Sancti Viti with contemporary health concerns, thereby also manifesting the importance of physicians in the ongoing political project of improving public health.

Physicians were able to make these connections on the basis of medical knowledge. The medical term Chorea Sancti Viti was coined by Paracelsus in the sixteenth century in his analysis of the medieval dancing epidemics, and through their university studies physicians would be familiar with his work. One could also assume that the Norwegian medical community, familiar with German academic traditions, knew *Die Tanzwuth* published in 1832 by Justus Hecker, professor of history of medicine. In this work, he analysed and adapted Paracelsus' work to a nineteenth-century context (Hecker 1859).

In his work on dancing epidemics, Hecker recounted Paracelsus' three categories of Chorea Sancti Viti: "First, that which arises from imagination (Vitista, Chorea imaginativa, æstimativa), by which the original dancing plague is to be understood. "Merely by seeing others with the same disease, people would be affected. "Secondly, that which arises from sensual desires, depending on the will (Chorea lasciva)". This would emerge from strong emotions, and was mostly seen in women. The third category was one "which arises from corporeal causes (Chorea naturalis, coacta)." Here, some veins, susceptible to "an internal pruriency", would set the blood in commotion and cause "an alteration in the vital spirits, whereby involuntary fits of intoxicating joy, and a propensity to dance, are occasioned" (Hecker 1859:

93). The three categories offered physicians a means to understand and explain the disease.

Occurrences of Saint Vitus Dance were rarely detailed at any length in the national health reports, and most noted that the outbreaks had been cured locally by district physicians. In 1864 yet another occurrence, explicitly relating to Paracelsus framework, was noted: "Among the nerve diseases, an epidemic chorea is mentioned from the Laurdal district, which attacked children and half-adults among the residents on a farm in the parish of Mo. This disease, not connected to ecstasy, but propagated by beholding, was cured rapidly through anticonvulsants" (DI 1864:70).[19] The physician, familiar with Hecker's and Paracelsus' terms, described how the epidemic had spread through vision, it had been an outbreak of the *Chorea imaginativa*, not of *Chorea lasciva*, and it had been cured.

In his work, Hecker did more than offer an historical analysis of Paracelsus' work, he also translated the Renaissance classic into a medico-sociological tool suitable for nineteenth-century district physicians. Hecker argued that diseases such as Chorea Sancti Viti and Tarantism "afford a deep insight into the works of the human mind in a state of Society. They are a portion of history, and will never return in the form in which they are recorded there; but they expose a vulnerable part of man – the instinct of imitation – and are therefore very closely connected with human life in the aggregate" (Hecker 1859:75). Epidemic nervous diseases were intimately connected to, and resulted from, the societies in which they emerged. The medieval dancing plagues "could not have existed under the same latitude in any other epoch, for in no other period were the circumstances which prepared the way for them combined in a similar relation to each other" since "the mental as well as corporeal temperaments of nations […] are as little capable of renewal as the different stages of life in individuals" (ibid.:123f). Hecker's ambition was to contribute to an overall comprehension of disease in time and space and offer "a convincing proof that the human race, amidst the creation which surrounds it, moves in body and soul as an individual whole" (ibid.:75). The characteristic symptoms of chorea, the uncontrollable dance-like spasms, were intimately connected to processes of the mind, and depended upon the specificities of society. To strengthen his theory he added various recent and contemporary examples of how nervous epidemics characterised by the same logics had occurred in different European countries in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (ibid.:130ff).

Central to Hecker's and Paracelsus' arguments was how dancing plagues spread through the human instinct of imitation: "Imitation – compassion – sympathy, these are imperfect designations for a common bond of union among human beings – for an instinct which connects individuals with the general body, which embraces with equal force reason and folly, good and evil" (ibid.:129). The instinct of imitation was based on sensual impres-

sions, through the eye or with the imagination, and "when it exists in its highest degree, unites in a loss of all power over the will." When sensual impressions found "their way to the heart – the seat of joys and emotions", any opposition by reason would be overpowered. Hecker argued that this basic instinct placed "the self-independence of the greater portion of mankind in a very doubtful light, and account for their union into a social whole". In its well-functioning forms, the instinct of sympathy would account for social cohesion, but in its morbid forms, people would "pass into a total loss of power over the will, and an actual disease of the mind" (ibid.:129).

It is likely that district physicians based their diagnosis on insights provided by Paracelsus and Hecker when they encountered these outbreaks, and the epidemic character made chorea interesting within the context of public health. Most affected persons were women and children, at the time generally understood to be of a weaker constitution than men, and more likely to let their instinct be led by sensual impressions (Lie 2012). The affected people were also farmers, living in poor conditions, lacking proper culture, and in crowded households. The outbreaks, when related to medical knowledge and hygienic societal concerns, could be seen as a combined effect of fragile minds, weak bodies and lack of well-being in parts of society. Hecker's adaptation of Paracelsus' theory offered a useful tool for the district physicians, as it allowed them to connect chorea outbreaks to lack of social cohesion and well-being – of vital concern for the district physicians as state officials. Even though Chorea Sancti Viti was a very rare disease, it was interesting since it demonstrated perverted, morbid forms of fundamental human instincts normally contributing to social cohesion.

Hecker emphasized how the instinct of imitation, in its morbid forms, could lead to "the diffusion of violent excitements, especially those of a religious or political character" and that such excitements had "powerfully agitated the nations of ancient and modern times" (1859:129). The next section explores how a district physician in Kautokeino translated Chorea Sancti Viti into a cause for rebellious conduct among nomadic Sami.

Enacting a "Religious St. Vitus' Dance"

In his report included in the national health report of 1856, the newly appointed district physician in Alta characterized "the ongoing religious movement in his district as a transient phenomenon, a religious epidemic, a species of religious St. Vitus' dance" (DI 1856:64).[20] Arriving in the northernmost part of Norway in 1855, Karl O. Follum entered a county still disturbed by the Kautokeino rebellion. A religious movement, influenced by the Swedish preacher Lars Levi Laestadius, had spread among the Sami nomadic population since 1845 and culminated in November 1852 when a group of Sami attacked and killed Ruth, a merchant, and Bucht, chief police

officer in Kautokeino. Many agitators had been sent southwards to serve sentences in prisons in Trondheim and Christiania, while the two leading figures, Aslak J. Hætta and Ole A. Somby, had been executed in Kautokeino some months before Follum's arrival (Zorgdrager 1997).

As district physician, Follum entered a small Norwegian bourgeois environment attempting to understand the Sami rebellion. Letters and articles were written and incidents discussed, particularly among men of the church. Meeting with vicars and functionaries, Follum would hear first-hand experiences and learn about the judicial processes, in which various of these men, their wives and their servants, had testified. Some had been personally involved in the Kautokeino incident, such as the vicar Waldemar Hvoslef, who was held prisoner and beaten during the night of the 8 November. Many would have witnessed the spread of puritan Laestadianism in the community. Some had left the district before the physician arrived, but their stories and opinions could be retold through others who were still present.

Follum must have paid particular attention to statements about the agitators' gestures and confused behaviour, and he would use these to translate chorea, thus expanding the knowledge-producing network into the field of medicine. A former vicar in Kautokeino, Søren von Krogh Zetliz, had experienced the spread of Laestadianism starting in 1845, and the behaviour he witnessed during ceremonies was disturbing and characteristic: "most had a particular cramp-like twitching, the head violently thrown to the side, some hit their hands with cramp-like wildness against the church pews, while their head, in pace with their hands, jerked backwards" and "a large number fixed their stiff gaze on the image of Christ at the altar piece" (Zetlitz in Zorgdrager 2008:32).[21] Minister Niels Stockfleth, also a former vicar in Kautokeino, spent some months in the district in 1851 and commented on the conduct he observed at the house of two Sami leaders: "Two or three, among them a woman, were jumping and raising their arms up and down with forceful movements, cursing and challenging God." They uttered sounds which for Stockfleth lacked all logic and sense, and he lifted his walking stick and gave some of them a blow. This triggered the crowd, until then lying on the floor, to get up; and "all of them jumped, threw their arms up and down, screaming and cursing" (Mikkelsen & Pålsrud 1997:24f).[22] In addition, their arms "were pushed forward with force, partly to impart belief into people, partly perhaps also to impart the Devil into people" (ibid.:31f).[23] On his way out of the house, Stockfleth encountered the Sami churchwarden lying in bed, performing the same movements with his arms, and unable to establish contact with him, the minister slapped him twice in the face before he left.

Waldemar Hvoslef, former student and acquaintance of Stockfleth, was ordained as vicar to Kautokeino in 1851. During the revolt, he was taken prisoner and beaten. One can imagine Hvoslef and Follum having met for discussions, the vicar sharing his first-hand experience as well as providing

details from his colleagues' observations. Soon after Follum's arrival, they were both working on texts which aimed to explain the causes of the vehement events. While Follum worked on his health report, Hvoslef wrote a 39-page article to be published in *Theologisk tidsskrift for den Norske Kirke*. Here, he offered his reflections on the causes of the events. Hvoslef described how Sami neophytes had "heard from Karesuando that the grief there manifested itself in crying and sighing or moaning, and the joy in laughter or dancing or jumping and leaping"[24] (Hvoslef 1857:12). Laestadius, whose disciples had initiated the proselytization among the Samis, had lived and practised in Karesuando. In Kautokeino, the gestures were at the outset only weak, mostly seen among women, but as time went by, the vicar noted an increase: "some wailed, quivered and howled, others jumped, danced and shrieked" (ibid.:14).[25]

According to the vicar the neophytes were actors pretending: "a large part of them, who called for remorse and converting, simply drifted with the stream out of cowardice or a wish to please." Many, he argued, later admitted to having feigned inner religious experiences and imitated gestures in order to conform (ibid.:20f). Quite a few had been coerced into participation in fear of the leading agitators' "threatening gestures and laughs", Hvoslef argued. The "wild rolling of eyes and wheezing of mouth" had scared bystanders, and the proselytes "reaching out their arms towards the ones they addressed, and then quickly withdrawing towards their own chest, clenching fists or pointing forward with their fingers" equally frightened people into participation, since "all of this was supposed to be a sign of the spirit working inside them." Adding to Hvoslef's argument of simulation was the fact that "the intensity of laughing and the pomposity of argument increased according to the number of the audience", according to the vicar (ibid.:16).[26] His conclusion underscored the manipulative actions of the leading figure, Aslak J. Hætta, who for some years preceding the religious awakening had been in conflict with the police as well as the local merchant. During an earlier judicial process, in which Hætta had been sentenced to penal labour, Hætta had threatened, still according to Hvoslef, that "the red rooster will crow over Ruth's house" and "there will be a bloodbath at Rabben". Stockfleth had no doubt: "Hatred and vengeance were the driving forces of the act committed. The relation between religious aberration and the matter is in my opinion an element of second-order importance." Religious influence could not in itself explain the Kautokeino events; it was Hætta, the "mind behind everything" who was to blame. Hvoslef was convinced that without his agitation the incidents would never have taken place (ibid.:28)[27]

District physician Follum did not experience himself the intensity in the neophytes' conduct, and he emphasized how the epidemic "was already in strong decrease in the part of the district where it had been most significant, namely in Kautokeino" (DI 1856:64).[28] The following year, it was stated in

the section for Finmarken County in the national health report that "the religious reveries spoken of in the previous report have almost entirely disappeared. In the district of Tanen no new occurrence came to the knowledge of the physician, and in Varanger only one" (DI 1857:96).[29] Follum's reports were based on what he learned from others, and he related their testimonies to the apparatus of medical knowledge he brought along from Christiania, which resulted in a medically defined outbreak of Saint Vitus' dance. "In observing the vehement gesticulations, hearing the speaking in tongues, experiencing the naïve simplicity of the entire spirit of these bewildered human beings, and finally perceiving the apathy which characterizes such an outbreak" and this "equally within the individual as within an entire group of individuals" made Follum consider "himself fully authorized from a medical point of view to consider it a mental illness" In contrast to the vicar's underscoring of individual hatred and vengeance, he diagnosed the nomadic Sami population as having all suffered from a "species of religious Saint Vitus' dance" (DI 1856:64).[30]

Based on observations made by others and connecting these with medical knowledge, he was able to enact chorea as a disease causing religious reveries, dance-like gestures, rebellion and violence. Follum also added his assumption "that the theologian soon will come to experience that not even the clearest presentation and evidence will have any effect upon these humans, who completely lack self-criticism and ability to receive truth" (DI 1856: 64).[31] Follum was a man of new and modern times, engaged in societal improvement. He was dedicated to the industrial production of fish oil and lobbied for state involvement in fishery. He also experimented with field growing in the arctic climate, and participated in the foundation of Finmarken Agricultural Society in 1859. He was elected major in Alta-Talvik and later Alta, and held the post for two periods. What he learned when people told him about the riot, and what he himself could see when meeting with the nomadic population, was everything but modern and progressive. With the use of medical knowledge the Sami mind could be demarcated as less civilized and inferior to the Norwegian mind.[32] The disease was enacted not only in a local milieu trying to understand the rebellion, Follum furthered the new association to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which in turn printed his reflections and made it circulate in the entire country. With the national report, the translated version of chorea would travel in a form stable enough to connect the disease to other versions of it, yet the disease was also radically transformed with the associations made to the violent upheaval and the Sami mind and conduct – it was both stable and fluid at the same time (Law & Singleton 2004:7ff).

Follum's report resonates Hecker's work on Paracelsus, most importantly in how Saint Vitus' dance manifested how "the human race, amidst the creation which surrounds it, moves in body and soul as an individual whole."

The German historian of medicine had argued that the disease could provide "a deep insight into the works of the human mind in a state of Society" (Hecker 1859:75). Applying this to the Kautokeino case, one could say that instead of false pretending, threatening coercion and cowardice, as Hvoslef explained the widespread religious reveries – the physician seemed to have believed that a medically explicable perversion of a basic human instinct lay at the core of the events. The nomadic Sami caught the disease through sensual impressions, sympathy and imitation. While the same instinct in healthy, strong Norwegians would contribute to social cohesion, the nomadic way of life made the culture-lacking Sami vulnerable and naive, thus an easy target for Chorea Sancti Viti. This phenomenon belonged "just as much to the physician's as to the priest's treatment" argued Follum (DI 1865: 64).[33] Disease and society were intimately connected, the nomadic population had been susceptible to the sensory impressions presented by the Laestadian doctrine, and the widespread imitation of gestures, laughs and dance resulted from a basic human instinct.

The outbreak explained in this way would also imply that the Sami essentially resembled Norwegians, that their instincts in theory could be led towards more rational conduct. They could, if they improved, be integrated as better citizens in the northern society. While Follum and Hvoslef disagreed about the motives for the rebellion, they agreed on the qualities of the nomadic Sami and the urgent need for change. While the priest implied a solution to be Sami acceptance of the Christianity he represented, the physician would probably have recommended a stronger integration of them in society and treatments performed locally or in institutions. The contemporary discussions about the incident centred on religious, racial and individual motives, and the incident is seen as marking the outset of century-long state authorities' efforts to control and make "Norwegians" out of the Sami population (Zorgdrager 1997:20ff; Pedersen 2006:497ff). By introducing Chorea Sancti Viti as an alternative motive for the riot, the physicians' analysis would not entail any changes to these governmental efforts; rather his report would add more legitimacy to them.

Enacting Disease through Treatments

Enacting disease implies treatments. The Alta physician's diagnosis came too late to have any direct effect on disciplinary reactions towards Sami rebels; the leading figures had already been beheaded, and others sent southwards to prison. One could still say that the treatment he would have recommended in order to socially integrate nomadic Sami resound with qualities of disciplinary treatments they were subjected to while in correctional facilities. In most cases, however, chorea patients were normally cured locally. District physicians might have healed them according to a description pub-

lished in *Norsk Magasin for Lægevidenskaben* (Hørbye 1856:42f). This recounts a notice from the *Journal für Kinderkrankheiten* published the previous year by two Swiss physicians about their successful attempts to cure the disease with anticonvulsive bandages. "If Saint Vitus Dance is most vehement on one side of the body, as is often the case, the treatment is directed towards it first." A ten-square-centimetre bandage should be placed on the outer side of the leg, below the knee, and another one on the upper arm below the deltoid muscle, and one should expect the seizures to intensify the first day. After a couple of days, the "Saint Vitus Dance would much decrease in intensity", and a new set of bandages was to be placed on the body, just below the first ones. After six or seven days, one could expect the spasms to disappear entirely and the cure would be completed. The weaker the patient, it was argued, the more efficient the cure would be. In addition, healthy nutrition, exercise in fresh air and completely abstaining from intellectual work was necessary (ibid.:42). Physicians probably deployed this or a similar cure, thus incorporating the anticonvulsive bandages as efficient actors in the disease-producing network.

While most patients were cured locally, some would be admitted to institutions and some physicians published descriptions of patients, a well-known genre at the time (Lie 2012). In 1855, a successful cure was published in a book about treatments at Sandefjord Spa by Jørgen T. Ebbesen, physician at the spa. An eighteen-year-old woman with chorea had been admitted, suffering from twitching, constant movements in her right arm and foot, only calm when asleep or when held still by force or massaged. She underwent a three-step cure developed at the spa. First, she was given sulphur water baths. Second, her legs and back were rubbed with mud. Third, for an entire month she was frequently, smeared with brown, stinging jellyfish ("medusa oceanea") on her head and right shoulder (Ebbesen 1855: 68f).

The historian of medicine Øivind Larsen describes the establishing of Sandefjord Spa in 1837 and how staying at spas was high fashion among the European bourgeois elite. These institutions were positioned between treatment, entertainment and tourism, and in Sandefjord guests could enjoy their stay in buildings erected by well-known architects and get fresh air in the surrounding park, they could attend arranged concerts, parties, theatre performances and excursions (Larsen 1996:68; Ebbesen 1870:30ff). Balneology at Sandefjord based on treatments similar to the ones in European spas, such as strengthening baths, exercise in fresh air, and healthy diet. The jellyfish treatment, however, was locally developed. According to Ebbesen, it aimed at healing a broad range of nervous diseases: "a feeling of heat, sting or burn, which at first is limited to the place where the jellyfish was used, later spreading to the entire peripheral nervous system" (Ebbesen 1855:58). Ebbesen had successfully tried jellyfish on almost all parts of patients' bod-

ies, and it proved efficient on cerebrospinal irritations, neurological diseases, paralysis and it could even be used to reduce general feelings of pain and troubles with intestinal gas. The cure proved very efficient on the young woman, who fully recovered, and as a result she was capable to both "embroider and write" (ibid.:69). At Sandefjord the chorea was performed through a network where experimental medical expertise, jellyfish, sulphur water and mud, fashionable entertainment and profitable business co-produced a cause and a cure for disease.[34]

In a table presenting causes of death for all patients treated in Norwegian hospitals in the 1867 national health report, a girl and a boy were reported dead due to Chorea Sancti Viti (DI 1867:206). In 1871, a hospitalized girl died of the same disease (DI 1871:xxxii). The first one of these three was probably treated by the physician Fr. Stabell at the national hospital. In *Norsk Magazin for Lægevidenskaben* he reported how he had experienced "a very violent incident of Chorea, resulting in death due to the very intensity of the disease and not due to its complications" (Stabell 1869:9). A thirteen-year-old girl from Enebakk had fallen ill and was brought to *Rigshospitalet* with headache and painful spasm in her legs. Within a couple of days, the spasms grew so intense that it was impossible for her to stand upright: "She does not lie still for a single moment as long as she is awake; one or the other muscle group is always in motion, in particular the muscles of the face are constantly moving, which gives her physiognomy a continually changing expression." The disease was uncontrollable in the girl: "She laughs, smiles, wrinkles her eyebrows, suddenly her tongue is thrust out, sometimes she emits tiny involuntary screams, throws her arms and legs around in all directions, whirling and rotating her body now to one side, now to the other. Sometimes her entire body bounces like a spring."[35]

The girl's body was only calm when she slept, which she rarely was capable of doing. Anticonvulsants such as potassium bromide were prescribed, but nothing seemed to help and the physicians then provided heavy doses of morphine and chloroformed the patient until she lost consciousness. This did not help much either, but at least the spasms decreased due to the tranquillizing effect of the remedies. A couple of days later, the young girl died (Stabell 1869:9ff).

Unfortunately, and as "usual in such cases, the findings of dissection are meagre" the article underscored. A coherent cause of the malady could not be found. In the lungs some bronchopneumonic foci had been found, in the heart some pericarditis, and some dead ascaris in the rectum. There were some oedema in the meninges, some serum in the brain's ventricles, but apart from that no other traces in the brain or the spinal column could explain the violent attack and resulting death (ibid.). At the hospital and through the autopsy, chorea was enacted in a disease-producing network connected to an emerging pathological and anatomical development of

medicine. The establishing of the national hospital in 1826, yet another governmental effort in securing the population's health, corresponded with a professionalization of medicine and the foundation of the University in 1811 (Schjønsby 1996:78). Within this context, descriptions of patient histories recounting symptoms, treatments and results were important tools for understanding disease. Descriptions of typical processes within the human organism found their expressions in these histories; they pointed towards the general, as disease would in principle appear in the same way in all bodies (Lie 2012:206f). The results of the autopsy of the young girl, however, could not be associated sufficiently. The post-mortem findings connected vaguely with other medical conditions but the autopsy could not clarify or explain the disease. Chorea could not be enacted in a way that made it comprehensible; the set of actors constituting the new institutional setting were unable to co-produce it as a distinct disease, it could not be fitted into the emerging professional pathological-anatomical knowledge-producing network.

Networks co-produced and assembled disease through different treatments. One could say that curative success or failure depended upon characteristics of the network, more specifically upon how connections between cause and cure were performed within each of these networks. District physicians were able to cure most patients locally with anticonvulsants. Within the local communities causes of disease were distributed widely; chorea resulted from a heterogeneous interplay of factors such as gender, age, individual and familial dispositions, and a broad set of socio-cultural factors influencing living conditions. Cures could last for several months and they proved efficient. One could assume, given the broad hygienic outlook of district physicians, that cures would be connected to improvements in general living conditions. Perhaps physicians suggested that patients should change their eating and drinking habits, ways of dressing and frequency of domestic and personal hygiene. If so, one could imagine how such alterations would work together with anticonvulsants when chorea was cured. Causes were distributed and this probably triggered broad treatments.

At Sandefjord Spa, the admittance of patients and their grouping according to categories of disease signalled a narrowing of possible causes: the 18-year-old woman suffered from disease related to the nervous system. The cause of chorea thus centred on the individual's body. While the cause was situated in the nervous system, factors in the patient's environment could also contribute when disease broke out, as implied by the importance given to health-promoting elements such as fresh air, entertainment and a pleasing milieu. These curative measurements implied that there had been a lack of such elements when the disease had entered the nervous system in the first place. So, the cause was centred but at the same time it was also distributed, and a whole set of actors worked resolutely together when the dis-

ease was cured: jellyfish, mud, well-water, physicians, concerts and elegant buildings proved efficient co-producers and disease-assemblers.

At the national hospital, treatment preceded cause. The chief cause had to be identified post-mortem through dissection; it had to be physically visible inside the patient's body. The cause of this version of chorea was not allowed to be distributed across a broader socio-cultural space, situated between people and in their environments as in the national reports. Neither could the cause be both environmentally distributed and physically centred as in Sandefjord, with treatment directed towards both categories of cause. Without an anatomically and pathologically identified cause, the curative failure could also be explained: a chorea which did not manifest in exact findings and cause did not fit into the knowledge-producing network and it could not be enacted as a coherent disease. Still, it was reported and described as a death resulting from Chorea Sancti Viti; the disease both existed and disappeared.

These three different ways of enacting disease in terms of cause and cure existed simultaneously, and some patients might have passed from one disease-producing network to another (Mol 2002). One could imagine how patients first met their local district physician before being admitted to an institution. Such transfers could be explained in terms of affectedness: if the disease was very severe, the patient would be passed on to a specialized institution. An analytically more interesting way of approaching such transfers, is to imagine how they would trigger different enactments of chorea. Due to the network-specific ways of performing cause, cure and connections between these, disease would have radically different results. In this way Chorea Sancti Viti was unstable and flexible enough to move around, it adapted to different knowledge practices and different ways of identifying cause and performing cure. Chorea was also stable, it was consistent enough to travel from one network to another maintaining some key characteristics (De Laet and Mol 2000). Scientifically named, understood, described with the aid of Paracelsus' Renaissance classic and Hecker's adaptation and analysis, the outbreaks were also similar – as occurrences of a well-known but rare disease.

Conclusion

Concepts and approaches from actor-network theory have been used to explore different enactments of Chorea Sancti Viti, or Saint Vitus' Dance. The dominant narrative within the history of Huntington's disease centres on a small group of pioneering physicians cut loose from their own times, based on a realist concept of disease as ahistorical. This article has, in line with recent works within history of disease, granted historicity to chorea and analysed various versions of disease within their contemporary conditions of

production. Chorea Sancti Viti has proved to have partial and relative existence: it has existed somewhat, had a little reality, it has occupied definite places and times (Latour 2005:253).

Lund's pioneering status was counter-enacted in the first, and most comprehensive, section of this article. The discussions went into the messy contemporaneity and heredity resulted not a matter of either-or, but a matter of degree. Heredity was entangled with a whole range of other conditions and factors when disease came into being, as became clear when the analysis broadly expanded the contemporary disease-producing networks. State health policy, hygienic concerns, dedicated district physicians, patients and symptoms were connected in situated practices. Thus it also becomes clear why a realist version of Lund's findings is a product of later disease-producing networks: in its time the physician's report did not and could not gain reality as an early description of Huntington's disease. It did not come to have contemporary co-producers in a forward-pointing sense, since no actors or networks existed to support such an enactment. Only later did his report gain reality and supporters as a significant historical precursor. In Lund's own time it was rejected in an important, widely read German publication, and within a Norwegian context it was perceived as a particular and different variant of a known epidemic disease. And it was a variant compatible with other occurrences, since disease depended on complex interplays where heredity was only one among many contributing factors.

The second part explored how disease was enacted with medical knowledge. Chorea Sancti Viti had been known for centuries through Paracelsus' work on medieval dancing epidemics, and Hecker adapted the Renaissance physician's work to make it useful within the context of modern public health care. The string of occurrences reported in national health reports in the 1850s and 1860s all emphasized chorea as epidemic and curable, and it is likely that district physicians based their diagnosis on insights provided by Paracelsus and Hecker. The rare outbreaks gained interest and importance within the framework of national health policy since, when connected to this knowledge, they came to manifest relations between a basic human instinct, a nervous disease and societal integration. Most affected persons were women and children, understood to be of a weaker constitution than men. Further, the disease mostly occurred in poor, crowded households where one assumed the need for cultural, social and hygienic improvements to be acute. The outbreak could then be seen as a result of fragile minds and weak bodies particularly susceptible to a lack of well-being in some parts of society.

An alleged outbreak of Chorea Sancti Viti among nomadic Sami in northernmost Norway, reported in 1856, was discussed in the third section, exemplifying the above point. Sami, generally considered to be racially inferior, morally weaker and culturally poorer, were obvious candidates to be

affected by chorea from the point of view of the modern district physician. Religion and medicine could offer different motives for rebellious conduct, and Follum's translation of the disease travelled to the capital where it could add legitimacy to disciplinary reactions effectuated against the Sami convicts specifically, and to the governmental authorities' efforts to make the Sami population more "Norwegian" generally.

Treatments of Chorea Sancti Viti were explored in the final section. Depending on what kind of disease-producing network the patients were integrated in, connections between cause and curative efforts were performed in very different ways. For the district physicians, cause was distributed in households and living conditions, and treatments broadly directed towards the causal complexity would probably have the most efficient result. At Sandefjord Spa, causes continued to be distributed, at the same time as the disease became more centred within the patient-body. The institution isolated a series of actors from the outside world, brought them into their facilities and made them work together in efficient treatment. The physicians at the national hospital had problems incorporating the disease in the emerging disease-producing network, due to their anatomically centred approach and inability to include a socio-cultural distribution of cause. Yet Chorea Sancti Viti was acknowledged as a real disease, it was reported and it did exist – but at the same time it disappeared when performed on the dissection table. It was present and absent at the same time.

When disease, rather than being withdrawn from history, is situated, and the actors producing it are followed, heterogeneous assemblages and enactments appear – and they have been demonstrated to be surprisingly different. The applied method granted realness to disease: by tracing various associations among contemporary collaborators, chorea gained in reality in multiple ways. Matters of fact were transformed into a matter of course, and although few sources about Chorea Sancti Viti are available, some important connections have been identified. Disease happened within patients' bodies, but chorea was also decentred, multiple and flexible, enacted at various places at the same time – and, although occurrences were few and far between, the disease proved to be a powerful medico-political tool in the hands of physicians and in national health reports.

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[1] "synes Chorea Sti Viti at optræde som en arvelig Sygdom i Sætersdalen" and "Den kaldes almindeligst 'Rykka', tildels også 'Arvesygen'" and "mellom 50--60 Aars Alderen" and "begynder som oftest med mindre iøinefallende Phænomener, der undertiden kun langsomt tiltage" and "oftere naar de efter faa Aars Forløb en ualmindelig Høide, saa at ethvert Arbeide bliver dem en Umulighed" and "hele deres Legeme, dog fornemlig Hoved, Arme og Overkrop er i stadig, heftig rykkende og slengende Bevægelse undtagen under Søvnen, da de almindelig ere rolige" and "de heftig angrebne ere i den sidste Tid af deres Liv blevne fatui" and "Sygdommen forekommer i 2 Familier, som her nærmere anføres".

[2] The corpus is extensive, but see: Alting 2015; Bhattacharyya 2016; Critchley 1984; Hayden 1983; Okun 2003; Vale & Cardoso 2015. For Norwegian publications, see: Hanssen 1914; Aarli 2011; Ørbeck & Quelprud 1954; Ørbeck 1959.

[3] "stærkt angreben, temmelig stærkt angreben, mindre stærkt angreben, i ringe grad angreben, frisk".

[4] "Oplysningerne ere vistnok ikke saa fuldstændige, som det kunne ønskes, men dog altid Noget at begynde med, saafremt Lægerne i Sætersdalen for Fremtiden ville have sin Opmærksomhed henvendt paa Sygdommen."

[5] "Det arvelige Moment har jeg fundet fremtrædende i omkring Halvdelen av de mig bekjendte Tilfælde; for Smitte har jeg kun fundet faa og tvivlsomme Støttepunkter, medens Forsømmelse af Catarrher og Bronchiter synes af væsentligere Betydning."

[6] "dens skadelige Indvirkning paa Efterslægten synes ogsaa nu liden eller ingen" and "de fleste af disse fordums radesyge Familier, der leve under meget gode økonomiske Forholde og høre til Dalens bedste Folk" and "ikke kunnet opdage nogensomhelst fremtrædende Sygelighed". For a comprehensive analysis of *Radesyge*, see Lie 2007.

[7] "I min Medicinalberetning for 1860 omtalte jeg, at Chorea St.Viti syntes at forekomme arvelig i et Par Familier, hvis Slægstregister nærmere anførtes" and "I et tydsk Tidsskrift (Hirsch) er Diagnosens Rigtighed betvivlet; jeg har hertil kun at svare, at jeg ikke har og heller ikke har havt den mindste Tvivl i saa Henseende" and "Sygdomsbilledet er, naar Sygdommen har naaet nogen Grad, saa karakteristisk som vel muligt. Sygdommen holder sig fremdeles i de samme Familier og paa samme Maade som anført i Beretningen for 1860".

[8] Nordre Trondhjems amt (1878:268) about the *svindsot* in Stjørdalen "Arvelighed kunde ofte paavises, Smitte ikke" the physican Brinchmann in Namsos "Den daarligere og mindre solide Levemaade i det Hele, den mindre forsvarlige Klædedragt, daarlige Boliger og det mere forfinede Væsen antages som momenter til Sygdommens Udvikling og Fremgang".

[9] "I den Tanke, at Sygdommen er uhelbredelig, eller benytte Hjelp fra en eller anden Kvaksalver, der ved at benytte sig af Almuens Uvidenhed" and "af 21 nye Tilfælde skyldes de fleste Arvelighed" and "af 10 Tilfælde var hos 3 Arvelighed i Familien, hos 2 unge Kvinder var en langvarig upaaagtet Chlorose den sandsynlige Aarsag, hos de øvrige 5 var den ukjendt".

[10] "specifikt Sygdomsstof, men af en i nogle Familiers organiske og dynamiske Eiendommelighed liggende større eller mindre Disposition, der ved et gjennem Giftermaal indblandet fremmed Blod […] kan blive stærkere eller svagere" and "et Menneskes Nervekraft" and "kan iagttages under Dissektionskniven eller Mikroskopet" and "have sit Udspring fra vedkommende Individers diætetiske, sociale og moralske Forholde, deres Næringsveie, Vaner etc. – eller med andre Ord, fra et eiendommeligt mangelfuldt Folkeliv" and "at et større eller mindre Ondtlidende maa til for at bringe denne Sygdom til Udbrud".

[11] "Individernes Disposition, eller deres af physiske eller psychiske Grunde større eller mindre Modtagelighed" and "Kunde Individerne […] fra den spæde Barndom af indføres i gunstige Livsforholde, afholdes fra de skadelige Potenser, som med større eller mindre Magt fremkalde Sygdommen" and "Hvor altså Kulturen med sin større Indsigt, sin større Sands for Komfort, Renlighed og Sundhed, hvor større Velstand trænger ind, hvor Samfærdselen øges, og fremmed Blod fremmede neutraliserende Familieeindommeligheder gjennem Ægteskaber i videre Kred-

se faar Anledning til at gjennemtrænge Slegterne, der har jeg saaledes Grund til at tro, at Sygdommen ophører af sig selv".

[12] "Reenlighed, skadelig stillestaaende Vands Afledning, Vandhuses, Urinsteders og Gjødselsbingers Indretning og Rensning, Oplæggelse af Gjødsel eller andre Gjenstande […] Drikkevandets Beskaffendhed, skadelige Næringsmidlers Forhandling, Boliger, som ved Mangel paa Lys eller Luft, ved Fugtighed, Ureenlighed eller Overfyldning med Beboere have viist sig at være bestemt skadelige for Sundheden".

[13] "de hygiæniske Forholde, der kan have nogen Interesse" and "velformede, stærke og tildels vakre Folk" and "stærke Opstød; det hører her til god Tone" and "Der ere de som drikke indtil 2 Potter daglig" and "som gjerne fortære det Gode, de have, saa hurtigt som muligt, men med stærke Drikke kan de aldeles ikke holde Hus. Har de derfor Øl eller Brændevin, drikke de omtrent uafbrudt, saalænge det varer" and "yderlig skidden og ækel".

[14] "Luften i Værelserne er derfor her, trods Sætesdølernes store Urenlighed, i Regelen god og frisk" and "en fuldkommen Modsætning til den forrige, og som i Styghed og Uhensigtsmæssighed vanskelig kan overgaaes" and "staaende ud som vide Poser" and "abnorme Dragt".

[15] "saa Svineriet omkring Husene for en større Del er borte" and "i det hele træge og dovne Folk, at spise og drikke godt og Intet at bestille, ansees i Regelen for det største Gode, og er derfor ogsaa Maalet for deres Stræben" and "som her kunde og burde have været".

[16] The abbreviation DI refers to 'Departementet for det Indre' (Ministry of Internal Affairs) publisher of the national health reports in the period. "En i kort Tid til Halvdelen af 18 Beboere i et fattigt Hus utbredt epileptiform Chorea" and "De Syge, af hvilke 6 vare Børn og 3 voxne Kvinder, helbrededes alle efter omtrent 3 Maaneders Forløb, og efterat 3 af de haardest angrebne Børn vare blevne indlagte paa Sygehus".

[17] "Af sjeldnere forekommende Sygdomme maa nævnes en epidemisk Chorea St.Viti i Sigdal og Eggedal Sogne i Modum og Ringerigets Distrikt".

[18] "behandlede St. Veits Dands hos 3 Søstre, 7–12 Aar gamle, fra Silgjord; fra samme Gaard behandlede han senere endnu et Tilfælde af denne Sygdom".

[19] "Blant nervesygdomme omtales fra Laurdals Lægedistrikt en epidemisk Chorea, som angreb Børn og halvvoxne Personer blandt beboerne paa en Gaard i Mo Prestegjeld. Denne Sygdom, der ikke var forbunden med Extase, men forplantedes ved Beskuelsen, helbrededes temmelig hurtigt ved krampestillende midler".

[20] "Distriktslægen i Alten anser den i hans Distrikt herskende religiøse Bevægelse, som et mere forbigaaende Phænomen, en religiøs Epidemi, en Art religiøs St. Veits Dands".

[21] "de Fleste havde en eiendommelig krampeagtig Rykning, hvorved Hovedet voldsomt slængedes til Siden, Nogle sloge i krampeagtig Vildhed Hænderne mod Kirkestolene, medens Hovedet, i Takt med Hænderne, rykkedes bagover" and "de Fleste vedligeholdte under hvilketsomhelst andre Gebærder en Sidebevægelse med Hovederne, og et stort Antal fixerede et stiifned Blik paa Altertavlens Christusbillede".

[22] Archival documents related to the Kautokeino rebellion are transcribed in Mikkelsen and Pålsrud 1997. "To eller tre, deraf et Fruentimmer, stode og hoppede og løftede Armene op og ned med stærke Bevægelser, bandede og udfordrede Gud" and "jeg løftede Stokken og slog til. Dette bragte Liv i de paa Gulvet liggende. Samtlige reiste sig, og alle hoppede, sloge op og ned med Armene, hujede og bandte" Letter from Stockfleth to bishop Juell, dated 27 October 1851.

[23] "Foruden den Bevægelse at løfte Armene op og ned stødes Armene vekselvis med Kraft udad, dels for at støde Troen ind i Folk, dels maaske ogsaa for at skyde Satan ind i Folk".

[24] "man hørte fra Karesuando, at Sorgen der ytrede sig ved Graad og Sukken eller Stønnen, og Glæden ved Latter og Dansen eller Hoppen og Springen".

[25] "Nogle hulkede, skjælvede og hylede, Andre hoppede, dandsede og hujede".

[26] "En stor Del af dem, der raabte paa Anger og Omvendelse og roste sig af Aanden, fulgte blot med Strømmen af Feighed eller Lyst til at tækkes" and "i Frygt for deres truende Gebærder og Lader" and "rulle vildt med Øjnene og fræse med Munden" and "strække Armene ud mod den, de henvendte sig til, og derpaa trække dem hurtigt tilbage mod deres eget Bryst, knytte Hæn-

derne eller stikke fremfor sig med Fingrene, hvilket Altsammen skulde være Tegn paa Andens Virksomhed indeni dem" and "Heftigheden i Lader og Vældigheden i Paastande steg i Forhold til Antallet af Tilhørere".

[27] "den røde Hane skulde gale over Ruths Hus" and "at der skulde staa et Blodbad paa Rabben" and "Had og Hevngjærrighed var Drivfjæren til den Handling, der blev begaaet. Den religiøse Vildfarelses Forhold til Sagen er efter min Anskuelse et Forhold paa anden Haand" and "Sjælen i det Hele".

[28] "Farsotten var imidlertid allerede i stærkt Aftagende i den Del af Distriktet, hvor den havde været mest fremtrædende, nemlig i Kautokeino".

[29] "det i forrige Beretning omtalte religiøse Sværmeri næsten ganske forsvundet. I Tanens Distrikt var intet nyt Tilfælde kommet til Lægens Kundskap, og i Varanger kun 1".

[30] "Ved at se de heftige Gesticulationer, høre den løbende Tunge, erfare den Ensidighed som hersker i disse forvildede Menneskers hele Aandsretning, og endelig iagttage den Apathie, der kommer ovenpaa et saadant Udbrud" and "det saavel hos det enkelte Individ, som hos en hel Samling af Individer" and "tror han sig fuldt berettiget til fra et medicinsk Standpunkt at anse det for en Sindssygdom" and "en Art religiøs St. Veits Dands".

[31] "Theologen snart vil gjøre den Erfaring, at den klareste Fremstilling og Bevisførelse intet frugter paa disse Mennesker, der ere aldeles blottede for Selvkritik og Modtagelighed for Sandhed".

[32] For studies of colonial medicine, see Radhika *et al*. 2015; Arnold 1993.

[33] "der er ligesaameget hjemfalden til Lægens som Præstens Behandling".

[34] See Brabazon 1880 for a description of balneological treatment of Chorea Sancti Viti in a British context.

[35] "et meget voldsomt Tilfælde af Chorea, som endte dødeligt paa Grund af selve Sygdommens Intensitet og ikke paa Grund af Complicationer" and "Hun ligger intet Øieblik rolig, saalenge hun er vaagen; altid er en eller anden Muskelgruppe i Bevægelse, navnlig er Ansigtets Musker i idelig Bevægelse og give hendes Fysiognomi et stadigt vexlende Udtryk" and "Hun ler, griner, rynker Brynene, støder Tungen pludselig ud af Munden, udstøder af og til smaa uvilkaarlige Skrig, kaster Arme og Ben om i alle Retninger, vrider og snor sin Krop snart til den ene, snart til den anden Side. Undertiden spretter hele hendes Legeme i Veiret som en løssluppen Springfjær".

Naming and Classifying Diseases in the Eighteenth Century

Anne Kveim Lie

"The clinician cannot live, cannot speak or act without the concept of morbid categories", the physician Knud Faber argued a long time ago (Faber, 1923).[1] He was right. Classification of disease shapes medicine and guides its practice. International disease classificatory systems such as the WHO International Classification of Diseases and the Diagnostic Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) are today ubiquitous in medical health care, research and policy. They are categories by which we organize our world (Bowker & Star 1999; Culyba 2008; Greco, 2012; Löwy 2011; Jutel 2011; Loudon 1984; Blaxter 1978; Armstrong 2011; Beemer 2009). Disease classifications are important in public health efforts, for statistical purposes, for hospital planning, and increasingly for how we as individuals understand our lives. Classifications trigger a range of actions and consequences, both therapeutic and social. They are meant to be internationally valid, either to research, to policy or medical practice. Hence, they are real actors in the world of medical management and practice. But precisely because of this, such classification schemes are frequently negotiated and more often than not controversial.[2]

Diseases have not always been classified, neither has there always been a perceived need to classify disease in a universal system. The ambition to create a universal classification of all diseases is fairly recent – more precisely, it is a product of the eighteenth century. This article will argue that these systems of classification, new to the eighteenth century, not only represented new ways of categorizing disease on paper in the new classification systems, but also ordered and structured the ways disease was understood in the periphery. In the first part of the article, I will discuss the emergence of these classification systems, or nosologies, as they were called. What did they look like and what principles organized the classifications? How did they organize and sort diseases in the world? In the last part, I will show how classificatory practices formed the understanding of medical phenomena in the periphery, taking one disease, new to the eighteenth century, as my ex-

ample. Through focusing on this new disease, or the Norwegian *radesyge*, as it came to be called, I will show how classifications of disease not only took place in classificatory tables in books, but that classificatory thinking profoundly shaped the response to, and the ordering and treatment of new pathological phenomena by medical practitioners in the periphery in the eighteenth century.

The Coming into Being of Medical Classification Systems: Nosology in the Eighteenth Century

Classification and classificatory practices were an important part of eighteenth-century medicine, and indeed, eighteenth-century knowledge production in general.[3] Several fields of knowledge were reorganized according to new systems of classification: objects such as plants, minerals, animals, language, economy, and even history, were classified and located in large systems. These classification systems shared one important characteristic: the ambition to be a universal system, covering the entirety of the objects on the globe. In the peripheries, objects such as plants, seeds, and minerals were collected, sketched and recorded in notes, and maps were drawn, often with the help of people living at these more or less remote places in the New World. Diplomats and travellers were instructed in how to make observations and send them back to the colonial centre (Müller-Wille 2003; Hodacs & Nyberg 2007; Müller-Wille & Charmantier 2011; Spary 2000). Or the scholar could travel out himself and collect objects, as Linnaeus did when he visited Lapland. On that journey, Linnaeus built up a network of local informants, assistants, and trade partners, helping him to translate Lapland, its inhabitants, and its natural and cultural products into representations he could bring home (Müller-Wille 2003). In fact, Linnaeus built up an extensive and effective network, and collected specimens from all over the globe.

Not only objects but also diseases became the subject of classification. In fact, the practice of classification was developed into a knowledge tradition in its own right: nosology – after the Greek *nosos*, disease, and the *logos*, knowledge – a tradition initiated in the eighteenth century by the French botanist and physician François Boissier de Sauvages. Sauvages published the first major, universal, all-inclusive nosology, a classification of all disease in the human world.[4] Boissier de Sauvages graduated in medicine in 1726, with a thesis on the effect of particular plants on the passion of love. Moving to Paris, he started on his long-term project of classifying diseases, encouraged by Europe's most famous physician at that time, Boerhaave (Starkstein & Berrios 2015). In 1731, he published the first results of his attempts (Boissier de la Croix de Sauvages 1731). Two years later he was appointed Professor of Medicine at the Medical School of Montpellier. The long title of the final ten-volume version of his nosology, published posthumously in

1768, was *Nosologia Methodica sistens Morborum Classes, Genera & Species juxta Sydenhami Mentem & Botanicorum ordinem* (Boissier de Sauvages de la Croix 1768). It was the product of a continuous project, covering the entirety of Sauvages' career, of creating an exhaustive, consistent and hierarchically organized catalogue of all existing diseases on paper. As the title shows, the diseases were grouped into classes, genera and species. All in all, Sauvages described a total of 10 classes, 44 orders, 295 genera and 2.400 species of disease. The increasing prestige and success of Linnaeus' botanical system in the eighteenth century strengthened the appeal of the nosological system. Suddenly, classification was à la mode, and several other attempts at classification of disease appeared during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Rudolf Vogel published his *Nosologia Methodica* in 1764, William Cullen the much more famous and widely read *Synopsis Nosologia* in 1769 (Cullen 1769), the Scot MacBride the *Methodical Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Physic* in 1772 (MacBride 1772), and Johannes Sagar the *Systema morborum Symptomaticum* in Vienna in 1776 (Sagar 1771). In Scandinavia, Frederik Ludvig Bang published his *Praxis Medica* based on nosological principles in 1788 (Bang 1789), and Henrich Callisen published his *Systema Chirurgiae* about the same time (Callisen 1788). The popularity of nosological systems continued until some decades into the nineteenth century (Röschlaub 1801; Pinel 1802; Baumes 1806; Tourtelle 1799; Swediauer 1812; Reil 1816; Kieser 1817; Hildenbrand 1816; Hufeland 1816), and in the case of skin diseases even longer (Alibert 1806–27).

What was this new nosology that Sauvages pioneered in the eighteenth century? Was it a purely scholarly endeavour in its own right, meant to sort and systemize disease? Or did it also aim to have some practical implications? Sauvages himself was very clear that he wanted the nosology to work like a tool for the practising physician. In the prologue or "preliminary discourse" to his final version of the nosology, he criticized medical theory and practice as he saw them unfold, pointing out what he thought was a serious disconnection between these two fields of medicine (Boissier de Sauvages de la Croix 1768). In medical schools, the medical students learned a series of important theories, but these theories had no bearing on their medical practice once they graduated. Instead, they had to learn to be good clinicians by trying and failing in practice. Therefore, according to Sauvages, a connection between theory and practice was necessary. A tool, a bridge, was necessary to help theory be of use to medical practice. In his opinion, nosology could be a bridge between theory and practice and thus be of use to the medical student, the recently graduated and the more experienced practising physician alike. Newly trained physicians in particular needed this. They came out of medical school confronted with the mess of symptoms and diseases, without tools to make sense of them, being unable to transform phe-

nomena into signs that could be interpreted. Sauvages compared nosology to the thread of Ariadne – something to hold on to for the young physician who ventured into the unknown labyrinth of disease in practical medicine.[5] Classification of disease could help them recognize what was similar and discern what was different. Employing another metaphor – that of the compass – Sauvages argued that nosology could help them manoeuvre through "the storm of disease", or the seemingly chaotic landscape of human suffering.[6] Hence, nosology could substitute for experience, and help the physicians give the right advice and the correct treatment even when they were fresh from medical school. For already experienced doctors, nosology could facilitate communication between doctors, since it could help them agree on what kind of phenomena they were discussing (Boissier de Sauvages de la Croix 1768). In this way, the nosology could function both as a diagnostic tool for the inexperienced and as a shared language for the experienced physicians.

Arriving at a Reliable Classification from Confusing Signs

But how to do this in practice, how to turn this "diversity of diseases, the confusion of signs, the novelty of symptoms, or the contradictory views of different authors"[7] into a reliable classification? How should diseases be classified, how to relate diseases to one another in one single system? In the preface to his nosology, Sauvages discussed different ways to proceed when diseases were to be grouped in a system: One could group them according to the alphabet; all diseases starting with an A could be grouped together, all diseases starting with a B could be grouped together, etc. Another principle, which had been used in earlier and less ambitious attempts to systematize knowledge of diseases, was the grouping of diseases according to anatomical principles: all diseases located in the head, in the digestive system, in the lungs, etc. A third and much used idea in medicine was the aetiological principle – grouping diseases according to their presumed causes. But causes, not to speak of relations between causes of disease and symptoms of disease, could not be observed by the senses. To Sauvages, that made them unreliable starting points for classification (Boissier de Sauvages de la Croix 1768). He therefore dismissed all these principles of classification.

Thus rejecting all previously used elements of classification, Sauvages needed to invent a new one. Already in his first book, *Nouvelle Classes de Maladies*, he had argued that only a classification based on what the senses could perceive could be a starting point for reliable knowledge. But what could be known by the senses? In Sauvages' view, the symptoms of disease were the only phenomena a physician could actually know using his senses. The symptom was always given, either for the patient or for the physician, and therefore had to be the key element in the classification.

This emphasis on the outward sign as the basis of classification documents the close relatedness of nosology to other contemporary attempts to synthesize knowledge in the eighteenth century – as in botany, zoology and mineralogy.[8] As is clear from the title of his book, Sauvages followed the challenge by the seventeenth-century physician Thomas Sydenham when he chose the visible symptom of the disease as the basis of his classification. Sydenham had compared diseases to plants, and suggested that diseases should be studied in the same way as in botany – describing them accurately, as a painter would paint his flower in a painting – with all the details in it (King 1966; Berrios 1999).

Sauvages' method did not primarily consist in writing down his own observations of patients in the hospital wards, although he did that too at the beginning of his career.[9] Instead, he gathered material first and foremost in the library, where, with the help of systematic readings of particular observations, he excerpted and commented on observations made by others. Volker Hess and Andrew Mendelssohn (2013, 2014) have studied how Sauvages worked in practice. He collected descriptions from thousands of medical authors from different times and places. However, his descriptions of "historia morborum" or histories of diseases in the published nosology did not merely reproduce the descriptions of all the varieties of the disease in their temporal and spatial appearance that he had thus gathered. Sauvages did not merely accumulate different individual disease histories. Rather, he systematized them: Out of the seeming chaos of different disease phenomena, he created *species* of diseases. He would compare descriptions of different varieties of an apparently similar disease, and remove those characters that seemed to be accidental and did not reoccur in other descriptions. From a series of different descriptions of disease phenomena, he extracted only those symptoms that remained constant and did not depend on individual variation (King 1966; Hess & Mendelsohn 2014). The latter, he would ignore as contingent idiosyncratic phenomena – for example symptoms which accompanied the disease as a result of individual predisposition or local environment. In this way, from the different descriptions, Sauvages extracted only those symptoms that accompanied the disease in *most* of the descriptions he had seen of this disease. What remained out of a series of collected disease descriptions that Sauvages had excerpted were a limited number of disease characters or signs that together constituted the species of disease. In this way, he turned the particulars of case histories into general disease descriptions, species.[10] Andrew Mendelssohn and Volker Hess have argued that the defining and new aspect of this system was a new form of empiricism: a generalization from particulars: the "learned empiricism" of the preceding centuries was developed into a system of generalizations (Hess & Mendelsohn 2014; see also Pomata 2011).

In many ways, this process, of meticulously studying objects or descriptions of new objects and attempting to make new generalizations from empirical particulars is very similar to what was happening elsewhere in natural history in the period (Spary 2000; Müller-Wille 2007; Hodacs & Nyberg 2007). Natural history underwent a major transformation in the eighteenth century and an important natural historian like Carl Linnaeus was a spokesperson of a method that was hostile to any programme of essentialism (Müller-Wille 2011; Müller-Wille 2007). Both Linnaeus and Sauvages regarded their systems as open "research problems" that involved practices of collection, comparison and extraction (Müller-Wille 2011; Hess & Mendelsohn 2014). But whereas the Linnean system was continuously expanding, all the time registering new species as new objects arriving from afar, Sauvages' nosological system kept more or less the same number of disease species even when ever more descriptions were gathered. However, Sauvages' system was not fixed either. New descriptions would be compared to the existing ones and either subsumed under a known species as a variety of that disease, or they could create new categories.

Similarity and Difference

Sauvages did not merely create disease species, however. He is after all famous for having made the first attempt at an exhaustive classification of disease. In the preface, he described the method he had used, namely the "Systematic method". By this conception, Sauvages meant a method that operated by grouping together diseases that resembled each other, and by separating diseases that differed. In this process of comparing, it was the signs of disease that could help the nosologist,[11] and Sauvages remarked that the botanists had given the name of *characters* to such signs. Each position in the system was defined by characteristics it shared with others (generic designation) and by those not shared with others (species designation).

In the library, Sauvages would read case histories and travel reports, and note similarities and differences. In fact, what he did was to renew the method of the note-taking by the humanists: the new goal was not to compile observations, but to order experiences therein. Thus, he did not propose building up the system inductively, from particulars, as Bacon had suggested. Having started with the disease species, Sauvages constructed the classes of disease. After that, he worked back, still based on his notes, to construct the intermediate categories of order and then genus (Hess & Mendelsohn 2014). Crucial to this way of proceeding was resemblance and difference: the species grouped into the same genera shared certain defining characteristics, as the different genera grouped into the same order did. Likewise, the orders grouped into the same class also shared certain signs.[12]

Similarities and differences in this way structured the classification into species, genera, orders and classes. It was a vertical movement: from the composite (species) to the simple (the class) back to different composite levels (orders and genera) and back. But it was also a horizontal movement: differences and similarities on the same level. On the one hand, *similarity* was crucial. All orders in a certain class, order or genera had to *share* some fundamental signs – independent of how many other resemblances that might be. On the other hand, *differences* structured the horizontal division in species within a particular genus, genera within a particular order, and order within a particular class. Differences within a genus could for instance be modifications in location, intensity or duration of the observed symptoms (intermittent or constant). Further, the symptoms could repeat themselves across several genera. Hence, a disease could not be uniformly described without considering the genus it was located within, and a genus could not be uniformly described without considering which order or class it belonged to.

Here is an example from Sauvages' system: the sixth class *Debilitates* was characterized by an inability to have a clear and distinctive sense, appetite, movement of limbs, imagination or vigilance. The first order in this class, *dysæsthesia*, includes the genera *cataracta* (bad vision) and *anæsthesia* (general reduction of sense). The third order, *dyscinesiæ*, was characterized by inability to move and sense in particular organs, including the genera *hemiplegia* (loss of sense and movement in either side of the body) and *mutitas* (inability to speak). What characterized a genus uniquely was what class it belonged to. One symptom, *anæsthesia*, could be both a proper genus and a symptom of several other genera.

What is a Disease?

What is a disease in the nosological systems? Nosology has been considered an important turning point in the history of medicine. The argument has been that it paved the way for modern medicine, because it established the identification of disease as separate entities, as species (Foucault 1973 [1963]; Lopez Pinero 1961; Hess 1993). According to this history, disease after nosology could be treated "ontologically", as disease entities, rather than physiologically – as individual imbalances (Temkin 1977). Hence, nosology was seen as a prerequisite to all the important changes in medicine during the next two centuries; anatomical pathology, bacteriology, physiology, and genetics. However, there is little support for the claim that Sauvages considered diseases as entities with a separate existence. Nowhere does he say that diseases have a separate existence or that he is describing disease entities. As we have seen, Sauvages regarded species as particular constellations of symptoms, arrived at by the comparison of descriptions of

different disease variants and the extractions of characters that were considered accidental. The view that nosology was a project for the future, an ongoing process of gathering information, comparing and extracting, he shared with Carl Linnaeus. As a student he had asked Sauvages for a copy of the *Nouvelles Classes*, and the two men started a lifelong correspondence, influencing each other's work. In his lectures on nosology for the students, Linnaeus would compare the classification of diseases to the ordering of a library: waiting to do so until medicine had more knowledge of diseases was as if a person acquiring a library should give up sorting books until he had collected all the books he wanted.[13] If there is no beginning, there can be no end, he continued, and suggested that one should start by pointing out the obvious similarities/correlations, and thereafter, according to new observations, adjust, improve, and fulfil the system.

As Mendelssohn and Hess have argued, Sauvages redefined "learned" knowledge as generalization from empirical observation. By continuously gathering descriptions and excerpting them, Sauvages was able to refine the descriptions of the disease species. The "historically decisive shift", according to Mendelssohn and Hess, was "the emergent work process of reading and writing by which constructed category and collected object came to determine each other reciprocally. It can thus be said that the species of a disease is no more than the practice of an art of writing – and no less, the product of a *techne*".[14] However, this is true only insofar as the nosology was also meant to have practical implications, as we have seen.

Furthermore, a disease species was defined by its relation to its surroundings; the characteristics it shared with other species within a genera, and the differences demarcating it from species within another genera. Sauvages was interested in the differential relationship between species of disease rather than in their proper nature.[15] Also, the order and even the class defined not only the category below it, but also the fundamental unit in the nosologies, the species. Signs became the tools of analysis, marks of identity and difference, principles whereby things could be reduced to order.

This was a tabular and spatial system, where time did not play an important role. We are so used to thinking of disease as a progression in time, with a beginning, a peak and an end. In these systems of classification, however, the temporal dimension played only a minor role. It could be of use to distinguish manifestations of disease in individual bodies, but time was of no value as a principle of classification.

Classificatory Practice in the Periphery

Disease species in the eighteenth century were constellations between characteristic symptoms, constructed by comparing several existing descriptions, and extracting only the constant and recurring symptoms. Further-

more, these species were also defined in the system as a whole – as genera, orders, and classes. In the last part of this article, I aim to argue that the eighteenth-century systems of classification and its version of disease species not only materialized in books of nosology, but also came to be a way of practising medicine. I will take as my example a disease called the Norwegian *radesyge*. This was a disease arriving in the Norwegian countryside from the 1760s, which was poorly understood and difficult to handle. The knowledge of radesyge is constituted as identity based on identity and difference, and radesyge was located in a table through a system of signs. Thereby, the disease was ordered and managed. Thus, classificatory thought helped to sort the new and seemingly chaotic and unmanageable, distinguishing the accidental from the important and to a large extent – or so is my argument – determined how the disease was handled. With this example I aim to show that classificatory thought was not only a way of constructing disease systems in the library. Classificatory thought was more than a way of thinking; it was also a condition of possibility, a way of knowing and seeing: through classificatory schemes, pathological phenomena in the world were perceived, formed and acted on.

From the 1760s onwards, a series of alarming reports from military conscriptions in southern Norway gave reason for concern. Many young men were refused entry to the military service due to a disease called radesyge (Lie 2008b, 2010, 2007).[16] Since Norway was a part of Denmark at the time, the worried report from this southern district of Norway reached the Collegium Medicum in Copenhagen. They found it necessary to inform the Danish chancellery that radesyge was a dangerous disease, very common and damaging to the people.[17] The head of the diocese, Hans Hagerup, wrote in a letter that "the issue at stake here is nothing less than to protect the subjects of a whole nation from a gradual and total devastation".[18] As the great pox had been three centuries earlier (Arrizabalaga *et al*. 1997), radesyge was a puzzling phenomenon to the medical world. There was no agreement in the medical community as to whether this was a new disease, or whether radesyge, admittedly a local word, created in the countryside in south-western Norway, was a wrong label for an already existing entity in the nosological system. Was it a new disease? Or did the disease only appear new, was it really an old disease which, due to certain external conditions, had changed its outward appearance?

As we see, these are questions requesting a nosological ordering: Where in the nosological tables could radesyge be located? Radesyge was not to be found in the nosological systems; it was a new disease. Medical practitioners were systematically registering symptoms – trying to find a place for the new disease in the nosological system. Some of the doctors in Norway held radesyge to be an entirely new disease; others claimed it was a new combination of old diseases. Some argued it was a kind of venereal disease modi-

fied somewhat by the Norwegian topography with large coastal areas and a cold and humid climate (Deegen 1788), whereas others held radesyge to be a species of land scurvy (Møller 1784; Arbo 1792). As for the dissemination of the disease, some argued the disease spread only by contagion, others that dietetic conditions were more important (Lie 2008b). There was hardly any agreement at all regarding the nature of the disease, commented the bishop of southern Norway, Hans Hagerup.[19] To conclude, radesyge had not yet become an object of medical knowledge, it was still instable, contested, and nevertheless dreaded by patients and authorities alike.

In the following decades, twelve hospitals would be opened, and requests for information would be sent from the capital to the countryside. Also, twelve patients would be sent to Copenhagen in order to be examined so that the authorities could have a chance to observe it themselves (Lie 2008b). But in the following I would like to focus on the published works on this enigma of a new disease. Several books on the subject, the radesyge literature, Norway's first medical works in the vernacular were published during the last decades of the eighteenth century, many of them after a prize launched by the Danish King for those who could enlighten the public and the physicians about the disease. Radesyge also became the topic of several doctoral dissertations, including the first dissertation to be defended at the newly founded (1811) university in Norway in 1817 (Holst 1817).

Classificatory Practice in the "Radesyge Literature"

The radesyge literature has been judged as a typical example of eighteenth-century chaotic thought, prone to "mystical ideas" and "phantasies" at the expense of empirical observations. However, my argument in what follows is that what to us appears as shallow ideas and creative combinations of disease categories actually are nosological practices – and it certainly makes sense in the light of the contemporary classificatory thinking. In what follows, I will try to show how nosological thinking profoundly infused even this marginal literature, published for use in rural Norway.

Let us start with the book on radesyge written by the physician Christoph Elovius Mangor and published in 1793 (Mangor 1793). Mangor had his medical degree from 1764, and that very same year he acquired the post as physician at the newly established (and first) hospital for radesyge in Kristiansand. He stayed there until the hospital was closed again, for unknown reasons, the year after, when he returned to Denmark. After having worked as a physician in the countryside for some years, he got the important post of city physician (*statsfysicus*) in Copenhagen in 1783. The same year, he also became a member of the Collegium Medicum, the administrative board in health affairs in Copenhagen.[20]

In his book on information on the signs, causes and treatment of radesyge, C. E. Mangor describes radesyge as going through four "main changes" or phases, as he calls them. These four main changes are the cold, scurvy, "what is normally called radesyge", and leprosy. Mangor's universe of disease is certainly strange and has been perceived by posterity as dim, speculative and irrational (Boeck 1852; Danbolt 1952; Borge 1905; Danielsen & Bjorvatn 2003; Strandjord 2000). However, if we read his text on the background of contemporary nosological thinking it appears more comprehensible. One of the arguments that has been most devalued by posterity is that Mangor argued that leprosy was the last stage of radesyge, at the same time as he maintained that radesyge was a proper disease. However, Mangor did not operate with a chronological time frame where the cold (first phase) after a certain time gave way to scurvy, which again after a certain amount of time became radesyge and then leprosy. Rather, I would argue that the different time periods made up a kind of ideal form or scheme, according to which the disease could take different forms. The temporality here is an ideal time – not a time unfolding in the messy practice, in the body. Mangor was thinking primarily in spatial categories, hierarchies, and not in temporal principles of division. Thus, radesyge cannot be understood as an initial stage of leprosy. Rather, radesyge as it appears in Mangor's book is a more general category of leprosy. Let us imagine that radesyge is an order which contains the genera cold, scurvy, leprosy and "what is usually called radesyge" (meaning what people usually associate with the word radesyge). Portrayed in a table it would look something like this:

Radesyge			
Cold	Scurvy	"Radesyge"	Leprosy

To see whether this makes sense, we could look into how the classical nosologists classified scurvy and leprosy. In Sauvages' nosological system a class (the Xth) is called *cachexiae*, where changes in colour are an essential factor. Within the fifth order, *impetigines*, we find the genera leprosy (*elephantiasis graecorum*) and scurvy. Changes in skin colour, not the cause of the disease, establish that the diseases can be located in the same group: Yet another example of the prominence of symptoms at the expense of causes in the classification of disease. To take an example from another nosology, William Cullen's, the class *cachexiae* contained an order called *impetigines* (Cullen 1769). The defining characteristic of this order was "a depraved habit, with affections of the skin"; a general suffering, manifested with skin changes. In this order we find venereal disease, scurvy, leprosy and jaundice. In my opinion, Mangor was making the same operation as the nosologists: He was distilling some characteristic signs or symptoms, including change of colour of the skin, and postulated that radesyge was a general category with the subcategories common cold, scurvy, radesyge and leprosy.

Mangor continued discussing the difference between symptoms caused by the disease and symptoms due to accidental variations, just as we saw Sauvages distinguishing the characteristic signs of a disease. He referred the opposition to his view of this disease from many authors. They had argued that radesyge and leprosy were two distinct diseases, "because radesyge does not resemble the description of leprosy given in the Bible and some of the oldest medical books". However, in Mangor's opinion the two diseases of leprosy and radesyge were nevertheless related (Mangor 1793). His explanation for this was that diseases, like humans, have different appearances depending on where they geographically reside: "not even humans are similar throughout the world, even though they are of one genus – how could you expect leprosy, so much occasioned by the climate and the way of living that comes with it, to be similar at all places?" (Mangor 1793). The variations caused by geographical conditions have their parallel in local differences in the individual, even within one and the same geographical area.

> Even though the disease in reality is the same, and in everyone proceeds towards a goal, it does not appear identical in this third period with everybody, if you do not look at it closely. You could therefore come to believe that a person who had these spots does not have the same disease as those who have nodes, the itch or ringworms. However, this difference in the outward appearance is only caused by differences due to the temperament, age and more or less improper mode of liv.[21]

Here it becomes clear what kind of status Mangor was giving his own categorization of the disease in phases or time spans. First; the role of time: That a disease "proceeds towards a goal" does not mean that the development of time is an identifying characteristic of the disease. Rather, it becomes clear in the next sentences that the time in question here is an ideal, schematized time. This, again, was a crucial element of the nosological scheme of things: The temporal dimension was not related to chronological time as it unfolded in an individual, concrete body. Rather, it must be understood in the light of an ideal scheme of development for disease, analogous to the idea of a plant's growth in the botanical taxonomies. The disease, like the plant, was seeding, growing and dying. Secondly, the relation of time to the body: this quotation shows that Mangor perceived the disease as something independent of and external to the sick body, modulated by the circumstances. Ideally, the disease was the same everywhere, and was moving towards a goal, as the plant grew and died. The reason why the disease did not appear in the same way in every patient was the interference of accidental factors, such as the patients' way of living, their temperament and age. How are we to understand the opposition to this changeable exterior ("udvortes"), namely, the real or interior nature ("innvortes Skikkelse") of disease? Mangor was not talking about the interior of the human body. The opposition of the accidental appearance of a disease in a person was the general, unchanging and con-

stant nature of the disease – a disease state which was independent of such outward contingent phenomena.

Another example of how profoundly the nosological way of structuring medical ideas was followed in books meant for a readership in the periphery can be found in the first publication on the subject of radesyge, namely Johannes Møller's book. Møller had moved to the town of Skien in 1771, shortly after he had defended his dissertation in medicine in Copenhagen. In his new town, he was considered the "uttermost representative of Enlightenment in town" (Tønnessen 1956). He was physician of the County of Bratsberg and took the initiative to establish a hospital for patients suffering from radesyge in that county. Beyond radesyge, Møller would engage in topics as diverse as livestock feeding in times of food scarcity and a plan to found Norway's first university. He was also one of the creators of the Norwegian Topographic Society, and was a co-editor of the *Norwegian Topographical Journal*. Møller started writing the book on radesyge at the request of the Norwegian Royal Society. He called his book on radesyge *the Norwegian scurvy* (Møller 1784). Throughout the book, he would discuss which key symptoms would work as signs, demarcating radesyge from some diseases and identifying it with others. He would describe all the symptoms he and others had seen of this disease, trying to condense the different symptoms they had observed in all the cases into a few common characters which could be regarded as signs of the disease. He concluded that radesyge had to be identified with one particular species, namely land scurvy, or "lepra scorbutica". Land scurvy was an entry in the European nosologies at the time, which was different from sea scurvy in that it did not occur in relation to deprivation of certain foods and that it was related to climate and surroundings. In this way, Møller did not recognize radesyge as a new species, but claimed it represented variations of the well-known disease species land scurvy. He emphasized that this identification was not the result of desk research, but was grounded in experience, based as it was on his encounters with real patients: the symptoms "can be seen on a daily basis by those who practice medicine in Norway… Often, they proceed so substantially that they deserve the name of disease. Therefore, there are a few diseases, of which there is a species which is caused by Scurvy, and that we can often find in physicians'"

Møller defined scorbutic diseases as those caused by scurvy, but scorbutic disease species could be found at many places in the nosological table since the symptoms, and not the cause, defined the location in the nosological table. On the other hand, Møller emphasized that common symptoms in radesyge or lepra scorbutica, like dropsy and gout, constituted symptoms also in other disease species, and therefore did not always have to be caused by scurvy. On the other hand, symptoms such as dropsy and gout, which according to Møller were frequent signs of scurvy, were also

common symptoms in other diseases. Møller concluded that if the physician was in doubt whether a disease was scurvy or not, other symptoms of scurvy had to be registered. (Møller 1784). Hence, to Møller it was the cause of the disease that could help in identifying the disease properly, but it was not the cause that defined its place in the nosological table. In spite of the fact that Møller thought that many of the symptoms traditionally associated with scurvy were lacking in this disease, that others had called radesyge but which he chose to call "the Norwegian scurvy", or "lepra scorbutica", this designation was the closest he came and the premise for the book he wrote.

Frederik Holst: Leprosy and Radesyge

Three decades later, Frederik Holst, as the first person to do so at the newly opened University of Christiania (now Oslo), defended his thesis. The subject matter was radesyge, a disease which at that time was still haunting Norway. One the one hand, this is a classical nosological project: Holst's primary concern was to give radesyge a proper place in the nosological scheme of medical thinking – his aim was to show what genus of disease it belonged to (Holst 1817; Holst & Lie 2005). Like Sauvages, he had an explicit programme in doing so – by delineating the symptoms of disease, and choosing the constant symptoms in order to determine the constant characters or signs. Holst was critical of the earlier literature on radesyge, and particularly of those authors who had tried to determine radesyge in relation to chemical theory. In Holst's opinion, they were bound to fail, since they had described the different forms of disease in relation to "mutable contradictory principles". Holst, for his part, thought that only one principle could be the basis of one disease species, and that this principle determined the "different species of disease and its power of life". However, given that this principle was hard to determine, it was to be preferred "to distinguish our disease into certain genera in accordance with symptoms that can be perceived". More specifically, he argued that most importantly, one had to arrive at the most prominent signs of the disease", or rather, "the signs of the genera of disease" (Holst 1817; Holst & Lie 2005). To Holst, the most characteristic symptom of the radesyge, and what distinguished it from other disease genera, was the scales. The scales were not the only signs of this disease, but scaling was the most essential sign.

In this text, the notion of temporality had changed. In classical nosology, time, as we have seen, constituted an ideal scheme of reference, it did not define the disease as it unfolded in the body. Now, however, Holst emphasized that time could contribute to the determination of the character of disease. According to Holst, the disease had to be classified according to how it first made its appearance. Radesyge was uniquely characterized by beginning in a certain way: "*first* the fever, *then* a particular exanthema and small

nodules, and *only then* the destruction of the skeleton". The destruction of the skeleton, according to Holst, signalled the bodily state of *cachexia*. Words like *first*, *then* and *only then* shows that time had been a crucial dimension of classification. It was the chronological sequence which determined whether the disease was radesyge or not. If for example the destruction of the skeleton came before fever or the rash, it could not be considered to be proper to the disease species radesyge. Temporality had become a crucial and independent dimension of classification.

Where did Holst locate radesyge in his nosological system? First of all, he discarded the old name of radesyge, and proposed calling the disease *lepra*. As I have mentioned, the symptom he attached most importance to in his classification was the scales on the skin. These scales could appear in two ways, according to Holst: either alone, the scaly form (*squamosa*), or scales combined with nodes, the tubercular form (*tuberosa*). In this way, he distinguished two forms of lepra: *lepra squamosa* and *lepra tuberosa*. In order to understand this distinction and why he used the word lepra for radesyge, a brief terminological history is necessary.

Lepra in the Hippocratic texts denoted a common rash, and scaly forms of different unspecified skin diseases. Pliny and Galen, however, had described another disease that was chronic and mutilating, with nodes in the face. They called this disease *elephantiasis*, a word that was kept in later Latin translations. However, in the late Middle Ages, the word *lepra* came to be used for the disease that the Greeks had called *elephantiasis.* The reason was problems with translation in the transition from Arabic to Greek. The Greek medical treatises had to a large extent been lost in Europe during the Middle Ages, and like most other antique texts they came back to Europe via a translation to Latin from the Arabic. In the Arabic, the Greek word *elephantiasis* had been called *juzam* or *ludam* (Danielssen & Boeck 1847). When the Greek texts were translated from Arabic to Latin in the ninth century a mistake was committed: Instead of using the word *elephantiasis* for the word *juzam*, the translators used the word *lepra*. *Elephantiasis*, however, was used to denote what the Arabs had called *dal-Fil* or elephant foot. When the original Greek texts were rediscovered and translated directly to Latin, the failure was discovered, and correction attempted by adding the origin of the word: *Elephantiasis Graecorum* was used for the mutilating disease originally described by Galen and Pliny; *Elephantiasis Arabum* was used for a local condition, the elephant foot described by the Arab authors; *Lepra Graecorum* for the unspecific rash (the original Greek *lepra*) and *Lepra Arabum* as a synonym for *Elephantiasis Graecorum*. In the Latin language, therefore, two terms described the same disease: *Elephantiasis Graecorum* and *Lepra Arabum*. The word *lepra* was used for two very different conditions: *Lepra Graecorum*, to denote scaly skin conditions and *Lepra Arabum* for the mutilating disease later known as leprosy.

The coupling of the words *lepra* and *elephantiasis* had grave consequences for the patients with leprosy, since the biblical passage imparted a moral taint to leprosy. In the first Greek translation of the Bible, the Septuagint (300 BC), the original word *zara'aath* was translated with the word *lepra*. In Leviticus Book 13, *zara'aath* had been identified as a contagious disease calling for measures such as isolation of its victims and a requirement to live outside of the community. The word *zara'aath* seemed to denote a an unspecific rash, and was therefore semantically not far from the Greek word *lepra* at the time the Septuagint was produced. When the Bible was translated into Latin, as in the Vulgate from AD 405, the word *lepra* was kept unchanged. Identifying *lepra* with the mutilating disease which the Greeks had called *elephantiasis* was consequently not only a problem of translation. It also implied that the victims of this mutilating disease were associated with the biblical version of *zara'aath* and the exclusionary measures suggested against it there. Thus, the disease acquired strong religious associations. The lepers were regarded as both chosen by and simultaneously rejected by God. Therefore, they were not completely excluded, but placed outside of the community as living dead. In many places symbolic ceremonial funerals were held for people with leprosy when they moved out of their community to be placed in the leprosaria (Fossen 1979; Porter 1999). Many of the diseased had to carry stigmata, such as a bell or a yellow cross, to warn healthy people to keep out of their path.

What happened to the word *lepra* before Holst's time? Sauvages had distinguished between *lepra* and *elephantiasis* – associating *lepra* with callous tubercles and scales, itchiness and a diffuse affection of the skin. *Elephantiasis*, however, according to Sauvages, was associated with a deformed face, with anaesthesia in the extremities as well as callous nodes. Hence, Sauvages was using the Greek words more or less by their original Greek sense. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Robert Willan, by many considered the founder of modern dermatology, classified the diseases of the skin in seven different orders due to morphological characteristics. The second order in his system was *squamae* or scales, and here *lepra* was the first genus listed. Willan explicitly emphasized that this was the leprosy of the Greeks, and he also referred to the failure to use the word *lepra* for what he held to be a totally different disease, namely the *Lepra Arabum*. This disease he would locate among the tubercular diseases, in the sixth order (*tubercula*), and call it by the original Greek name, *elephantiasis.* Thus, in Willan's system, they were established as two distinct diseases in two very different orders. Holst, however, although referring to Willan, disagrees with him in separating elephantias and leprosy. Holst instead identified *Lepra Arabum* and *Lepra Graecorum* as two different genera under the same main order; *Lepra,* which for him was a synonym of radesyge.

I hope it has become clear what these examples show: that it is the characterization of disease species as we saw it develop in the nosologies which was at play here in these many different medical publications trying to make sense of a local and poorly understood affliction in the Norwegian countryside. The medical descriptions of this new disease, so horrifying to patients and the governing bodies alike, was governed by a method of analysis, using signs to mark identity and difference.

Conclusion

We are still impregnated with classificatory thinking – and are surrounded by classifications in our everyday lives (Bowker & Star 1999). However, the peculiar characteristic of the eighteenth-century classificatory systems – the classification based on visible symptoms and the challenges it gave for the system, was abandoned in the nineteenth century. With Philippe Pinel and the rise of pathological anatomy, that is, the identification of a disease with its location in the dead body at the start of the nineteenth century, the nosological tradition came to an end. To Pinel, a valid classification should be based not only on symptoms but also on the site of disease in the body. The result was a system greatly simplified by comparison with earlier nosologies. It included 5 classes, 80 genera, and fewer than 200 species of disease – compared to Sauvages' 2,500 species. As Pinel's *Nosography* went through successive editions, the classificatory scheme itself became less and less prominent. With the last edition of 1818, the nosological system was barely visible.

With the arrival of clinical medicine (Foucault 1973; Duffin 1998; Ackerknecht 1967), with its new and crowded hospitals, its emphasis on clinical experience at the bedside, on identification of autopsy findings with the disease as it had unfolded in the living body, the very being of disease changed. Disease was no longer a state dependent on the individual constitution in the body; it became universal – in principle the same, everywhere, anytime. From now on, disease in principle became identical in all affected bodies, and could be and was compared from person to person. Later in the century, disease would also be counted at various sites, and measured in the laboratory in various ways.

Making disease universal also enabled comparisons of the disease called the Norwegian radesyge with other diseases in other places. The epithet "Norwegian" was used until 1814, when Norway, as a result of the Napoleonic Wars, separated from Denmark and entered a Swedish–Norwegian union under the Swedish crown. In the first dissertation defended at Norway's new university, Holst's dissertation referred to earlier in this article, radesyge also became a Swedish disease (Holst 1817). In the course of the nineteenth century, however, radesyge gradually became associated with

other previously unrelated diseases. They all had in common that they had been diseases connected to their local environments, such as climate and eating habits: the Dithmarschen disease in southern Germany, the Jutland syphiloid in northern Denmark, Skerljevo in Slovenia and the sibbens in Scotland – all became related to the Norwegian radesyge in the nineteenth century (Reinarz & Siena 2013; Lie 2013). All of them had been diseases with skin manifestations, but firmly rooted in their local environments. Now, however, the skin had become a new organ, characterized by different layers of tissue. Skin diseases now were described not on the basis of a series of symptoms, but on the basis of different skin manifestations. Their description in the new vocabulary of dermatology caused them to disappear as separate entities. When the age of nosology was ending, in the second decade of the nineteenth century, these diseases of local origin were also disappearing along with the nosologies. The diseases were redefined as diseases characterized by pathological-anatomical changes in bodies that were no longer essentially individual, but had become universal – in principle the same in all human beings.

It has been suggested that medical classifications are perhaps best considered as a "museum of past and present concepts of the nature of disease" (Blaxter 1978). The classification systems used by medicine today are shaped by their historical trajectories, both in their approaches and in their content. They are anchored in concrete historical practices, and such practices have shaped and been shaped by the different ways of ordering disease in the world (Aronowitz 2008). The eighteenth century had a very different way of perceiving and ordering disease than what we have. It is as a rule much more difficult to recognize our own patterns of behaviour than those of others. But medical practitioners still today have to distinguish and sort, regard things as similar to or different from one another – if they are to diagnose disease and approach suffering. If we try to understand that classification is an organization of medical practice which does not accidentally happen to medicine, but that it actually becomes this organization, it helps us understand that medicine is active in creating our world.

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[2] Classification systems within psychiatry are particularly controversial, with the debates surrounding the latest version of the DSM, or the Diagnostic Statistical Manual (Gaines 1992; Grob 1991; Loranger 1990; Mayes & Horwitz 2005; Sharma 1970; Berrios 1999).

[3] Spary 2000; Müller-Wille 2003, 2007; Müller-Wille & Charmantier 2011; Hess & Mendelsohn 2014; Mendelsohn 2010; Pomata 2011.

[4] For a discussion of the different versions of the nosologies and their relation to Sauvages' classificatory project, see Hess & Mendelsohn 2014. The first version of this system was published by Boissier de la Croix de Sauvages in 1731 (see References for full title). A revised,

Latin version was published eight years later in 1739. In this version, and in the next edition (1752), the classification was broken off at the level of genera, no species were listed. The species did not reappear until the fourth version, published in 1759. A further revision in French, including the word *nosologie* in the title, came out in 1762. The work was published in Latin in 1763, developed in its full form in 1768.

[5] Or, as Sauvages himself puts it: "quod tamen mentem meam hoc onere non penitus liberavit, unde sedulus semper ariadneum quoddam inquisivi filum , cujus ope ab illo praxeos labyrintho me possem extricare" from Boissier de Sauvages de la Croix 1768.

[6] "quæ náutica supplebit acus quod in morborum procellis ex luce deficit," ibid.

[7] "morborum diversitas, vel signorum confusio, vel nova symptomatum faciès, vel Auctorum dissensio", ibid.

[8] Sauvages published the *Nouvelles Classes* in 1731, when Carl Linnaeus was still a student. The two men continued to correspond for the rest of their lives and became friends. Linnaeus even named a new plant species after Sauvages. Carl Linnaeus would also emphasize the importance of visual characters, not only for flowers, but also in the case of disease. When Linnaeus became professor of medicine at Uppsala, he lectured on the basis of Sauvages' nosological system (Berg 1957). After Linnaeus had become world-famous with his systems of natural history and botany, *Systema Natura* and *Systema plantarum*, he published his own nosological work*, genera morborum* in 1757. From his lecture notes, taken by one of his students, we know that he too distinguished between internal and external signs, emphasizing the relevance of the latter to the physician: "all diseases have two kinds of signs: phanomena seu vitia interna, or symptomata seu vitia externa. The physician should use the latter to recognize a disease, and not the former – since it is impossible to describe phenomena which can not be perceived by the senses." Quoted from Clemedson 1978. The relationship between Sauvages and Linnaeus, and their classificatory projects, has yet to be studied in detail. For classificatory practices in mineralogy, see Werner 1774.

[9] Volker Hess and Andrew Mendelssohn (2014) have argued that he used the old humanist method of loci communes in his note-taking in the hospital wards.

[10] Ibid. Hess and Mendelssohn argue that Sauvages is drawing only on the learned method of the botanists, that what he refers to is the method of nesting categories (species, genera, orders and classes) and logical structure, and that the new form of empiricism they argue for more signals a renewal of the genre of the historia than the use of botany as a model (which, according to them, is essentialist). However, historians of natural history have shown during the latest decade that Linnaeus' procedure was far from essentialist, and that on the contrary he worked descriptively by comparing concrete specimens or descriptions of them, and isolating important characteristics (Müller-Wille 2007, 2003; Müller-Wille & Charmantier 2011; Spary 2000; Sörlin 2000). Sauvages in his preface (1768) also refers to the fact that the botanists call their "signs" *characters*.

[11] Semiology, or the knowledge of signs, was an important part of eighteenth-century medicine, but has often been given little attention in the historiography. But see Hess 1998; Lie 2008a; Stein 2003).

[12] This way of proceeding was a method it shared with natural history, and an aspect common to all nosologies in the eighteenth century. See for instance this description: "diese Eintheilung und Unterabtheilung gründet sich auf die größere oder geringere Aehnlichkeit der erforderlichen Kennzeichen. Die Aehnlichkeit vieler Kennzeichen von verschiedenen Kranken hergenommen, machen die Spezies der Krankheit, so machen die Übereinstimmungen der Zeichen mehrerer Spezies die Gattungen" (Bang & Heinze 1791).

[13] "as if the person acquiring a complete library should leave his books in an unorganized pile, until he became the owner of all the books he desired." ("som om den som ville förvärva sig ett fullständigt bibliotek läte sine böcker ligga i en oordnad hög, ända tills han blivit ägare till alla [önskade böcker"] Linnaeus quoted from Berg 1957).

[14] Hess & Mendelsohn 2013.

[15] Staffan Müller-Wille (2007) has argued that this was the case also for Linnaeus.
[16] For a discussion of the coming into being of the Norwegian radesyge, see Lie 2008a. See also Lie 2007, 2013.
[17] Collegium Medicum to the chancellery, 17 September 1772, The Norwegian National Archive, Cabinet No. 9 ('*Radesykeskapet*'), Package 165 A-C (hereafter NA).
[18] Hans Hagerup in a letter to the King 23 December 1774, NA.
[19] Hans Hagerup in letter to the viceroy 24 May 1771. NA.
[20] *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*: http://denstoredanske.dk/Dansk_Biografisk_Leksikon/Sundhed/L%C3%A6ge/C.E._Mangor (20.5.2016). "[D]ette maa nøye merkes, at endskiønt Sygen i Grunden er den samme, og gaaer frem hos alle til eet Maal, saa lader den dog i dette tredie Tiidsrum ei ganske eens hos alle, naar man løselig betragter den. Saaledes kunde man troe, at en, som havde disse Pletter, har ei samme Sygdom, som de, der have Knuder, Fnat eller Ringorme; men denne Forskiel i den udvortes Skikkelse kommer aleene af den Forskiel, som kan være i den syges Temperament, Alder og meer eller mindre urigtige Levemaade" (Mangor 1793). "De 'gaae ofte så vidt, at de fortiene Navn af Sygdomme. Saa at der findes faa slags Sygdomme, hvoriblant det jo er en Art, som foraarsages af Skiørbug; hvilket og i Lægernes Skrifter flittig iagttages" (Møller 1784). In the modern English translation, the passage reads like this: "Anyone with such a defiling disease must wear torn clothes, let their hair be unkempt, cover the lower part of their face and cry out, 'Unclean! Unclean!' As long as they have the disease they remain unclean. They must live alone; they must live outside the camp." (Leviticus 13, 45–46) (Bateman 1819).

Public and Population in S.A.D. Tissot's Books of Medical Advice (1761–1770)

Anne Eriksen

The Swiss physician Samuel André David Tissot published his *Avis au peuple sur sa santé* in 1761. The book was a huge success and soon had an extremely wide distribution. It became an international bestseller in a few years, appearing in numerous editions in France and Switzerland, as well as in German and English translations. The first Scandinavian editions were issued in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1764 and 1768, while a Danish translation was published in Copenhagen in 1770. Other languages followed, and altogether the book saw translations into as many as sixteen different languages (Emch-Dériaz 1992a:327ff). The wide distribution indicates a strong demand for a book of this kind: publicly available information on health and medicine.

The book made health an issue of public concern in more ways than one. Texts of this kind helped to shape and distribute understandings of health and disease. Equally important is the fact that, by their very nature, they also contributed to the formation of a public sphere, introducing questions about health and disease among the issues of public concern. This aspect of the public character of Tissot's work, which so far has attracted little attention, will serve as the starting point here. The article will investigate how Tissot addressed his public as well as how ideas of a population found expression in his work. The argument will be that even if new and modern ideas about public health are discernible in Tissot's work, his books also reflect a more traditional order of society.

Against the background of his immense success, Tissot has been proclaimed a true "Enlightenment Physician" and seen as a herald of modern health information. In her biography Antoinette Emch-Dériaz presents Tissot as "a main actor in the renewal of medical thought during the closing decades of the Ancien Régime. In his published works, he contributed distinctively to the rethinking of medicine attendant upon social and economic changes and enlightened thoughts". She claims that his work "gradually led him toward a social conceptualization of health and medicine"

(Emch-Dériaz 1992a:3; see also Vila 1998). While it is easy to agree that Tissot gained considerable influence, not least due to his work as a popularizer, his position as a medical figure ahead of his time is a less simple issue. The new medical history from the 1980s has done much to criticize this type of hunt for precursors and antecedents, as well as its corollary, the grand narratives of progress. Joining forces with the modern history of science, and adopting an approach of social constructivism, influential scholars like Charles E. Rosenberg, Roy Porter, and Ludmilla Jordanova have argued that the history of medicine in any period, or of any single disease, must be studied in its local and social context rather than seen as parts of a teleological development towards modern medical knowledge. Judging the medical knowledge of former periods from the perspective of more recent times may support an optimistic interpretation of medical progress, but it gives a poor understanding of ideas, knowledge and ways of thinking in the past (Porter 1985; Rosenberg 1992; Jordanova 1995). This will also be the perspective of the present article. It will seek to discuss some of Tissot's popular books as expressions of their own time, rather than as pointing ahead of it. Enlightenment ideas and concepts can easily be found in these texts, but they also abound with elements that clearly refer to an older and more traditional order, socially as well as medically.

Roy Porter has argued that popularization of medical knowledge during the seventeenth century took place precisely because no "publicly organized and publicly funded health care institutions" were established. Had they existed, this kind of literature would have been superfluous. Even for the subsequent eighteenth century it can be worth noting Porter's observation that popular medical writing was published in societies "capable of supporting quite elaborate schemes of health provision and expertise among the elite but unable or unprepared to extend such facilities right down the social scale" (Porter 1992:3). This perspective makes books of popular medical information, like the works of Tissot, rather ambiguous as signs of modernity and progress. They can equally well be seen as expressions of what Hélène Merlin-Kajman (1994) has called "reintegration of the corpus mysticum". Traditional ideas of society as an organic whole, motivated by religious principles and modelled on the body of the Church, were still fundamental in the eighteenth century, even though they also were challenged by radical thought and reformulated in Enlightenment parlance.

Rather than seeking to measure the degree of modernity or Enlightenment in Tissot's work, the following investigation will underscore that his books not only speak about diseases and ailing bodies, but also about the relations between bodies, the diseases that strike them and the society they make up. The article will explore Tissot's popular books to investigate how notions of medicine and health, the public and the population intersected on a field of discourse where issues of health met those of the social and public.

Population and the Public

Michel Foucault has argued that the notion of "population" has changed historically. Even if the term was used in medieval and early modern times, this was mainly for describing the sovereign's territory and power, Foucault has pointed out. With mercantilism the population came to be conceptualized as the state's source of wealth and productivity. However, the population could only fulfil this role if it was properly governed, requiring "an apparatus that will ensure that the population, which is seen as the source and the root, as it were, of the state's power and wealth, will work properly, in the right place, and on the right objects. In other words, mercantilism was concerned with the population as a productive force, in the strict sense of the term" (Foucault 2009:69). At the same time, the population was understood "in terms of the axis of sovereign and subjects", that is, as a collection of subjects who had to obey the sovereign through a number of regulations, laws, edicts (Foucault 2009:70). According to Foucault, this was what changed with eighteenth-century physiocratic thought: The population was still seen as a source of wealth, but came to be understood as "a set of processes to be managed on the basis and on the level of what is natural in these processes" (Foucault 2009:70). For this reason, the population came to appear as a kind of natural being whose exact character depended on a whole series of variables, such as climate, social and material context, custom, morals and religion. This also meant that the population no longer could be "transparent to the sovereign's action, and that the relation between the population and the sovereign cannot simply be one of obedience or refusal of obedience, of obedience and revolt" (Foucault 2009:71). During the eighteenth century new technologies of government appeared that were not getting subjects to obey the sovereign's will in the traditional, direct way, but "having a hold on things that seem far removed from the population, but which, through calculation, analysis, and reflection, one knows can really have an effect on it" (Foucault 2009:72).

In this way the new ideas about populations were intrinsically related to another central issue of eighteenth-century social and political thinking: that of quantification. Questions of population, understood in quantitative terms, became central to a large number of debates, concerning not merely economy and resources, but also a wide range of seemingly disparate issues such as slavery, climate, technological innovations, and primogeniture (Rusnock 1999). Andrea Rusnock has argued that the profound changes caused by capitalism and population growth were not what created the need for counting and the notion of quantifiable populations, but rather that "the modern concept of population and its measurement were mutually constitutive" (Rusnock 2002:4). Her own investigation of health and population in eighteenth-century England, with smallpox inoculation as the main case, elucidates this entangled relationship between quantification, health issues and

the idea of populations (Rusnock 2002). The new understanding of the population as a resource to be administered was closely linked to an interest in its state of health. At the same time, the quantitative approaches made it possible to think of such health issues in new terms.

When it comes to an understanding of "public health", the notion of a population must also be related to that of a public. And as the population issues emerged with the quantifying spirit of the Enlightenment, the question of a public sphere, as well as of the nature and significance of "public opinion", was also much debated by eighteenth-century intellectuals. Named a tribunal of reason and justice, as well as an authority independent of all powers, whose verdict it was impossible to escape, public opinion was held to be the very hallmark of an enlightened age (Chartier 1995:10ff). It is however important to note that "the public" whose opinion was argued to work in such ways was very far from identical with "the population". The public, as it was conceptualized by eighteenth-century intellectuals, was a minority and an elite, a small group of men of letters who took part in philosophical and political debates and circulated their arguments in print. Roger Chartier has pointed out how the "public" and the "popular" were considered to be "an irreconcilable dichotomy" in the period, and how later historians correspondingly have asserted that "the public was not a people" in revolutionary France (Chartier 1991:27).

Chartier himself also underscores that the new public sphere that emerged during the late eighteenth century was sociologically "distinct from the court, which belonged within the domain of public power [i.e. the absolute state], and distinct from the people, who had no access to critical debate. This is why this sphere could be qualified as 'bourgeois'" (Chartier 1991: 20). The modern debate on the bourgeois public sphere goes back to Habermas's influential thesis *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962) and his explorations of its emergence as a "sphere of private persons come together as a public" (Habermas 1989:27). The structural transformations discussed by Habermas, and the new kind of civil society they contributed to, are important for an understanding of eighteenth-century discourse on health and health care. However, the points made by Chartier must also be taken into consideration: On the one hand, the ideas that the inhabitants of a realm might be quantitatively approached and discussed as a population coincided historically with a new interest in the public as a political and critical "tribunal" apart from the state. On the other hand, the "population" and the "public" were not identical, neither in size and composition, nor in social role and function. Public health – understood as the idea that health may be public and the public healthy – touches upon notions of a population as well as of a public. Public health initiatives tended to be quantitative in their approaches, thus related to the emerging ideas about a population. At the same time, an important aspect of public health was the public discourse

on health issues, and an understanding that such issues carried relevance in the new public sphere. This difference between the popular and the public is a significant point to consider in the exploration of late eighteenth-century texts about "public health".

A vast amount of scholarly works have been produced debating Habermas's model and arguments. The emergence, structure and significance of a modern – or "real" – public sphere have been the main issues in the debate. Far less attention has been paid to the public sphere in the period before the structural changes described by the model. Habermas himself gave this early modern formation the name of a *representative* public sphere, but said relatively little about it. Among those who have investigated this concept more systematically is the intellectual historian Hélène Merlin-Kajman. She argues that the reason for the relative lack of opposition to the crown during the period of absolute rule in France was that the King and his subjects were conceived as ontologically related. The fundament for this view was the notion of the *corpus mysticum* composed of the King (the head) and the three orders of the people (its members). This is emblematically expressed in the work of Coquille who says that "Because the King is the head, and the people of the three orders are the members and all together they form the political and mystical body whose link is indivisible and inseparable and cannot suffer in one part without the rest of the body suffering as well" (in Merlin-Kajman 1994:128). What is harmful to the people, according to this way of thinking, is equally harmful to the state, because the state's welfare is identical to the "public good". This notion refers to more than the sum of individual interests. The public as an organic whole cannot be reduced to its parts because it is a "surplus" that makes it into an organism. God is the name of this surplus and it is this surplus that makes the corpus mystic (Merlin-Kajman 1994).

This idea corresponds well with Foucault's description (above) of early modern society as the relation between the king and his subjects in "an axis of sovereign and subjects", and with the king's subjects as an extension of his body. Merlin-Kajman's argument provides the traditional social hierarchies with fundamental religious significance that stems from the fact that all other relations were based on the relationship to God. In this context the "public" does not allude to secular society, but to a model, to the *idea* of human community, to humanity as it was created in the image of God, she claims (Merlin-Kajman 1994).

Tissot's works can be seen as standing at a point of intersection. They represent a meeting between the notion of a population as a measurable resource and that of the public as a critical tribunal. They elucidate the ways these concepts were given new meaning and entered into new relations in the eighteenth century, while at the same time carrying with them some of their former implications.

Tissot and His Work

Following the success of the *Avis au peuple sur sa santé* from 1761, Tissot published two other books for a public of non-physicians. His *De la santé des gens de lettres* appeared in its original Latin version in 1766, and in its first authorized French translation in 1768. This book too was quite a best-seller, with subsequent translations into eight different languages. Finally, *Essai sur les maladies des gens du monde* was published in 1770. Somewhat less of a general success, but still gaining considerable distribution, this work appeared in five different European languages (Emch-Dériaz 1992:331f). These three books will serve as the basis for the following investigations. They will show that Tissot's medical information presented society as composed of different sorts of people with different roles and tasks, as well as with different bodies, ailments and complaints. The investigation does not aim at exploring whether the readers of Tissot's book actually followed his advice, but to study how they appear as (potential) agents in the texts. What kind of activity and agency are they ascribed? Are they powerful or impotent? Collaborative or subversive? Innovative or reactionary? And not least, what kinds of social network or society do they make up?

Before embarking on the investigation of the three texts, a short presentation of Tissot himself is required. Samuel André Tissot was born in the Pays de Vaud in 1728. He studied medicine in Montpellier, at this time a centre of neo-Hippocratic doctrine and of the vitalist theories developed by Georg-Ernst Stahl (Vila 1998:43). Tissot obtained his degree in 1749 and went to practise as a physician in Lausanne. His work as a writer and publicist started during his years here, and his first influential text, *Inoculation justifée*, was published in 1754. The little book advocated the use of inoculation as a means to secure benign cases of smallpox, an epidemic disease which had a high mortality rate in its natural form (Miller 1957). In 1760 he published the book that earned him a somewhat Herostratic fame, *L'onanisme: Dissertation sur les maladies produites par la masturbation,* and then in 1761 the bestselling *Avis au peuple sur sa santé.* He was elected a member of Royal Society in London in 1760 and of the Lausanne Academy in 1765. His books brought him considerable fame, and he was sought as a counsellor by royalty, by members of the high society and by the leading *philosophes* like Voltaire and Rousseau (Emch-Dériaz 1992b:152). From 1781 to 1783 he held a chair in medicine at the University of Pavia. During this time he was also summoned by Pope Pius VI, as well as by the Venetian Senate who wished him to initiate a program of inoculation. On his return to Lausanne he took on the task of reorganizing education in medicine and surgery according to ideas developed during his stay in Italy. He died in 1797 (Emch-Dériaz 1992a).

Addressing the Reader, Creating a Public

All three of Tissot's books of medical advice very explicitly address their respective readers. The *Avis au peuple* has an extensive introduction where Tissot explains his motivation for writing the book, and makes clear how and by whom he imagined it used. *De la santé des gens de lettres* was originally produced as Tissot's speech on his entry into the Academy of Lausanne in 1765. As the Academy had no medical faculty, the position as professor of medicine was merely honorary (Emch-Dériaz 1992a:62). The solemn entrance is reflected in the original Latin title, *Sermo inauguralis de valetudine litterarorum,* and the later versions in national languages have likewise kept up the explicit address to the group of people whose ailments are presented in the book. Finally, the *Essai sur les maladies de gens du monde* was dedicated to Madame la Baronne de Wallmoden. Tissot states in his dedicatory text that he has written the book expressly for the women of *le grand monde*. A starting point for the following exploration will be that despite the formal similarities that are created by explicitly addressing a group of readers for each book, the role of this addressee varies between the three cases.

The relative novelty of the genre may have called for the rather elaborate argument in Tissot's first book. He put much energy into explaining what kind of book he had written, how it may be used, and by whom. The presentation of the relevance of the book, and the social or political concerns that motivate it, makes this text present the most complex relation between the addressees of the book and the recipients of its medical advice. "This book is not written for real physicians",[1] Tissot declares, but for the "utility of my compatriots". Commenting on the title of the book, Tissot also says that he has no illusion that a great number of copies will find their way to the abodes of the peasants. Most of them would not understand much of it even if they should be able to read the book. So even though the *Avis au peuple* is explicitly addressed *to* the people and concerns *their* health, its real addressee is another group:

> I destine it for the intelligent and charitable persons who live in the country and who, by a sort of providential vocation are called to help the people who surround them with their advice.[2]

Why write a book explicitly for the people, concerning *their* health, and at the same time not intending them to read it? An answer can be found in Tissot's understanding of society as an organic whole, held together by bonds of responsibilities and obligations as well as the privileges of estate. This social body emerges from Tissot's portrayals of the readers he has had in mind. One will easily understand, he continues, that his prime group of readers are "Messieurs les Curés". No village or town exists without the clergy, according to Tissot; many of them desire to help the bodies as well as the

souls of the people they are called to assist. Moreover, as it is their duty to expose and wipe out superstitions and dangerous prejudice in their flocks, he hopes they will find some support in his little book. Tissot also expresses his confidence that the charity and enlightenment of the curés, as well as their "connoissances physiques" will make it easy for them to understand it.

The next group of readers called forth is the *seigneurs* or land-owners. They are respected by the people, and therefore in a position well suited to discredit bad ways and encourage new and better ones. Their generosity and benevolence toward their villagers also mark them out as readers of the book, Tissot says. The third group addressed is well-to-do persons who live in the country, but are not landowners. Without obligations to do so, they frequently take an interest in charitable work, and are often asked for remedies in cases of illness. It is Tissot's contention that with the assistance of his book, their knowledge and understanding will make them able to identify diseases, prevent some common misfortunes and introduce better remedies and ways of treatment.

The three groups called upon to make use of Tissot's book mirror the structure of traditional society, with its three estates: the clergy, the land-owning nobility and the (wealthy) commoners. Tissot refers to the intelligence and understanding of curés and the well-to-do bourgeoisie, but he speaks above all to their social positions. This is even more explicit in the case of the *seigneurs*, whose ability to change the ways of the people and introduce better ways of caring for the sick is fundamentally based on their paternalistic responsibilities and the people's corresponding respect and confidence. In this close-knit social structure, the people then have their own distinct place. They represent the bottom line of the pyramid, but are as constitutive of it as any other group. Tissot names all the groups – readers as well as non-readers of his book – as members (*membres*) thus describing them as separate but necessary parts of the social body. It is distinctive to this body that what is aimed at the lower part should be directed to those higher up in the hierarchy, as they are best fit to receive the help and make it serviceable.

In addition to these primary groups of readers, Tissot writes that school teachers also "may be supposed to have a sufficient degree of intelligence to make use of this book".[3] They can even acquire some practical knowledge of simple medicine, such as bleeding and dressing wounds, and Tissot suggests that this should be made part of their formal training and exams. Teachers are busy with their classes only a few hours each day, he points out, and the rest of their time could be usefully employed by letting them carry out simple medical work. Finally, surgeons and midwives are also mentioned among the potential readers and users of the book. These secondary groups of readers all represent the lower strata of society. They are commoners, and Tissot defines them by their professions rather than by their so-

cial standing. Moreover, he presents plans and suggestions that go beyond making them readers of a book. While his work might be found *useful* to curés, seigneurs and the charitable wealthy, he aims at instructing teachers, surgeons and midwives in order to make *them* more useful to society.

Addressing these different groups of readers, Tissot makes the information that is conveyed in his book publicly accessible, but he also calls forth *a* public in the sense of a general reading audience. This public is not altogether identical with the group of people that is targeted by the medical advice. It is through this distinction that the book creates a public as well as a population, and also makes clear the difference and potential tensions between them. The public is a well-informed and critical body. It is called upon to read, but also to judge and to act. The population, on the other hand, appears as a resource to be managed. It needs medical help, but also enlightened information and guidance.

The relation between the addressed reader and the target of help is different in the two other books. In both cases, the addressed subject and the object of the medical advice that is given are one and the same. After the address that reflects the text's origins as an inaugural speech, *De la Santé des gens de lettres* goes on with a veritable cascade of references to the history of medicine in particular and the history of science in general. Tissot moves swiftly from Antiquity to the most famous European physicians, *philosophes* and men of science in his own time. Only after this long and rhetorically flourishing argument concerning the close relation between medicine and natural philosophy as well as religion does Tissot start on his actual topic – the illnesses and complaints of men of letters. The introduction serves to situate the writer himself among his audience; the physician among the philosophers. In this case, a public already exists, in the guise of the academy members. What is created by Tissot's address is not so much the public as his own position in it. As a new member, he presents himself as worthy of the place by demonstrating his knowledge not only of medicine, but also of other sciences. Read as a performance, Tissot is enacting himself in this introductory text, performing the role of the deserved academician. At the same time, the invocation of shared funds of knowledge serves to situate the medical advice that follows. It relates to the knowledge held by the members of the academy, as well as to their own bodies and the complaints that emerge from their hard labour to acquire philosophy and learning.

Essai sur les maladies de gens du monde is written, according to its author, for persons who are used to having access to the best and most enlightened assistance and care, and to having other persons working for them. They even tend to believe that they can be cured of illness without taking part in the process themselves. They may condescend to take their medicine, but are most often not willing to change the mode of life that is the real cause

of their complaints (Tissot 1770:xij). The aim of Tissot's book is to make them understand the futility of this attitude. Even the best medicine and the best physician cannot bring health if the patient is not willing to "lend himself to all that the cure demands".[4] Here too, addressees of the book and the target of medical advice merge. The reading public is supposed to adopt the advice and apply the cures themselves. In this case, however, Tissot is not writing to his social equals, but to his superiors. Moreover, he does not appeal to their learning, but to their demand for health, comfort and well-being. The tone is admonitory, but the medical advice is nonetheless presented as yet another of the services that the people of *le grand monde* are used to enjoying without much effort of their own. Tissot's own performance as an author in this introduction is that of the humble servant. He underscores his lack of direct knowledge of the ways of fashionable people, having himself lived the life of an unassuming country person, but he also chisels out his role as the knowledgeable professional, willing to share his expertise.

Each of the three books describes a group of readers by addressing it. The men of letters appear as self-confident persons, proud of their learning and philosophy. Tissot's message to them is that, despite these qualities, they are not well skilled in taking care of themselves and lack insight into the close connections between their high degree of learning and their bad state of health. The people of fashion for their part may realize that their way of living is also what makes them ill. Because this lifestyle includes having things done by others, even this group lacks a proper understanding that their own agency is decisive to secure their health. The book concerning the health of the common people has several addressees – none of whom is the people as such. They are all, however, addressed more or less in the same capacity, and this can be said to turn them into one group: they are the agents by whose efforts the people will be helped, and through whose position the population will be managed.

Diseases and Complaints

What diseases and ailments does Tissot describe in his books? What are the sufferings and complaints of the three groups – the people, the men of letters and those of the fashionable world? And what is it that causes their illnesses? As we shall see, this varies considerably between the three groups. Furthermore, there are also considerable differences between the ways the sick bodies are being described in the texts. Along with a variety of diseases and complaints, the texts call forth bodies of rather different kinds.

The most difficult group of patients, according to Tissot, is the men of letters. What makes them so troublesome is above all their own ideas about themselves, their lives and their complaints, based on a combination of the-

oretical knowledge and great self-confidence. They all believe that they will not get ill, and when it happens after all, their excited nerves and general irritability turn them into extreme hypochondriacs (Tissot 1766:90f). The causes of the health problems of the men of letters are simple, but the effects complicated. And due to the stubbornness of the patients, the cure is not easy.

Men of letters develop health problems as a consequence of their work and way of living. They strain their brains and nerves, while their bodies suffer from inactivity: "The illnesses of men of letters have two principal sources, the assiduous work of the intellect, and the continuous rest of the body."[5] The complaints and illnesses that follow from this are aggravated by the patients' refusal to submit to the necessary treatment, as well as by the fact that the irritated nerves make them feeble, anxious, and apathetic and even may cause hallucinations. The first half of the book is dedicated to detailed descriptions of all the problems that might follow. It all starts from the brain:

> The brain is, if I may be allowed the comparison, the theatre of war, the nerves which originates from there, and the stomach which has a lot of very sensitive nerves, are the parts that normally suffer the most and the most often from excessive intellectual work, but there is hardly any part that is not affected if the cause continues to work for long.[6]

Consequently, a strained and over-excited brain will normally cause digestion problems. Tissot cites a number of examples of people who have experienced a troubled stomach after long hours of intellectual work. Some start throwing up, as people do when they have hurt their heads – an indication, according to Tissot, of the close connection between brain and stomach. Another cause of the digestive problems that men of letters so often experience, is the inactivity of their bodies and the lack of exercise: "The stomach is irritated, the digestion becomes slow, painful, imperfect. One suffers pains, cramps and hyperacidities, a continuous feeling of heat from the stomach and in the throat…" [7]

The consequences of strained nerves are even more serious, and more complex. There is hardly any end to the sufferings they may cause. The first symptoms tend to be a sort of pusillanimity, leading to distrust, anxiety, sadness, dejectedness, discouragement: "the person who used to be the most intrepid starts to fear everything; the easiest undertaking scares him, the smallest unexpected occurrence makes him tremble, the slightest indisposition appears to him a fatal illness".[8] This depression is just the beginning, however, of a development that might lead to melancholia, total lethargy and epileptic attacks. Before these critical stages occur, the patient will have experienced lack of memory and intellectual acuteness, his thought becomes unclear, his head warm, his body convulsive. These are all the symptoms of strained nerves and an exhausted body. As if this was not enough, the work

of men of letters will also cause large quantities of blood to be drawn to their brains. In its turn, this will produce tumours, aneurisms, inflammations, suppurations, ulcers, dropsy, headaches, delirium, apathy, convulsions, lethargy, apoplexy and insomnia (Tissot 1766:33).

Men of letters also tend to get too little sleep, because they insist on working during the night. They stay in their rooms and do not get fresh air. At times, this lack of freshness even seems to transfer to their persons. They do not wash, and their bodies and mouths smell bad and get easily infected. Their teeth fall out. A final reason for the bad health of the men of letters is a lack of sociability. Voluntarily renouncing society, as they tend to do, deprives them of an important source of health: gaiety and the animated company of fellow humans. Loneliness, even if self-imposed, will produce misanthropy, resentment and melancholy (Tissot 1766:70f).

So what is to be done? What are the cures that the men of letters themselves tend to reject? It is hardly a surprise that vitalistic medicine and dietetics are the frames of the medical advice that follows. Illness is caused by a harmful way of living, and can be cured by correcting these faults. Tissot recommends relaxation and rest. The men of letters must spend less time on their work, and more time on exercise and pleasure. Long country walks, gymnastics and – for the most robust – riding are all highly recommended and given authority by references to classical sources. After taking exercise, rest is important, in order not to hurt the brain which has become exalted by the movement. Moreover, nutrition must be adjusted to the actual needs of the body. A man of a delicate disposition will not be healthy on a diet fit for a robust peasant or artisan. In particular, fat, hard meat and food that contains much air or acid are to be avoided, while tender meat and fish, bread, egg, milk and fruits are recommended. Water is the best drink, wine irritates the stomach and produces acid. Tea, coffee and chocolate – these warm drinks which are so much in fashion – are also harmful and will increase the risk of dropsy. The digestion ought to be nursed by chewing all food well, by resting after the meal and in general noting be overstrained. Following all this advice, adding some cold baths and the use of mineral water, the exhausted and tormented man of letters may hope to get well again. Tissot is nonetheless very clear that the convalescence will take long.

Tissot ends his work emphasizing that he does not consider studies and learning in themselves as dangerous or harmful. Learning contributes to the happiness of the individual in possession of it. His aim has been to warn the *gens des lettres* not to let their studies ruin their health. This somewhat tame conclusion does not do much to change the image created by the long descriptions of severe complaints and serious illnesses waiting in store for the diligent student. The main impression is rather one of slow but unavoidable physical processes, kneading and rubbing the body into the shape of a scholar. Corollary to the achievement of great learning is the acquisition of a

scholar's body with its strained head and nerves, bad digestion, stooping attitude and somewhat indelicate outward appearance. Being a full-fledged scholar means having a specific kind of physical body.

Even the fashionable people have health problems that are produced by their lifestyle, though different from those of the men of letters. The two groups do not live in the same way, but in this context it is equally important that the two books also have different structures and present different bodies performing different health problems. While Tissot seemed anxious to present himself on an equal footing with the men of letters, he takes on a different role when addressing the fashionable world. He presents medical doctrine with the explicit aim of explaining the causes of health problems. The light tone also suggests an ambition to entertain a group of readers who might cherish diversion above medical help. The first section of the book is dedicated to the (neo-)Hippocratic doctrine of the six non-naturals: food and drink, air, movement and rest, passions, sleep, secretions and excretions. Strong persons in good health will normally be little affected by them, but the opposite is the case with those who are delicate.

> Delicate persons are often well, but can never feel sure of being so for a long time, because their health is too dependent on external circumstances. This mode of existence is really unfortunate, it is a kind of perpetual slavery, in which one is obliged to fix one's attention on oneself to try to avoid that which may cause harm, without always knowing it, or without avoiding it, when one knows it.[9]

Tissot invites his reader into a discussion about where the greatest number of delicate persons may be found – for they are not evenly distributed in society. Presenting the one non-natural after the other, he elegantly compares the strong and robust peasant with the fashionable persons, describing the way of life of both groups. Their food is different, their drink likewise, the air they breathe is not the same, and so on and so forth. The very obvious conclusion is that the peasant lives a healthier life than the fashionable person. His food is good and strong, he rises and goes to bed with the sun, gets sufficient sleep and breathes the healthy air of the early mornings, and his simple life ensures a good digestion – all in direct opposition to the fashionable class, whose rich food, airy rooms and numerous amusements are described as quite harmful. The comfortable life of fashionable people is not only unhealthy and will cause ailments, it also makes them more delicate. A main argument is the passions. The peasant lives a more monotonous life, but he also lacks sensibility and is not much affected by strong and turbulent passions. The people of the world, on the other hand, fall prey to a great variety of passions and intense emotions, such as envy and hatred, sorrow, fear, anger and love of distinction (Tissot 1770:28ff). The emotional strain is presented partly as the cause of their extreme sensibility, and partly as its result. To strengthen his argument, Tissot concludes with an assertion that the health problems caused by the lifestyle of the elite will also be trans-

ferred to their children, so that each generation will be more delicate and their health more sensible (Tissot 1770:51). Like nobility, sensibility is a hereditary distinction.

After having established these causal relationships between non-naturals and the (poor) health of fashionable people, Tissot enters into a presentation of the illnesses and complaints that can be expected to result. They are all presented as the product of a highly increased sensibility and strained nerves. Among them are migraines, sore eyes, gout, respiration problems, bad digestion and illnesses of the nerves. Then follows a separate section on women's complaints, among them irregular periods, false pregnancies and milk engorgement. A presentation of the cures for the same illnesses and complaints follows after an intermediate chapter on how to prevent them.

As was the case with the men of letters, the diseases of fashionable people are caused by the way they conduct their lives. With them, it is the too rich and spicy food and drink, the too many late nights and the lack of proper exercise, the numerous entertainments and strong passions that cause the problems, together with more specific elements such as tight dress, heavy perfume and make-up. And as with the men of letters, likewise, it seems that this unhealthy way of living not merely causes the complaints, but – equally important – shapes and models the individual in ways that make him or her quite literally embody a social position.

Against this backdrop praising the good health of the people, a book on their diseases may seem paradoxical. However, the *Avis au peuple* was not only Tissot's first and best-selling book, it is also his most original contribution. While the (supposedly) good health of peasants and savages was becoming a medical commonplace in the period, Tissot's more detailed investigation into this matter represented a novel approach (cf. Mellemgaard 1998:184ff). Of the three books discussed here, the *Avis au peuple* has the strongest appearance of a general medical reference book written for household use. It treats a variety of common diseases, all with their cures and remedies. The presentation starts with illnesses of the chest and lungs, and goes on to bad throats, colds, toothaches, rheumatism, smallpox, chicken pox and different kinds of fevers, as well as a number of other common illnesses. The book also treats conditions that require the assistance of a surgeon, such as wounds, fractures and minor operations. Moreover, Tissot gives advice for accidents like choking, drowning and the bite of mad dogs. There are separate sections with advice for women and for the care of children and infants. At the end of the book there are tables showing the different drugs that are used for the book's recipes, all with their cost added. Tissot explains that he has taken great care to suggest only remedies that are easily available and can be purchased in most pharmacies without too much expense.

Here too Tissot writes in the neo-Hippocratic tradition of vitalism and dietetics, but he does not burden his text with theory. Nor does he spend

much time elaborating on the lurking dangers of unfavourable ways of living, as he did in the two other books. What above all distinguishes the *Avis au peuple* is the large amount of concrete medical advice concerning specific illnesses, given in a plain language with very little medical terminology. This seems an obvious reason for the international success of the book, and the huge distribution it acquired. In the present context, it is also highly relevant that this book too gives an image of a specific group, its role in society and the most frequent causes of its illnesses. The first chapter of the book gives a list of nine causes of disease among the common people. They reflect ideas about the influence of the six non-naturals, but at the same time refer very directly to the work and living conditions of peasants and artisans (Tissot 1761:1ff). The first cause is the excess of hard work. It can happen, according to Tissot, that peasants simply fall into an stupor of exhaustion, and then are easy victims to inflammation or pleurisy. The best way to avoid this is to avoid the cause, or to alleviate the condition by large amount of refreshing drink. The second and third most important reasons for illness are the peasants' preference for resting in cool places and for drinking cold water when they are very warm. This will give them rheumatism as well as stomach-aches, bring about vomiting and inflamed chests, but this too can be avoided by avoiding the causes. After this come the problems caused by changing weather. Even if these effects are not exclusive to rural people, Tissot argues that the weather affects them more than others because of their outdoor work. Peasants and labourers moreover tend to remove their clothing when they get warm, regardless of temperatures and even rainfalls, which is harmful to them. Tissot then moves on to another aspect of the same non-natural: Although not many people reflect on this, it is an unfortunate fact that in many villages, the dunghills are placed just below the windows of the dwellings, causing the inhabitants "continuously to inhale corrupted vapours, which, over time, can only hurt and contribute to producing putrid maladies. Those who are used to this smell will no longer notice it; but the cause is no less effective…"[10] The bad air of the dwellings is an additional cause of disease, Tissot argues. Their densely populated rooms are hardly ever aired. Some peasants even keep animals in their living rooms. The buildings reek, and the walls are moulding. Tissot points out that improvements would be easy and not expensive: Raising the floor an inch or two by means of bricks, stones or a layer of sand would solve the problems. The eighteenth century was the heyday of miasmatic theories of disease, in particular epidemics. Tissot's argument that the dunghills and unaired rooms not merely are unpleasant, but actually unhealthy, corresponds with this general fear of "bad air" (Corbin 1982), as well as with the doctrine of the non-naturals.

Further causes of the bad health and disease of the peasants are their drunkenness and bad food. Their bread tends to be made from unripe and

humid grain, but even when the grain is good, it is prepared in slovenly and careless ways. Only the fact that these people chew the food so well with their solid jaws and they get so much fresh air prevents them from getting even more health problems from their poor food and drink. Peasants often drink corrupted water, from their wells or from melted snow. Tissot gives instructions about how to mend this, mainly by filtering the polluted water through sand, or boiling some herbs in it. According to him, bad water is second only to bad air when it comes to causing disease.

As would also be the case in his two later books, Tissot presented the causes of illness as a matter of lifestyle: It is their way of living and working that generates the main causes of the common people's diseases and complaints. Nonetheless, the lifestyle that is described in this book appear as less wilful or determined by social obligations, and more as a product of blunt nature and pure instinct. With more consideration and simple improvements, much illness among the common people could be avoided. Tissot's obvious concern for the common people, and his good knowledge of their conditions (Emch-Dériaz 1992a) did not prevent him from holding the peasants themselves responsible for mending their ways. There is hardly any indication that he considers this to be less of an option for them than for the men of letters or the people of the fashionable world.

The causes of disease, then, appear to be fundamentally the same for all the groups that figure in the social universe created by Tissot in his three books of health information: They centre mainly on the effects of the non-naturals. It can be worth noting that this too includes epidemic diseases (such as smallpox), which according to this way of thinking could be caused by miasmas or bad air. Correspondingly, the way to improved health is also the same for all the three groups. They would all be equally well served by not letting the non-naturals cause them to fall ill. They need to mend their ways of living, to be more prudent and take better care not to expose themselves to unhealthy influences. From this perspective, Tissot seems to present a very egalitarian model of society and the bodies composing it: They are all exposed to the same forces, and will all be safe and healthy by taking the same precautions. Moreover, the approach indicates that all the groups have equal possibilities to accomplish such measures. However, the social universe presented by Tissot is also marked by profound differences. The peasants are never addressed directly. The book about their health is addressed to their superiors. They are made the object of discourse, and never become subjects taking part in it in their own right. In this way, the people is created as a population. They are objects, not subjects of enlightenment and change. The people is a resource, defined by certain natural qualities that have to be taken care of, preserved and developed. The two other groups, even though they differ from each other, are both addressed as a public. They are made partners in the discourse as well as recipients of

medical advice concerning themselves. They are entrusted with the reading of the book and responsibility for their own health and well-being.

Finally, even if individuals of all three groups have bodies that are affected by the non-naturals, they are not equal. Instead they appear as separate members of the same body – interconnected, but with different qualities, identities and functions. The peasants are naturally robust. They have simple emotions and are not easily raised by passions. They chew their food thoroughly with their large jaws, and do not notice that it is plain, even poor. The men of letters are physically marked by their hard work. Their bodies as well as their brains are shaped by their studies, and they incorporate their learning in very literal ways. Correspondingly, the people of fashion are naturally delicate. This makes them extremely vulnerable to the effects of the non-naturals, and also seems to work in self-aggravating ways. It is their delicate nature and great sensibility that makes them seek the most refined pleasures and amusements and that also makes them prone to strong passions. At the same time, this is exactly what increases their sensibility in such a degree as to make them ill. The heightened sensibility produced by this process finds its way into their very nature, and will be transferred to their offspring.

Dangers and Threats

In what terms are the dangers of illness presented? Who or what is threatened by it – the individual body, or the social? Once again there are clear distinctions between the *Avis au peuple* and the two other books. There is no doubt that the sufferings of the men of letters are real and grave, and that their complaints may develop into dangerous, even fatal, cases. Tissot describes apoplectic and epileptic attacks, as well as serious mental and nervous disturbances. The complaints of fashionable people are mostly nervous, due to the patients' extreme sensibility, but even they may develop into severely disabling states. No matter how serious, however, these sufferings and problems centre on the individual. It is he or she who suffers and – for that matter – he or she who must change their way of living to improve their health condition or even to save their lives. The dangers that are discussed in the *Avis au peuple*, on the other hand, concern the population at large. Two arguments dominate: The threat of depopulation and the corruptive influence of quacks and empirics. In the introduction, depopulation is proposed as Tissot's main reason for writing his book. The discussion about charlatans, on the other hand, fills an entire chapter at the very end of the book. In this way, the main part of the book, with its descriptions of diseases and their cures is literally framed by an argument concerning why the health of common people is an important issue.

This argument can easily be read as reflecting ideas about the population

as a resource to be managed. Can it also be said to contain clues to other and less modern understandings of the population and the social place and role of the lower classes?

> The diminution of the number of inhabitants in most European states is a true fact that strikes everybody, that is regretted everywhere and that the censuses prove. This depopulation is most notable in rural areas.[11]

With these words Tissot does not merely state a generally accepted fact, he also situates his book within the frames of discussions that attracted much attention in the period. According to physiocratic ideas about agriculture as the state's only real source of wealth, a large population of rural workers was of vital importance. The great anxiety of the period was not overpopulation, as it came to be under Malthusian influence during the nineteenth century, but its opposite: depopulation, particularly in rural areas. New quantitative approaches made censuses a highly relevant tool of information, while their reliability and truthfulness at the same time were critical issues and the object of methodological debates (Rusnock 1999:55; Foucault 2009:70). Taking his key from these debates, Tissot presented himself as well informed about physiocratic theory and the problems it sought to solve. Moreover, the issue served to justify a novel kind of text by framing his medical advice in a context of well-known Enlightenment concerns. Tissot proceeds directly to the causes of depopulation and enumerates four of them: emigration; luxury and debauchery; neglect of agriculture; and poor treatment of the sick.

There are two kinds of emigrations: military service, and the hunt for fortune. Both are harmful. As Tissot presents it, war is among the minor challenges that meet a soldier. Far more grave are bad food and drink, the unhealthy air of foreign countries and the epidemics it causes. Many do not return, and those who do are often mutilated and infirm, and above the age to settle down and have families. The fortune hunters represent an even larger problem, draining the country of its working resources. Those who return "have not gained anything other than the incapacity to occupy themselves usefully in their country & their real place in life; & having deprived the country of a large number of cultivators, who, if they had valued their fields, would have drawn considerable wealth".[12] Migration causes agriculture to be neglected. Those who remain in the countryside tend to stay unmarried and childless, and are not sufficiently numerous to produce more than they need for their own subsistence. In this way, agriculture is prevented from being the source of national wealth that it rightly should be.

Luxury and debauchery cause the population to decrease even if people stay at home. The ambition to be – or appear – rich makes them marry late, and have few children. Living in luxury is also unhealthy in itself because it makes people feeble and weak. Moreover, people who get used to luxury tend to move to the city. They bring their servants with them, and increase

their numbers, robbing the countryside of its workforce. Even the servants adopt new ways of life when they get used to a comfortable and idle urban existence. The sensible few who keep both their morals and their savings refuse to return to the country, and stay in the cities as artisans or shopkeepers. Tissot is quite adamant that this unhappy development also applies to female servants. The very few who return to the country after having served in towns prove themselves unsuitable for proper work, and are so delicate that the first childbed will forever rob them of their health (Tissot 1760: xxix).

Even if Tissot touches upon questions of health throughout this argument, it is only arriving at his fourth and final cause of depopulation that this really becomes an issue. Poor treatment of the ill causes even harmless diseases to become fatal, he writes. It is the vocation of physicians to work to preserve the human race, but "while we give our care to the most brilliant parts of humanity in the cities, the most numerous and most essential half of it perishes miserably in the rural areas".[13] This is the reason for Tissot's decision to write his book, he declares, and likewise for his express desire to make the language simple, the instructions clear and the remedies cheap.

Taken as a whole, this text defines healthcare as a social and economic issue. It describes a society that is changing, but that still has its traditional structure of the three estates. It shows no enthusiasm for change, but rather deplores the developments that can be observed. The ideal situation that is indirectly portrayed presumes that the peasants stay in their place – socially as well as geographically – and do their proper work: The work that they physically are best fit for, and which at the same time best serves society as a whole. The advantages of this order are expressed in terms of economy, with clear reference to physiocratic thought, but can also be seen to reflect ideas about a kind of natural harmony. The (rural) population obviously represents a resource to be administered, but it is equally much presented as an integral part of a living, social body. When the peasant population leaves its place or becomes unfit for its true vocation, this entire body will suffer. When one member of it is afflicted by a disturbance, the whole organism is put out of balance.

Tissot's argument concerning charlatans and empirics works as an extension of this introduction. According to him, the effects of the activities of the charlatans are just as devastating as the illnesses described through the book. Tissot calls them a veritable pestilence. The charlatans can mainly be divided into two groups, namely travelling quacks and so-called cunning folks. While the first group are strangers that appear on the local markets to sell their remedies or perform their operations, collect their earnings and disappear, the cunning folks are locals who have worked up a reputation for being able to cure. Both groups lack proper medical knowledge. This does not merely imply that they deceive their patients or customers, but also that their

remedies and cures may be directly harmful – far more so than the diseases they are intended to cure.

The cunning people above all represent superstition and ignorance, which they mostly share with their local patients. Apart from being a direct threat to people's health, they also represent a hindrance to more enlightened ways of thinking and more efficacious medical aid. The quacks are nonetheless the more dangerous. Their remedies and cures may worsen diseases too, but even more likely is it that they have no effect whatsoever. Most of these persons sell panaceas, intended to cure several illnesses by the same means. With their glittering appearance, smooth talk and promises of health and happiness, they succeed in selling their totally worthless remedies to ignorant and naive peasants. Making them pay dearly, they deprive simple working people of their hard-earned savings. In this way they often collect considerable amounts of money, which is then brought out of the region and often even of the country. The quacks, then, are swindlers and impostors (Eriksen 2011).

Tissot indicates that charlatans are recruited among disreputable groups of people: Deserted soldiers, drunken barbers and priests who have forfeited their livings are his suggestions. Without going further into it, he effectively contrasts this sketch with a portrait of the heroic character of the noble physician:

> These rare men, born with the most happy talents, have from their earliest infancy enlightened their spirit and thereafter with the utmost care cultivated all parts of natural philosophy, sacrificed the best moments of their lives for the continuous and diligent study of the human body, its functions and the causes that prevent them, as well as all remedies against this, who have surmounted the unpleasantness of living among the ill in the hospitals …[14]

There is no reason to doubt Tissot's real concern over the damaging effect of the activity of charlatans. His argument and descriptions nonetheless also have other aspects and more complex implications. Even if the chapter on charlatans is not explicitly addressed to a specific reader, it can easily be read as a continuation of the introduction to the book. As described above, Tissot here addresses three groups of people, who all are called upon to care for the peasant population. Among them, both the clergy and the landowners are appealed to because they are in possession of enlightened ideas and an ability to instruct and improve the common people in their parishes and on their estates. The chapter on charlatans makes it abundantly clear that the peasant population is not in itself capable of seeing through the deceptions or freeing themselves of the superstition that makes them such easy prey to impostors. Even more than in the introduction, therefore, the text calls forth those who have the abilities as well as the responsibility to help, protect – and administer – the rural population.

The population, on the other hand, appears passive and helpless. They are

not merely ignorant, but also the innocent objects of fraud and deception, and are presented as mute and stupid. A main reason why they let themselves be deceived is the "mechanical impression" made on their senses by glittering appearances (Tissot 1760:569). The reference to mechanical effects, rather than to intellect and understanding, underscores the notion of the peasants as dumb creatures governed by their instincts and incapable of sound judgement. For the same reason, the initiatives suggested by Tissot to solve the problems do not require the peasants themselves to be agents of change. As the common people are not able to judge or think, Tissot says, their superiors will have to act on their behalf. His advice is that charlatans not be permitted at the local markets; that the local clergy use the pulpit to preach against the problem; and that the popular almanacs be stripped of the information used in lay medical practice. Only as a final measure, Tissot suggests considering the establishment of hospitals (Tissot 1760:533). His list and priorities can easily be said to reflect a situation similar to that described by Porter: books of popular medical advice have not unequivocally been precursors of public health care, but can also be seen as part of a social system that existed without such institutions (Porter 1992:3).

While he once again presents a (responsible) public and a population (in need of administration), Tissot also situates himself and his profession on the stage he is creating. Roy Porter has drawn attention to the theatricality of the role of the physician in early modern times. He points out how "medical men and their friends [were] championing the physician's honour with equal solitude: he is a man, we are told, whose protracted university education has rendered him a master in the liberal arts and sciences; he is upright, trustworthy and God-fearing, grave and sober, experienced and devoted to the love not of lucre but of learning" (Porter 2001:129). Tissot's description (above) is easily recognized in this. Roger French for his part has pointed out that until the clinical effect of medical practice significantly improved during the nineteenth century, the success of a physician had to be evaluated according to other criteria. The successful doctor in early modern times was the one who managed to cultivate his image as a capable medical man, with his reason and his learning. He appeared as what French has termed "the Learned and Rational Doctor". He was learned in the sense that he knew the classical authorities, and rational because he was well trained in the dialectic and philosophical use of arguments (French 2003:2). Part of this professional staging was the decrying of other agents in the same field – surgeons and barbers, apothecaries, and – above all – empirics and cunning folk. Both Porter and French agree that this "job specification" for the good physician was "reinforced through the demonization of his antithesis in a rogues' gallery of the inept, ignorant and immoral: the money-grubbing pretender, the swindling foreign charlatan…" (Porter 2001:130).

As pointed out by Signe Mellemgaard, this tradition of professional

self-presentation acquired new relevance and fresh implications during the latter half of the eighteenth century. When health and healthcare became a public issue and the object of a variety of state initiatives, it did not merely make medical help gradually become more generally available, it also extended a field of activity, income, and career possibilities that was shared by a number of actors and groups. In this field, the physicians in their new role of catering to a general public, not merely to the select few, struggled to keep their position at the top of the hierarchy, securing for themselves both the power of definition and the role of supervising, instructing and even condemning the other groups (Mellemgaard 1998). Tissot's work in general, and his diatribe against charlatans in particular, can be read into these frames. In this way, then, Tissot's work clearly articulated his concern for the health of the common people, but can also be said to express new ways of conceptualizing the interconnectedness between medicine and society. His critique of charlatans does however illustrate that these changes did not merely imply the development of new fields of organized medical interventions, but also that physicians like Tissot himself worked hard to position themselves in this new public field.

The Social Body

The investigation of Tissot's three books of medical advice has shown clear connections between bodies and their health problems on the one hand, and the social position of these bodies on the other. People of different social positions have different complaints and illnesses, but they also have different kinds of bodies. A first indication of this is that each book is directed at one specific group. They describe the illnesses thought to be dominant in each group, but it is equally important that the books have different structures and do not address their potential readers in the same way. This differentiating way of thinking about health in a social context is further underscored by the fact that the lowest group in society – the peasants and commoners – is never addressed directly, but only through their superiors. Another expression of the social differentiation is that the different groups are presented as suffering (primarily) from different complaints. In all three cases, however, the health problems stem mainly from their work and their way of living. The diseases thus resemble what in modern parlance would be termed "lifestyle disease". However, they represent far more than that, because in Tissot the lifestyle of each group is not a matter of choice, not even of (random) social circumstance or class. The case is rather that the body of each individual is literally integral to his or her social position, with the health problems this position may imply. The organization of society in its three estates thus appears as naturally given, and expressed not merely in social and economic terms, but also in the very bodies of its members.

Moreover, even if Tissot's main advice to all three groups concerns how to avoid illness by living or acting differently, he does not suggest they leave the work or tasks that are the cause of the complaints, that is, he does not suggest they change their place in society. This is most obviously the case with the peasants and workers. For them he rather underscores the destructive effect of their leaving their place, seeking other kinds of life in urban contexts. This will hurt them, physically as well as morally. Common people who leave their place, move to the cities and/or adopt a more affluent and idle way of living will be physically and morally hurt by the change. Their strength is sapped from them, they become hypersensitive weaklings and easy prey to disease. The fact that all advice concerning common people is not directed to them, but to their superiors and those responsible for them, can be said to express similar ideas. It is not by increasing their education and understanding that the common people will improve health and happiness. Their dumb wits, weak intellect and deficient sensibility are facts that may cause problems – for instance making them easy victims of deception and fraud – but do not appear as something to be changed. It is their health that is to be improved, not their minds or their naturally simple bodies.

It should however be noted that he gives corresponding advice to the people of *le grand monde*. Even though he is continuously comparing their harmful way of living and the more healthy ways of the peasant, he is also adamant that persons of the higher classes would not gain health by imitating this peasant, eating his kind of food, rising early to get the fresh air and abstaining from all polite entertainment. Quite to the contrary, due to their great sensibility, this kind of simple life would be extremely harmful to them. Their stomachs would not be able to digest the heavy food, and their minds and passions would suffer severely from lack of stimuli. The bodies of fashionable people are not fit for the life of common people. Moreover, they have their own tasks to attend to, their own obligations to fulfil. Even the life of the fashionable, with all its amusements and pleasantness, is described as a kind of work, or at least as tasks to be fulfilled by persons with this place in society. Hence, there are no moral denouncements in Tissot's descriptions of heavy food and drink, late nights, dancing and other amusements that characterize the life of the fashionable world. People of fashion are not necessarily living in this way because they are spoilt and pleasure-seeking individuals, but because it is a part of the social positions they have to fill – it is their work. On an individual level, many of them might even prefer a more peaceful life, Tissot indicates, but their position does not allow it. Like everybody else, they are obliged to live the life that follows from the social position they have been born to and the body they have been born with.

It is obvious, then, that Tissot is not out to change society. He is not critical of the traditional order with its three estates and its paternalistic hierar-

chy. His goal of helping common people by making medical advice available to them (or their superiors) does not aim at any fundamental change of either living conditions or social structure. Quite to the contrary, he sees the social conditions of all groups in society as naturally given and composing a natural harmony. On this basis, Tissot's concerns have two aspects. On the one hand, he presents the population, in full accordance with physiocratic thought, as a resource to be used and administered. Parallel to this, and still in full correspondence with current ideas, the public is addressed as a critical body, capable of judgment and responsibility. On the other hand, the population, or rather the common people, are far more than just this resource: They constitute one of the members of a living social body, in exactly the same ways as the other groups or estates. In this perspective, the common people are still the lower base of society, and they may still be depicted as dumb, superstitious and reigned by animal instinct rather than by sensibility or intellect. This understanding does not open up for ideas about liberty or democracy, but it does nonetheless ascribe a vital and fundamental role in society even to the common people. Without them, society is corrupted. If they suffer, society suffers equally. This is not because the people is a resource, creating wealth by their work, but because society is a mystic unity, composed of members that are organically united and totally dependent on each other.

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[1] Cet Ouvrage n'est point fait pour les vrais Médecins […] il n'a de but que l'utilité de mes compatriots (Tissot 1761:xxxv).

[2] … je le destine aux personnes intelligents & charitables qui vivent dans les campagnes, & qui,

par une especе de vocation de la Providence, sont appellées à aider de leurs conseils tout le peuple qui les environne. (Tissot 1761:xxxv).

[3] Les Maîtres d'école doivent encore être tous supposés avoir un degré d'intelligence suffisant pour tirer parti de cet ouvrage (Tissot 1761:xxxviij)

[4] Toute la science & tous les soins d'un Médecin ne peuvent point rendre la santé à un malade, s'il n'a pas une envie assez forte de guérir, pour se prêter à tout ce que sa guérison exige… (Tissot 1770:xiv)

[5] Les maladies des gens de lettres ont deux sources principales, les travauxassidus de l'esprit, et le continuel repos du corps (Tissot 1766:11).

[6] Le cerveau qui est, si l'on veut me permettre cette comparaison, le théatre de la guerre, les nerfs qui en tirent leur origine, et l'estomac qui a beaucoup de nerfs très-sensibles, sont les parties qui souffrent ordinairement le plutôt et le plus du travail excessif de l'esprit; mais il n'y en a presque aucune qui ne s'en ressente, si la cause continue long-temps à agir (Tissot 1766:15).

[7] L'estomac s'irrite, la digestion devient plus lente, pénible, imparfaite. On éprouve des douleurs, des crampes, des aigreurs cruelles, un sentiment de chaleur au creux de l'estomac et à la gorge… (Tissot 1766:48).

[8] … la défiance, la crainte, la tristesse, l'abattement, le découragement: l'homme qui avait été le plus intrépide vient à tout craindre; la plus légère entreprise l'effraie; le plus petit événement imprévu le fait trembler, la plus légère indisposition lui parait une maladie mortelle (Tissot 1766:22ff).

[9] Les personnes délicates se portent souvent bien, mais ne sont jamias sûre de se porter bien long tems, parce que leur santé est trop dépendente des circonstances étrangeres. Cette façon d'exister est véritablement fãcheuse; e'est une especе d'esclavage perpetuél, dans lequelt on est toujours obligé de fixer son attention sur soi-même pour chercher à éviter ce qui peut nuire, sans pouvoir toujorss l'éviter, ou toujours l'éviter, quand on le connoit (Tissot 1770:2).

[10] … il s'en exhale continuellement des vapeurs corrompues, qui, á la longue ne peuvent que nuire & contribuer á produire des maladies putrides. Ceux qui sont accoutumés à cette odeur, ne s'en apperçoivent plus; mais la cause n'en agit pas moins (Tissot 1760:7f).

[11] La diminution du nombre des habitants dans la plûpart des Etats de l'europe, est une vérité de fait, qui frappe tout le monde, dont on se plaint par-tout, & que les dénombrements démontrent (Tissot 1760:xxiv).

[12] … sans avoir gagné autre chose que l'incapacité de s'occuper utilement dans son pays & dans sa premiere vocation: & ayant privé le pays d'un grand nombre de cultivaterus, qui, en faisant valoir les terres, y auroinet attiré beaucoup d'argent & l'aisance (Tissot 1760:xxxvj)

[13] … nous donnons nos soins à la partie la plus brillante dans les villes, sa moitié la plus nombreuse & al plus utile périt misérablement dans les campagnes (Tissot 1760:xxxij).

[14] … ces hommes rares, qui, nés avec les plus heureux talents, ont éclairé leur esprit dès leurs plus tendre enfance, qui ont cultivé ensuite avec soin toutes les parties de la physique, qui ont sacrifié les parties les plus beaux momens de leur vie à une étude suivie & assidue du corps humain, de ses fonction, des causes qui peuvent les empêcher, & de tous les remedes, qui auront surmonté le désagrément de vivre dans les hôpitaux, parmi des milliers de malades …(Tissot 1760:530).

Negotiating Medical Knowledges

A Bakhtinian Reading of a Norwegian Medical Manuscript from 1794

Ane Ohrvik

> …it might be argued that there is no history of knowledge. There are only histories, in the plural, of knowledges, also in the plural (Burke 2015:7).

During the twentieth century, medical history research has been heavily weighted in its descriptions and discussions of the early modern medical world, presenting a narrative of medical knowledge as a history of scientific progress. In an early response to the one-sided narrative, the distinguished British professor of history and the prominent spokesman for the "social turn" in medical history, the late Roy Porter, points out the importance of studying medical knowledge in a socio-cultural perspective:

> The discipline (critics allege) has been too Whiggish, too scientistic, either deliberately fostering or at least unconsciously underwriting myths of the triumphal cavalcade of scientific medicine. And in response strenuous counter-attempts have been made to "demystify" medical history, and to promote research oriented towards new ways of seeing, in particular examining the socio-cultural construction of medical knowledge and medicine's role within wider networks of ideology and power (Porter 1985:1).

The paradigmatic position in previous medical history research, as Porter so aptly describes it might even be regarded as epistemic, denoting what Michel Foucault regards as accepted forms of truth within a society that grounds knowledge and its discourses (Gordon 1980:197). According to Foucault, these forms of truth mould the discourses about knowledge and are part of different power-knowledge systems. One could argue that the "myths of the triumphal cavalcade of scientific medicine" bear significant traces of such a "truth", which in turn has prompted a powerful narrative about the history of medical knowledge up until recent decades. Putting it on edge, Martin Dinges characterizes the writing of medical history before 1970 as "written by physicians, mainly for physicians, and about physicians and their world view" (Dinges 2004:209). The result, as has been pointed

out by many, has been an anachronistic construction of a reality of professional medical power and hierarchy (cf. Jenner & Wallis 2007:1).

However, as Porter points out, "counter-attempts" stressing perspectives, which take patients and the variety of medical practitioners and knowledge networks as their focal point, has since challenged and eventually supplanted the grand narrative of medical progress (cf. Ramsey 1988; Gijswijt-Hofstra *et al*. 1997; de Blécourt *et al*. 2004; Jenner *et al*. 2007; Lindemann 2010). It is this objective my study follows. I am interested in how different forms of medical truth or knowledge systems express themselves and are adopted, interpreted, negotiated, and established within the cultural context of early modern Norway. As such, I am interested in the "medicines" or "knowledges" in terms of a variety of ideas and practices concerning health and healing. Whereas power relations within medical networks and knowledge systems are certainly a part of the history of medicine, the implications of creating homogenic "orders of medical knowledge" where none exists, motivates my starting point.

A basic assumption underlying this study is that medical ideas and practices form meaning through mediation (cf. de Blécourt and Usborne 2004: 1). It is precisely in these mediation processes, whether as face-to-face dialogue or as written text, we can try to grasp an understanding of how the mediation is constructed and what meaning is communicated:

> To put it explicitly, meaning is not a property of language in itself, and is not immanent in language. Meaning is what people construe using the prosthesis of language, interpreted within specific contexts of use. To understand meaning, we need to take utterance and people's construal of utterance as our fundamental units of analysis (Bazerman 2013:151).

My primary object of study is a Norwegian manuscript entitled *Medical Book concerning Humans, Horses and Cows* (Læge-Bog vedkommende Mennisker, Hæster og Kiör) written in 1794.[1] The author, a farmer named Ole Steensen Hotvet from rural south-east Norway, addresses both the content and the structure of the book on its title page: "It concerns many healing sciences in numerous ways. The first content concerns Humans. The second concerns Horses. And the third concerns Cows" (Hotvet in Gjermundsen 1980:3).[2] Through eighty-two pages of text, Hotvet offers a variety of protective advice and medical cures against different ailments. In doing so, he relies heavily on other medical, pharmaceutical, and philosophical sources, which he presents throughout his writings by citing authors and giving detailed references to their works. My initial questions concern how Hotvet introduces these works in his manuscript. How are the different 'medicines' or 'knowledges' voiced in his text? Answering these questions will enable the final question of what kind of epistemological ideology Hotvet represents.

A Bakhtinian Reading

In conducting my close reading of Hotvet's *Medical Book*, I will lean on certain key concepts developed by the Russian philosopher and literary scholar Mikhail Bakhtin (1895–1975).[3] Within text studies in general, Bakhtin's works have become classics and essential points of reference. His thoughts on how to understand the usages of language and the analytical concepts he develops following his perspectives, with the basic concept of *utterance* as a starting point, still offer a fruitful pathway to the interpretation of human communication and the understanding of meaning (cf. Kim 2011:54). According to Bakhtin:

> Any concrete utterance is a link in the chain of speech communication of a particular sphere. The very boundaries of the utterance are determined by a change of speech subjects. Utterances are not indifferent to one another, and are not self-sufficient; they are aware of and mutually reflect one another... Every utterance must be regarded as primarily a response to preceding utterances of the given sphere (we understand the word "response" here in the broadest sense). Each utterance refutes, affirms, supplements, and relies upon the others, presupposes them to be known, and somehow takes them into account... Therefore, each kind of utterance is filled with various kinds of responsive reactions to other utterances of the given sphere of speech communication (Bakhtin 1986:91).

In Bakhtin's view utterances are essentially responsive, interactive, and dialogic in their reflections of each other. No matter how monolithic culture and its narratives may appear, they comprise a *polyphony* of competing voices. Even though originally construed for the analysis of novels, I believe Bakhtin's conceptual framework, especially regarding dialogism, can prove a fruitful departure for understanding the cultural, social, and ideological features of Hotvet's text.

My close reading of Hotvet's *Medical Book* will focus on how he chooses to present the medical knowledge. Different text units are seen as utterances that respond, interact, reflect, and oppose each other in a discursive dialogue concerning proper medical diagnostics and treatments. By closely analysing specific wordings along with the relation and function between statements, my intentions is to arrive at a better understanding of the epistemological ideology embedded in Hotvet's manuscript and its position in the broader cultural and social context.

Dialogism in Hotvet's *Medical Book*

One of the most fundamental views in Bakhtin's reflection of human communication is how speech and cultural discourse are mixed with others' speech and words (*heteroglossia*) and are therefore many-voiced (*polyphonic*) in their references, styles, and assumptions that do not belong to the speaker (Bakhtin 1981, 1984). Others words and voices are what make

every level of expression an ongoing chain of statements, responses, and quotations and make the communication essentially *dialogic* in form and expression.[4] In Hotvet's manuscript, the quite strict discursive structure of the text along with explicit references to statements by others is what identifies the dialogism in his text.

He presents the different pieces of medical advice as separate units of text divided by paragraphs headings. This paratextual apparatus not only structures the text in general, it also signals the chains in which the utterances appear, together forming separate dialogues where the proper treatment of an ailment is discussed. This polyphony of other words and voices is utterly expressive and appears to constitute a crucial idea in his presentation of medical arguments: Through a review of one or multiple medical advices voiced by way of different textual sources and subjects, Hotvet prepares for a qualified judgement of available treatments.

> Three High-taught Doctors have each used their
> cure with their excrement, which has been bewitched:
> The 1st, being Agrikula, says that one should bind the
> excrements on the damaged part of the patient, contained
> in a pig bladder and smoked for three days in a chimney
> in constant smoke night and day.
> The 2nd, being Hofman, wants the excrement and garlic
> to be placed on the aching places for 24 hours, first being
> smoked in a pig bladder.
> The 3rd, being Purman, is against this as he has noted that
> with this type of smoke it [the ailment] often gets worse
> because the weak ones dry subsequently until they
> essentially die. Therefore, he says, along with witnessing
> it on others I have myself witnessed it on my own father-
> in-law. Thus, the smoke must be handled with caution when
> it is applied (Hotvet in Gjermundsen 1980:31).[5]

The discursive elements in this section appear through a plurality of voices all representing their various ideological positions that together make the section dialogic. Each statement represents an answer or response to the initial underlying question of how to treat bewitchment, and the responses thus form the internal dialogic boundaries for the utterances. The first two statements affirm each other regarding the overall treatment while differing in relation to the preparatory smoking process and possibly the length of use of the healing agent. The last statement goes against the first two statements regarding the preparatory smoking process recommending caution in its use. The responses do not offer an explicit conclusion to which of the three treatments one should choose. What it encourages instead, however, is an appropriate understanding response by the potential reader – the *addressee* – in applying the advice according to their own judgement of the medical knowledge and advice presented. As such, Hotvet's polyphonic presentation of utterances is fundamentally dialogic in its structure, where new state-

ments presuppose earlier statements and anticipate future responses. Summarized, the dialogic chain constitutes a former utterance presenting a medical problem (what to heal, namely bewitchment) motivating present responses offering solutions to the problem (how you heal bewitchment), which in turn anticipate future responses serving to solve the medical problem (how I choose to heal bewitchment).

A striking feature in Hotvet's medical discourse presented above is how he is inconclusive in which treatment to choose, thus making it hard to predict the anticipated response. When Hotvet presents the medical knowledge, we know he does this from a layman's point of view. His characterizations of the doctors he brings into the dialogue as "high-taught" clearly reflects his respect and admiration for what he regards as medical authorities, suggesting an awareness of his own subordinate position regarding medical knowledge. Bringing medical authorities into the discourse would anticipate the construction of what Bakhtin refers to as "authoritative discourse": "The authoritative word demands that we acknowledge it, that we make it our own; it binds us, quite independent of any power it might have to persuade us internally" (Bakhtin 1981:342). In Bakhtin's view, such discourses do not invite interpretation but demand full endorsement from the reader or listener as the discourse is seen as finished and hierarchically superior. This is not, however, the case in Hotvet's text. Even though he refers to medical authorities and thus voices their different statements, Hotvet does not let the authorities decide and conclude on the proper treatment. This evokes the immediate question of why Hotvet voices medical authorities without acknowledging their knowledge in form of an authoritative discourse.

I believe the answer lies in the dialogic compositional structure Hotvet creates, which reveals his fundamental view of medical knowledge as explorative and negotiable. The doctoral dialogue shows the multitude of medical methods and interpretations available and consequently, several possible responses to the medical problem at hand. Nevertheless, while there might not be conclusive medical truths to either treatments or diagnostics according to Hotvet, his discursive text reveals a trust in the critical judgements of the medical authorities and thus encourages the potential reader to respond to them accordingly:

Three high-taught Doctors use their separate opinion
when they want to know whether someone is bewitched
or not: The 1st, being Winkelman, teaches of two hallmarks
but comments that they are both faltering, and then this is
the first one, that one should take urine from a person whom
they believe is bewitched and cook it in a new and unused
pot, boil it and if it [the urine] turns clear the person is
bewitched, if not, then it is unclear.
The 2nd, being Bartholin, has thus another experiment:
You take clean ashes and put it in a pot in which the

patient urinates, then enclose the pot and let it dry in the sun.
Later, you take the ash and break it apart. If the person is
bewitched you will see hair in the ashes, if there is nothing to
see, then it is natural weakness.
The 3rd, being (this attempt is also considered faltering by
Winkelman)[6] Johan Jacob Martius, claims that the experiments
listed here are found to be true, therefore they should be tried
since such high doctors discuss[7] this
(Hotvet in Gjermundsen 1980:35).[8]

In similar fashion to the first example above, the composition of this text reveals a clear structure of discursive elements. Whereas the former utterance consists of the question regarding the diagnostics of bewitchment, the responses from the two doctors present diagnostic methods and thus offer possible solutions to the medical problem. The anticipated response by the addressee to these solutions constituting the last link in the dialogic chain is, as in the first example, hard to predict but for another reason. In this text, all methods proposed are criticized and characterized as "faltering" by Doctor Winkelman, who dismisses both his own methods and Bartholin's method. If it were not for the last statement by Doctor Martius, who endorses the methods given as "true" and part of a learned methodological debate and thus trustworthy, there would not be any clear reason for applying the methods. Consequently, Doctor Martius' statement functions as an explicit preparation and authorization of future responses – steering the addressee in the right direction of authorities so to speak – while still leaving it up to the potential reader to consider which method to apply.

The construction of utterances given here also prompts the question of how we can understand the historicity of the text and the temporal and spatial relationships in and between the utterances. In Bakhtin's conceptual apparatus, it is the *chronotope* which designates the "time-space" dimensions of an utterance. Since Bakhtin seldom offers clear-cut definitions of his concepts, we are left to interpret his philosophical reflections:

> In the literary artistic chronotope, spatial and temporal indicators are fused into one carefully thought-out, concrete whole. Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history. The intersection of axes and fusion of indicators characterizes the artistic chronotope (Bakhtin 1981:84).

The lack of analytical precision in Bakhtin's reflection has led to numerous interpretations and applications of the concept, one of them being that it is as much a cognitive concept as a narrative feature of texts (Bemong & Boghardt 2010:5–8). If taken to its base, however, as a concept embedding narrative "time-space" indicators in a text, what indicators can be identified in Hotvet's text?

In the first example from Hotvet's text presented above, I will argue that the temporality primarily connects to the three different responses on how

to heal bewitchment. When Hotvet states "Three High-taught Doctors have each used their cure" the text exposes past medical practices that can potentially be reactivated in the present (Hotvet in Gjermundsen 1980:31). In other text passages, however, the grammatical use of past tense is absent and the present tense has taken its place as each doctor "writes", "says", "gives", "describes", and "reports" their cures. More than merely a grammatical feature, the wording denotes the performative aspect of the utterance regardless of its delayed qualities. In both cases, however, the temporality connected to the utterances identifies the doctors as performative entities, part of the past yet reactivated in the present through their statements.

Furthermore, "Agrikula", "Hofman", and "Purman" along with numerous other references in Hotvet's book, all connect past medical practices to historical practitioners, making it possible to identify (at least in theory) the initial historical statements and subjects. The epistemological origins of these references will be subject to investigation below. The point here is to illuminate how temporal and spatial categories express themselves in Hotvet's text, linking the subject or object of the utterance to specific *times* and *places*.

When discussing the treatment of weakness in horses Hotvet introduces the following diagnosis: "(1: Hallmarks if a horse is bewitched. (2: Cure against it. Mikael Pabst has in the year 1655 in Bohemia presented and writes the following:…" (Hotvet in Gjermundsen 1980:53).[9] Here, the text links the subject of the utterance, Mikael Pabst, to the specific time and place in which Pabst first (presumably) performed his statement. The date and time for this utterance is (at least originally) linked to a specific publication that was printed in the area of Bohemia carrying Pabst's name. In other instances, Hotvet refers explicitly to specific publications:

"The high-taught D: [Doctor] Wecher writes pag: 370, …" (ibid.:145).
"Thus teaches the learned Swedish Rydaholm in his herb book, pag: 220" (ibid.: 117).
"…and give each cow some of it, then their art is in vain, the same has also been witnessed by Collerus in his 11th chapter" (ibid.:103).[10]

The examples given here reveal narrative features that illuminate the "time-space" dimensions in different ways. Firstly, time is illuminated by references to past statements concerning treatments that are given present actuality, even reactivated. The time indicators are narrated both grammatically and by situating the statements in a specific historical time where they were first uttered (in other texts). Secondly, spatial indicators connect to specific geographical places (places where the utterances were given) and physical objects where the statements derive from (the books in which they were given).

Chronotopically, the temporal and spatial indicators in Hotvet's text not only include historical and geographical contexts but also indicate their spe-

cific significance in the discourse. The fact that Hotvet chooses to construct his text by including explicit references to contextual information points to generic features of the chronotopes governed by conventional and traditional expectations of certain texts and statements. Bakhtin himself saw an inseparable bond between chronotopes and genre since: "the chronotopes […] provide the basis for distinguishing generic types" (Bakhtin 1981:250–1). In Hotvet's text, the generic features are referential, factual, and rational – all features historically belonging (more or less) to academic or scientific texts. In this way, the chronotopes are indicators in the discourse that hold "representational significance" (ibid.). I will argue that this representational significance is closely connected to Hotvet's intentions in writing his manuscript and eventually his general view of medical knowledge. The chronotopes do not only point to where and from whom the statements derive, they also point in the direction of different medical knowledge systems. These systems, or knowledges, can in a Bakhtinian view be named ("*super-addressee*") the third addressee.

The Epistemology in Medical Book concerning Humans, Horses, and Cows

The dialogism in Hotvet's book presented above rests on the basic principle that an utterance involves a speaker (*author*) and a recipient of the utterance (*addressee*). In Hotvet's writing, the author is both himself and the medical authorities he voices through the structured dialogic chains of statements. While Hotvet is seemingly most visible as author in the introductions to each paragraph when determining the causes of illness, at least judging from the systematic lack of references in these sections, he voices others' statements by way of references in the subsequent discussions of available/proper treatments and recommendations. However, regardless of who is determined as author, a basic assumption in Bakhtin's reflection on utterance is that one's speech is never wholly one's own. Forms and words are not neutral but have belonged to and been used by others: "speech experience of each individual is shaped and developed in continuous and constant interaction with others' individual utterances" (Bakhtin 1986:89). As I have shown thus far, identifying chronotopes in the statements points us towards ideological features embedded in the dialogue.

In Bakhtin's dialogic view of speech as communication he notes that there will always be a third party involved in the dialogue, a so-called silent "*super-addressee*" (Bakhtin). This third part can be a specific person, but more often it represents abstract figures such as worldview, religion, politics, science, history, or ideology. As such, the third party is what "reads" between the lines of a text (Andersen 2010:19). In Hotvet's text, I will argue that the silent super-addressee or third party involved in the dialogue repre-

sents the different branches of knowledge voiced by the medical authorities and other voiced subjects. Put in another way, this is what Hotvet himself identifies on the front page of his manuscript as "many healing sciences in numerous ways" (Hotvet in Gjermundsen 1980:3). In the following, I will try to identify the silent super-addressee by way of the different forms of medical knowledges. What knowledge systems are voiced in Hotvet's text, and consequently, what kind of epistemological ideology does Hotvet represent?

Through the eighty-one pages constituting the main text of Hotvet's manuscript, he refers to altogether twenty-six named authors when presenting their medical advice.[11] Among these, eight are refereed to two or multiple times with "Docter Johan Just Winkelman", being seemingly the most important reference since he appears in nine different sections. The names are not always given in full, and given what might possibly be wrong spellings or misunderstanding on Hotvet's part, not all references are identifiable. Among those that are identifiable, however, it is possible to connect them to specific epistemological ideologies.

In the references appearing in the text samples given above, several of the references are possible to identify with certainty. The "Hofman" who appears in the first example is in all probability the German physician and chemist Friedrich Hoffmann (1660–1742) (Larsen 1980:170). Hoffmann was appointed professor of medicine at the University of Halle and wrote numerous works on subjects such as clinical and therapeutical medicine, chemistry, and mineral waters. His works appeared in Latin, but several were quickly translated into German, French, and English, proving that Hoffmann received attention and recognition for his contributions within medicine and chemistry. That he was appointed fellow of the Royal Society of London, elected to the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg along with his membership of the Berlin Academy of Sciences further confirms this.[12] Whether Hotvet had access to an original work of Hoffmann or used a secondary source when referring to him is impossible to establish. Consequently, the time and place and thus the historic accuracy of Hoffmann's alleged utterance cannot be traced. For obvious reasons, determining Hotvet's accuracy in voicing the medical authorities would give important insight into his own epistemological standpoint and the polyphonic complexity in the dialogues. While leaving this for future studies, the point here is that Hoffman's statement in Hotvet's text not only points to a performance in which Hoffmann voiced his medical knowledge but also to the epistemological base from which Hoffmann gave his speech: a systematic ideological view of medical knowledge represented by university-trained physicians and academic scholars. It is precisely this systematic epistemological ideology which serves as the super-addressee in the dialogue and one group of representatives of Hotvet's "healing sciences".[13]

The kind of medical references Hotvet chooses to present is also worth noting. During the eighteenth century, an increasing number of publications were on offer concerning health and medical treatment aimed at the European rural population (see e.g. Mellemgaard 2001:201–206; Smith 1985: 249–282; Porter 1995:444–446). Commonly entitled "house pharmacy", "hand pharmacy", or "country pharmacy" in the North, these books promoted general health advice as well as specific remedies for a number of ailments aimed at self-treatments (see e.g. Haartman 1765; Garboe 1767; Tode 1803). One might suspect references to such "popularized" authors of medical handbooks in Hotvet's text. However, references to works by medical authorities such as "Theophrastus Paracelsus", "Thomas Bartholin" and "Friedrich Hoffmann" indicate a preference by Hotvet for classical and learned medical texts. This is also evident in Hotvet's references to other branches of knowledge such as theology and philosophy. Voicing natural philosophers such as the British "Autor Decby" (Kenelm Digby 1603–1665) or theologians such as "Docter Luther" (Martin Luther 1483–1546) further emphasizes this motivation. Still, are the super-addressees in Hotvet's text exclusively within realms of theoretical and thus principally epistemological ideologies? The simple answer is no.

As mentioned in the introduction to this section, Hotvet himself is seemingly most visible as author when determining the causes of illness. In these introductory statements, we also gain access to a silent super-addressee, the epistemological position from which Hotvet speaks (or at least where other references are absent). In these utterances, Hotvet explains ailments in humans as largely deriving from supernatural causes in which bewitchment is the most frequent cause. When presenting preventive measures the most frequent entity of precaution is bewitchment.

Placing supernatural causes as the predominant origin of diseases and potential threats to one's health reflects popular ideas on health and healing. Evident from popular writings, commentaries, and descriptions of lay practices, "popular medicine" (denoting these lay perceptions and practices) was rooted among all levels of society in Norway as in Europe, extending well into the modern period (see e.g. Alver 2008:66–94; Porter 1999:191–274; Stark 2014:125–146; Van Gent 2009). Popular medical knowledge and application of botanical specimens was primarily empirically based practical knowledge. Furthermore, conceptions concerning the existence and potential control of supernatural – magical – powers represented what we might call an *essential epistemological principle* within popular medicine. Earlier branches of European learned medicine in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were certainly influenced by natural philosophy and ideas on how magical powers embedded the natural and spiritual world and affected humans (Fink-Jensen 2004). Yet, by the late eighteenth century, these ideas had largely been abandoned by learned medicine in favour of more analyti-

cal approaches to illness based on critical observation and experimentation (Moseng 2003:131). Ideas of harmful inflictions on humans by means of witchcraft were nevertheless not part of the epistemological ideology of university-based medical knowledge in the late eighteenth century.

When Hotvet voices diagnostics reflected in popular medical epistemology he mediates orally transmitted beliefs and ideas most certainly reflected in his local milieu in Telemark. Moreover, by authoring popular epistemological notions on diagnostics into the dialogue he more than demands the reader to consider it in line with the other ideologies. Instead of presenting the different treatment discussions by voicing authorities and recommending their consideration according to a strict discursive structure, he leaves this formula by not giving any options for alternatives. It appears as though diagnostics are not part of his explorative and negotiable epistemology – they are simply stated in the text. Whether this is a conscious choice by Hotvet is hard to determine. It might be a result of a copying process where the diagnostics have merely been collected from another work. If so, however, the work in question would most probably be another secondary handwritten source, since learned medical works rarely supported supernatural explanations in diagnostics. Alternatively, these sections of the text are where Hotvet himself speaks most noticeably. If this is the case, he promotes a popular medical epistemological position concerning diagnostics and deliberately withdraws it from discussion – making it somewhat superior to other epistemologies. While the motivations and reasons behind what resembles an epistemological hierarchy are hard to determine, the general epistemological position in Hotvet's text remains explorative and negotiable. And in his enquiry and intervention into knowledges, Hotvet's text points to past and present theories as well as past and present practices and worldviews concerning health.

Negotiating Medical Knowledges in the Eighteenth Century

In order to understand the context of mediation and negotiation of medical knowledge in the *Medical Book* we need to take a closer look at the writer himself, namely Ole Steensen Hotvet. Who was he, what kind of social environment was he a part of, and how can we understand his epistemological ideology?

Ole Steensen was born in 1731 at the farm of Håtveit, Holla, in Telemark County in the south-east of Norway (Gjermundsen 1980:XIII).[14] He was the oldest of three siblings, giving him the birthright to Håtveit. After marrying Margrethe Halvorsdatter in 1753 he bought the farm of Mjølteig from his father in 1754, leaving them with two farms to manage. From 1769, however, Hotvet's main responsibility is connected to Håtveit. How many children Ole and Margrethe had is not clear, but Margrethe gave birth to at least

one son who took over the management of Håtveit in 1796. Ole Steensen Hotvet died in 1807 at the age of seventy-six.

What motivated the writing of Hotvet's Medical Book is left to speculation. Still, certain events in his life might very well have served as important factors. The same year as Hotvet wrote and finished his book, his wife suffered a stroke. Whether he had already started his writing before 1794, or if the sudden stroke and illness of his wife was a direct cause for starting it is unknown, but the concurrence is worth noting. Developing an interest in and recognizing the value of medical knowledge could certainly be prompted by experiencing severe illness in his immediate family. Furthermore, historical accounts prove that Hotvet was generally interested in knowledge and education. While he had received his own basic schooling from travelling teachers (*omgangskole*) visiting the different school districts in the county, Hotvet was later in life engaged in local school politics. In 1780 and 1782, he attended meetings held at the local rectory where topics relating to the education system were discussed.

How Ole gained access to the variety of literary sources evident in his references to secondary sources is another element left for speculation. It does not seem to be part of his private library as would have been detectable in the estate inventories. This does not exclude the possibility that Hotvet might have owned medical books which circulated on the book market in the late eighteenth century. As Gina Dahl shows, both classical and more contemporary medical works and practical manuals circulated among the rural population during this period and were also available through various reading societies (Dahl 2011:132). Contact with the local rectory, as Hotvet's political engagement shows, represents another possible source of literary access. Generally, the Norwegian clergy were both international in their book acquisition and relatively broad in thematic choices (ibid.:88). A third possible source of literary medical works is Hotvet's involvement with the Holden ironworks (Holden jernverk, later renamed Ulefos). In the 1770s Hotvet is listed as supplier of coal to the ironworks, and in 1778 he appears in a registry of farmers connected to the ironworks with arrears to Holden.[15] By the late eighteenth century, the Holden ironworks was the largest producer of pig iron, rod iron, and castings in Norway. While established in 1657, the ironworks saw many different owners during the course of the next century. When Hotvet was involved in the industry, the Danish-Norwegian noble family of Løvenskiold owned the ironworks. Even though it is highly speculative and somewhat unlikely, it is at least a theoretical possibility that Hotvet might have gained access to the library in the mansion of Holden (Holden hovedgård) where the ironworks owners resided. Without speculating further, we can nevertheless establish several possible links through which Hotvet might have gained access to medical literature.

Another possible explanation for the diverse literary sources Hotvet ap-

plies in his text is that Hotvet copied parts or the whole text from another handwritten source, as mentioned above. The strict discursive structure of Hotvet's text – a structure he never leaves throughout his text – might support the latter theory. Not that Hotvet would have been incapable of developing this structure himself, but if so one might have expected a textual, discursive, and structural "testing" on the first few pages of the book while Hotvet was establishing his compositional writing style. Copying text from other handwritten sources was not unusual at this time when access to printed books was still a limited good. If copying was indeed the case with Hotvet the question left unanswered would still be from which source he retrieved the knowledge. Additionally, it would leave the question of authorship more open. However, even though reproduced and hence endorsed by Hotvet, a potential copying practice would certainly illuminate Bakhtin's view of living "in a world of others' words" (Bakhtin 1984:143). As Bakhtin points out

> Our speech, that is, all our utterances (including our creative works), is filled with others' words, varying degrees of otherness or varying degrees of 'our-own-ness'… These words of others carry with them their own expression, their own evaluative tone, which we assimilate, rework, and re-accentuate (Bakhtin 1986:89).

Regardless of who initially composed parts of the structured statements in Hotvet's text, Hotvet serves as yet another link in the chain of communication by voicing others and making their words also his words. The Bakhtinian reading of Hotvet's manuscript is a case study illuminating how aspects of epistemological notions of medical knowledge were mediated in the early modern period. Firstly, it shows how different epistemological ideologies were present and voiced among a representative of the rural population of Norway. Secondly, the study shows in what particular manner of exploration and negotiation this voicing was conducted.

The first point largely confirms contemporary studies emphasizing the plurality of epistemological notions and practices of medicine among the population. In the recent decades, a great many studies in medical history show how different "medicines" or medical "knowledges" were utilized side by side among different levels of society. In contrast to narrating historical progress on the part of scientific medicine, we find studies of patients' experience, medical mediation and transmission, and religion among the perspectives contributing to show the variety of this utilization (see e.g. de Renzi 2004; Lindemann 2010). I believe the second point brings new insight into the specific forms and expressions of this epistemological plurality. By applying Bakhtin in the reading of Hotvet's *Medical Book*, the strong focus on speech, form and structure in the mediation shows how complex and dense this medical epistemological plurality could express itself at the end of the eighteenth century in Norway. When faced with a wide range of possible theories, methods, and solutions to medical problems Ole Steensen

Hotvet chose to keep the door open to all of them. The "knowledges" might prove the effort worthwhile.

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[1] The manuscript was published by Holla Historical Society in 1980. Following a transcribed version of Hotvet's manuscript, the publication is also provided with an introduction and several short commentary articles by different scholars.

[2] "Den handler om adskiel-/ lige lægedoms Videnska-/ ber, i adskiellige Maa-/ der: Da den første Indhold/ er Mennisker vedkommen-/ de: Den anden Indhold er/ Hæster vedkommende: Og den/ tredie Inhold, er Kiørne/ vedkommende.-"

[3] I am in gratitude to Henriette Thune, PhD, who read an earlier draft of my text and gave insightful comments and inputs on how to understand and apply Bakhtin in text analysis.

[4] In contrast to dialogism, Bakhtin refers to monologism. In novels, for example, a monological speech denies autonomous meaning to the characters and they exist solely for transmitting the author's ideology (Bakhtin 1984).

[5] "Tre Høy-lærde Doctores/ har hver for sig brugt sin/ kuur med Deres lorte, som/ har været forhexede:-/ Den 1ste nemlig Agrikula/ siger, at man skal allene/ binde lorten paa Patien-/ tens skade, og da have den i/ en Svine-blaase, og i 3 Dage/ lade den røges i en skorsteen,/ ia i bestandig røg Nat og Dag./ Den 2den nemlig Hofman vil/ at man skal legge lorten og/ hvideløg over de smært-haven-/ de stæder i 24 Timmer, og da/ først i en Svine-blaase henge/ det i røg./ Den 3die, nemlig Purman/ har her imod vel merket, at/med saadan røgen bliver dfet of-/ te verre, i det de svage for-/ tørres der efter, indtil de en-/ delig aldeles døer, thi: siger/ Hand, næst paa mange andre,/ har ieg selv seet det paa min/ egen Sviger-Fader: – Derfor/ maae Røgelsen skee med var-/ somhed, naar den skal bruges." All translations of Hotvet's text are by the present author.

[6] The clause in brackets is noted at the end of a page in Hotvet's manuscript appearing as a possible later addition.

[7] There are several possible translations of the Danish word "Disputerer". It can also mean the "exchange of opinions" (udveksle meninger) or the public exchange of opinions in form of a "defence" (forsvar) commonly denoting the act of defending a scientific work in a public verbal dialogue held at a university. Additionally, it can also denote "contest" (bestride) or "denial" (benægte) (http://ordnet.dk/ods/ordbog?query=disputere).

[8] "Trende Høy-lærde Doctere/ bruger hver sin meening,/ naarde vil vide, om nogen/ er forhexet, eller ey:/ den 1ste, nemlig Winkelman/ lærer om tvende kiendetægn,/ men siger tillige om dem, at/ de ere vakklende, og da er/ dette det første, at man skal/ tage det menniskes pis,

som/ de mener at være forhexet/ og koge det i en ny og u-brugt/ Potte, koge det op, saa er hand/ forhexet, hvis ikke, da er/ det u-klart./ den 2den, nemlig Bartholin/ har et andet forsøg saaledes: / De tager reen aske, og ha-/ ver i en ny Potte, der paa skal/ Patienten lade sit vand, og/ saa binde Potten til, at det af/ sig selv i Solen tørres, si-/ den tager de asken, og brekker/ den fra hin anden, er da men-/ nisket forhexet, saa skal der/ sees Haar i asken, og er der in-/ tet at see, da er det naturlig/ svaghed. Den 3die, nemlig/ (dette forsøg holder ogsaa Winkelmann vak-/ klende) Johan Jacob Martius paa-/ staaer at Disse anførte forsø-/ ger ere befundene, som sande,/ Derfor bør de og forsøges, si-/ den saa høye Doktere Dispute-/ rer der om."

[9] "(1: Kiende-tægn om en Hæst er forhexet. (2: Middel derimod. Dette har Mikael Pabst i Aaret 1655 til Böhmen ladet udgaae, og der paa skriver saaledes:.."

[10] "Den høy-lærdte D: We-/cher skriver pag: 370,/"; "Saaledes lærer/ den lærde Svendske Rydaholm/ i sin Urte-bog, pag: 220"; "…og ingiv hver/ koe noget her af, saa er/ Deres Kunst forgiæves, dette/ samme har og saa Collerus i/ sit 11te Capittel bevidnet"

[11] In the transcribed text edition of Hotvet's book from 1980, Øyvind Larsen identifies several of the references given (Larsen 1980:XXII–XXV, 167–182).

[12] See "Hoffmann, Friedrich" in *Complete Dictionary of Scientific Biography* 2008. http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-2830902029.html (Retrieved 17 April 2016)

[13] In the majority of cases, the named authorities appearing in Hotvet's text derive from this ideological branch of medical knowledge.

[14] The following account of Hotvet's life builds on Gjermundsen 1980:XIII–XVI. When Hotvet signs his name as Hotvet, it refers to his place of origin.

[15] See Taxation of Ulefos ironworks 1778, http://digitalarkivet.uib.no/dok/digitalpensjonatet/ajohan/ulftakst/.

Translations of the Body and Translational Embodiment in Théophraste Renaudot's *La Présence des Absens ou facile moyen de rendre présent au Médecin l'estat d'un malade absent* (1642)

Eivind Engebretsen

Théophraste Renaudot (1586–1653) is perhaps best known as the founder of the first weekly newspaper in France, *La Gazette*, in 1631. However, he was also a physician and a philanthropist and in 1640, with the support of Richelieu, he initiated a system of free medical consultations for the poor in Paris. Each week, the poor were offered treatment by a group of physicians working for Renaudot. Renaudot defended his "consultations charitables" on several occasions[1] and in 1642 he published a text called *La Présence des Absens ou facile moyen de rendre présent au Médecin l'estat d'un malade absent* with the aim of expanding his mission into a system for consultations from a distance. Through this text Renaudot hoped that his consultations would reach the poor living outside Paris who were not able to come into the city to receive advice and treatment. On the surface, Renaudot's book seems like a predecessor to modern telemedicine. The text[2] consists of a theoretical introduction and a form that describes successively every part of the body and every condition that might affect a patient. Each sentence consists of several alternative segments from which the reader might choose the one which corresponds to the patient's situation, e.g.: "vomits easily, with difficulty, never vomits" (Renaudot 1640:18).[3,4] In addition, the book includes illustrations of a human body (one male and one female) on which the patient can locate and indicate the depth and extent of the pain by drawing lines according to specific instructions. This way the physician who received the completed form could read the text consisting of the chosen segments and based on this reading he could decide on a diagnosis and make a choice of treatment. The text was thus meant to be a tool for exchanging in-

formation between the doctor and the patient and this exchange was supposed to be bidirectional: On the one hand, the book delivered standardized information about medical conditions for the patient to use in order to describe his symptoms. On the other hand, the text allowed the patient to transfer information about his health back to the doctor through the completion of the form.

However, despite the superficial resemblance to modern telemedicine, I will show that Renaudot's text relies on a completely different epistemology than modern knowledge translation tools. Knowledge translation has become a buzzword in modern medicine during the last 20 years. Since the late 1990s, there has been a growing concern that many research findings remain within the secluded space of the laboratory without informing clinical practice. This concern has inspired different initiatives to translate knowledge "from bench to bedside" (Greenhalgh 2011; Woolf 2008). Knowledge translation includes practices such as translational research, i.e. clinical trials based on laboratory research, "clinical guidelines" which are research-based recommendations for use in clinical practice, as well as telecommunication and information technologies which make it possible to exchange health information between doctors, patients and other end users.

However, knowledge translation is more than a set of practices. The idea that knowledge can and should be translated into practice leans on specific presuppositions about both knowledge and translation as well as the relation between them. In short, a modern conception of knowledge translation assumes that a disease is a biological condition and part of the human body. This condition precedes any knowledge about it and the ultimate aim of medical science is to obtain "correspondence" or equivalence with the bodily condition in the sense of reflecting this condition as accurately as possible. The medical science has universal ambition – it concerns all bodies affected by the same disease – and it precedes any translation into clinical use on individual patients (Lillehagen *et al*. 2013).

In this article I will challenge the universal validity of these presuppositions by exploring the relations between bodily conditions, knowledge, and translation in Renaudot's text. I will analyse the book as an act of translation in the sense that it aims to transfer some kind of information between doctor and patient and explore how the text presents and makes sense of this translational endeavour. My close reading is guided by the following general questions: What kind of translation is enacted through Renaudot's text? What is the nature of the message to be translated and what is its relation to the patient's bodily condition on the one hand, and the act of translation on the other? And finally, what is the purpose of the translation provided by the book?

Translatio in Early Modern Discourse

Translatio was a key concept in medieval and early modern thought. The concept was closely linked to the transmission of *auctoritas* from divine to human domains (Minnis 1988). *Translatio studii* referred to the linguistic and spatial transfer of knowledge from the ancient past to the present. This idea was closely associated with *translatio imperii* or the transmission of authority through the linear succession of empires (Reid 1981; Le Goff 1988). Originating in Roman historiography, the idea of the transmission of the empire was brought into Christian historiography by St Jerome and further developed by Otto of Freising who related the idea to the four kingdoms of Daniel's vision. The topos of the *translatio studii et imperii* implied that power and knowledge centred in Rome needed to be transferred to new places, in the same way that it had originally been transferred from Babylon and Athens and then to Rome (Le Goff 1988:36).

Translatio in this sense also ties in to the Sacred Tradition of the Catholic Church. The importance of tradition was emphasized by the protagonists of the Counter-Reformation as opposed to the Protestant doctrine of *sola scriptura*. According to one of the most important figures in the Counter-Reformation, the Italian Jesuit and cardinal Robert Bellarmine, God's will could not only be read out of Scripture, but it also expressed itself through the tradition of the Church and the work of its Fathers. Moreover, this humanly written tradition was infallible due to the Magisterium of the Church, its teaching authority: "what all the faithful hold as of faith is necessarily true and of faith" (Bellarmine in Sullivan 2003:97). The words of God were thus not only repeated but fulfilled through the teaching of the Church. "Scripture without traditions was neither entirely necessary nor sufficient" (Bellarmine in Soo Han 2015:97).

Within the context of the Counter-Reformation, *translatio* was thus a broad concept linked not only to language but also to the transmission of divine knowledge and authority. In addition, *translatio* did not emphasize sameness or equivalence but rather generational transition and evolvement (Hokenson & Munson, 2007). The aim of the translation was not to produce a "text" identical to the source but to provoke a different revelation of the *auctoritas*. The translation should expound the knowledge/authority of the *auctor*, and the ultimate *auctor* was God himself (Copeland 1991). Hence the concept of *translatio* represented a "simultaneous continuity with and rupture from past textual practices" (Hokenson & Munson 2007:26).

Furthermore, *translatio* did not only encompass intellectual or spiritual transmission but also material displacement. *Translatio* referred to the dispersion of saint's relics with the aim of spreading their healing effects (Izbicki 2016). Here the translation is not the uptake of the "source" into a target system or culture. Rather, the relics produce effects by being physically

displaced. The response of the target culture is an effect of translation rather than translation in itself.

The logic of translation was also central to early modern medicine. The authority of medical knowledge relied on translation from natural philosophy to medicine. This translation of authority and knowledge from one discipline to another was called subalternation with reference to Aristotelian doctrine (French 2003:81). A subalternated discipline took its first principles from another discipline and was thus in a certain sense based on translation. In scholastic medicine the concept was mainly used to describe the relationship between medicine and philosophy. However, with the revival of Hippocratic aphorisms and the interest in the relation between religion and science in the Counter-Reformation period, the same logic was also applied to the relation between medicine and other systems of thought (French 2003:109).

Moreover, from being a concept intimately related to Latin culture and the transmission of knowledge and authority from the ancients to the present, *translatio* gradually also came to encompass exchange between Latin and other cultures. The newly explorable globe opened for horizontal exchange across space and culture (Hokenson & Munson 2007:6). Furthermore, from the sixteenth century onwards, an increasing number of texts were being translated from Greek and Latin into vernacular languages. Many texts were also written directly in vernaculars. In this latter group, there were a significant number of medical texts including handbooks written for semi-medical professionals such as surgeons, barbers and apothecaries, as well as "opinions" and "treatises" describing the consequences of large epidemics, especially the plague (Carlino & Jeanneret 2009). Hokenson and Munson (2007) have pointed out that these new forms of cultural encounter – both within medicine and elsewhere – also challenged the traditional vertical conception of *translatio*. The discourse of *translatio* was reframed horizontally in that new cultural domains were opened to be "civilized". The idea of the supremacy of the Latin language and ancient culture remained but the transference of authority now also applied to cultures outside the Latin tradition (Hokenson & Munson 2007:6). Hence, *translatio* gained a new and, in a certain sense, colonial ambition.

While these general trends have been described by others, few have explored how these conceptual transitions are reflected in early modern texts and in their "doing" of translation. The translation of *translatio* within the large body of vernacular literature from the early modern period has not gained much attention. To my knowledge, there are no other studies investigating how these transforming and partly conflicting discourses of *translatio* are manifest in vernacular medical texts written with an explicit aim of vulgarizing authoritative knowledge. This is a void that the present study aims to fill.

Renaudot's work lies at the intersection between these cultural transformations and – as we shall see – his understanding of his own translational endeavour both draws on and adds to these discourses. Several scholars have emphasized Renaudot's importance to early modern history of knowledge (Mazaurik 1997; Wellman 2003; Weller 2010; Solomon 2015). Howard Solomon (2015) has analysed Renaudot's different contributions to the growing field of "social welfare" which among other things included the establishment of a labour bureau, a pawnshop as well as medical services to the poor. Providing an overview of Renaudot's different activities, Solomon demonstrates how Renaudot's ability to integrate different systems of knowledge makes him both a unique case and an emblematic representative of his period. Central to Renaudot's multifarious activities is his attempt to diffuse scientific and technical knowledge. Kathleen Wellman (2003) has drawn attention to Renaudot's knowledge dissemination activities and more specifically, the series of weekly conferences held at Renaudot's establishment in Paris. With these conferences that treated a broad variety of topics Renaudot attempted to translate scholarly knowledge to wider audiences. Although Wellman and other scholars refer to *La Présence des Absens* as an innovative and controversial case of vernacular medical writing, few studies have devoted special attention to this text and its specific place within early modern history of knowledge. This article will thus contribute to existing scholarship by exploring the various purposes and the epistemological underpinnings of Renaudot's text and the "knowledge translation" project it conveys.

An Act of Communication

Renaudot describes his work as an act of communication: "to make such a good deed even more communicable"[5] (1642:5). This act of communication has two directions which are both reflected on the title page. The main title "The presence of the absent or an easy way to make the condition of an absent sick person present to the doctor" refers to the aim of communicating the bodily condition of the patient to the doctor. By underlining the symptoms that correspond to his condition and by situating the symptoms on the printed picture, the patient is supposed to construct a textual and visual representation of the sick body which ultimately renders the absent body present to the doctor. As expressed further down on the title page, this textual representation does *not* necessitate that the person developing the text be able to write: "With the figures of the human body, and tables for this purpose, with instructions to use it, even by those who cannot write".[6] The text creates a distinction between *using* and *writing*. Renaudot repeatedly implies that writing and reading do not necessarily belong together: "as long as they know how to read", he affirms, even "simple women and children"[7]

can make use of the book. According to Furet and Ozouf's classic work about reading and writing skills in early modern France, it was quite common that people of lower rank had only basic reading skills. For example, the transmission of knowledge from older to younger women in rural areas often included simple reading competencies but no writing (Furet & Ozouf 1977). The important point is, however, that through the "use" of this book, the patient him- or herself or the person assisting him or her could, without knowing how to write, create a textual representation of the patient's sick body.

Furthermore, this subtitle reflects a second act of communication, from the doctor to the patient: it is supposed to contribute to the patient's "instruction". The aim of the book is to be useful to "all humankind indifferently, which for the most consists of ignorant people" (Renaudot 1640:12).[8] Renaudot has therefore decided to use a style "so familiar" that not only the local surgeon or apothecary, who had less formal education than the physician, but even "simple women and children" were able to understand. This act of "vulgarization" of medical knowledge should not, however, be mistaken for a project of enlightenment. Providing instruction is not the same as transferring new knowledge. The author only expects the reader to use his text and not to learn from it; it is explicitly stated that it can be used even by the ignorant. The instruction provided by the text remains what Donald A. Norman has called "knowledge in the world", which refers to information devices that do not need to be integrated into the mind of the user in order to be efficient (Norman 1988). The patient and other lay readers are supposed to follow the instruction and report about medical conditions without acquiring or integrating this knowledge. This means that the ignorant can remain ignorant and the "translation" will still be successful. The same thing can be said about the other kind of translation indirectly proposed by the book – the one where the doctor sends his instructions about treatment back to the patient. The patient is not expected to learn from the instruction provided by the doctor in this case either. The doctor's recommendations constitute "knowledge in the world" that the patient is not expected to acquire but that he can use in order to get well. The translation is about the use, not the acquisition of new knowledge.

Renaudot's distinction between instruction and learning here has to do with the understanding of learning as socially determined. We have already seen that more people learned how to read, while writing was a privilege of the few. This was not only a question of access to knowledge, but of ideology and politics (Merlin 1994). Society was understood as a divine order in which individuals had tasks to fulfil conforming to their positions in the social hierarchy and in which knowledge was distributed accordingly. It followed that for some groups (farmers and people without social standing) learning was simply irrelevant. Although Renaudot's text is written for "all

mankind, indifferently", people are supposed to be different and they are supposed to use the text differently. The ignorant should use it according to their ignorance. To change their position as ignorant through "enlightenment" is not only useless but represents a blasphemous alteration of a divinely given division of labour. "Knowledge translation" thus needs to be socially differentiated.

Knowledge, Practice and Translation

Furthermore, all the acts of "translation" that Renaudot's work aims to facilitate – from the doctor to the patient, from the patient to the doctor and back again to the patient – involve more than knowledge in a modern sense. Renaudot frequently uses the word "art" to describe his endeavour and therefore indirectly enters a long-standing discussion of the relation between medical art and science. The understanding of medicine as a rational *scientia* built on natural philosophy and logical reasoning had gained dominance in the Middle Ages, without ever completely succeeding in undermining medicine as a "productive art" (French 2003:19). This hegemonic position was however seriously challenged by the plagues and epidemics of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that the natural-philosophical framework struggled to explain. Eventually, this led to a renewed attention to practical skills and experience as the centre of medical work (French 2003:158). Furthermore, this development was accompanied by a new industry of medical advice and experience-based treatises written in vernaculars, as well as an increased scepticism about the Latin tradition (Carlino & Jeanneret 2009). With his book Renaudot not only positions himself as a representative of the medical art, he also takes a stand as a critic of the Latin tradition. He explicitly rejects the argument that medical knowledge must be expressed in a beautiful language and he refers in this context to the importance of practice: "But those who seek a beautiful language, in French, Greek or Latin, should give themselves the satisfaction of attending our consultations, and they will learn how medicine is practised there" (Renaudot 1642:12).[9] Still, Renaudot considers his endeavour to be more than a productive art in a traditional sense. He also refers to his work as a religious practice. The *logos* of Renaudot's translational act and what he wishes to make "communicable" is a deed ("such a good deed") and a practice of charity: "this charity, which continues to communicate itself to ten thousand mouths daily with the success that we know" (Renaudot 1642:3).[10] At the origin of Renaudot's work are the "charitable consultations" provided by Renaudot's doctors in Paris which he wishes to universalize through his book. His book is thus both a new act of charity and a defence of the charity work he is already doing at his establishment in Paris.

Renaudot begins his book by establishing that the act of communicating, and thereby universalizing, this charity work is commissioned by God: "The approval of God and the men who have received our charitable consultations, no longer allows for this great good to remain confined behind the walls of Paris" (1642:1).[11] Ultimately it is "God who is the author" (4) of Renaudot's book as well as the charitable contributions that inspired it. *Translatio* in terms of the vertical transmission of *auctoritas* from divine to humans is thus introduced. This introduction places the discourse both outside and inside history. It is dictated by God but at the same time inspired by a particular historical situation. At a rhetorical level, this enables Renaudot to relate his text to a God-given mission at the same time as he emphasizes the historical uniqueness of his own contemporary charity work in Paris. This way he also emphasizes the status of the knowledge he provides. Although not science in a traditional natural-philosophical sense, Renaudot's work is tied to authoritative knowledge. In this context, it is important that he refers to his work not only as an art but as a "practice". Renaudot frames his work within a discourse where the relation between *theoria* and *practica* was understood differently than it is in modern science. Practice was distinct from both theory and art. Contrary to the art of medicine, medical *theoria* and *practica* were both based on reason rather than action. While *theoria* offered certainty based on general principles, *practica* dealt with particulars and offered opinion and judgement (Cook 2006). The "practice" of medicine, as well as the practice of physics or philosophy for that matter, was about translating from certainty to opinion, from universals to particulars. Still, this practice was an act of reasoning separate from clinical experience: "The physician could 'practice' his science even if he never treated patients" (Cook 2006:409). However, Renaudot renegotiates the concept by linking his practice not primarily to natural philosophy but to religion and theology, the highest ranked among the sciences. The particulars he and his doctors are dealing with are more important than "facts" because they are linked to charity and thereby to a God-given mission. The practice of charity is deduced from the most authoritative of all principles, Christian doctrine and the words of Christ. By linking his medical work to charity, Renaudot therefore underscores the status of the knowledge he provides. It is an art, but it is also *more* than an art. It is a Christian "practice".

With this move Renaudot connects his work to a wave of spiritualization within medical literature in the early modern period. This wave was partly a Catholic reaction to the Reformation, partly an expression of a revival of Platonism as a response to the Aristotelian dominance within scholastic medicine during the Middle Ages (French 2003:160–163). The Parisian doctor Jean Fernel, whose work on fever had left intertextual traces in Renaudot's book (Carlino and Jeanneret 2009), insisted that the Bible was a

greater authority in medicine even than Hippocrates and that medicine should be "pious" in a Christian way. The Italian doctor Clementi Clementini claimed for his part that medical experience should be gained from charitable practice among the poor in order to please God (French 2003:146). The idea of a subalternation of medical (charitable) practice to Christian learning was thus part of the discourse that frames Renaudot's work. This idea also challenges the traditional understanding that the reputation and status of the doctor rest on the social standing of his patients (French 2003: 121). With the link to Christian charity the status of the doctor is warranted in a new way. Medical care gains its status not from the patient but from being a "good deed". As opposed to medical writing from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that was generally addressed to powerful people, Renaudot could authorize his work by addressing "everyone equally" as part of a pious act of charity (Bauman 2004).

Renaudot's introduction also serves to deconstruct the opposition between communication/translation and the practice of charity that is being translated. First, the practice of charity which his book intends to communicate or translate is in itself an act of communication: "this charity which continues to communicate itself daily". Charity is the *translatio* of a divine commission. Second, charity always seeks to expand: "from its centre, it [charity] sheds light upon the world" (Renaudot, 1642: 4).[12] In this sense, the continuous communication of the message is part of charity. Translation *is* charity. This supplementary relation between charity and translation/communication is also reflected in discourse on charity from the early modern period. From being a rather introverted activity associated with the secluded space of the convent, charity became increasingly tied to missionary activity, notably with the work of Vincent de Paul (Diefendorf 2004). Moreover, with this development the concept of charity itself was modified or broadened. In religious discourse from the first part of the seventeenth century, "charity" was increasingly used metaphorically to refer to communicative endeavours such as public speeches and opinions about moral or pious conduct. "Charity" started to refer to communication *about* charity (Engebretsen 2011; 2014). It is this broad, metaphorical concept of charity that we find in Renaudot's text.

Renaudot also ties his work to charity by relating the project of communicating and expanding the good work being done by his Parisian organization to the self-denial of his doctors: "It [this charitable company] still does not consider it has done enough when assigning, as practised, its doctors to visit, to medicate & treat those who cannot come into the Office, even when having multiplied these consultations, for the convenience of patients who arrive on other days of the week" (Renaudot 1642:4).[13] The doctors are so charitable that they are unable to find a sufficient outlet for their generosity through the assistance they provide inside Paris. They overflow with piety.

In this sense, Renaudot's work and the charity practice it translates are the result of an excess of piety and goodness; they are motivated by the double virtues of Christian charity: the love of God and the love of our neighbors for the sake of God (Ryna 1908). Moreover, Renaudot's emphasis on the sacrificing attitude of his doctors is in line with the spirituality of the period. According to the Christocentric theology of Bérulle, which had a strong bearing on Vincent de Paul's charity endeavour, the ultimate aim of charity was to obtain unity with the incarnate Word. True charity was thus necessarily accompanied by self-denial (*abnégation)*, prostration (*anéantissement)*, and deprivation (*dénuement)* of the human on the model of Christ's sacrifice for the sake of union with God (Dupuy 2011). Ultimately, it was the intensity of intention that made an act charitable, not its consequences. The good intentions of Renaudot's charitable doctors are thus important for the authorization of his work. The translation that his work provides is a result of their abundance of piety and goodness.

The translation and the translated message form a "double supplement" in Renaudot's text (Derrida 1998). According to Derrida, the supplement is based on an ambiguous logic: on the one hand, it adds on to something that is complete in itself, it "is a plenitude enriching another plenitude" (Derrida 1998:144). On the other hand, "the supplement supplements" (Derrida 1998:145), it compensates for an emptiness or a lack in the original. Renaudot's work is a supplement in terms of adding to the original: "to make such a good deed even more communicable" (Renaudot 1642:5) The act of charity that inspires Renaudot's book is sufficient in itself being "such a good deed" and ultimately, an expression of the incarnate Word. But at the same time, it is a supplement in the sense that it compensates for a lack in the original. Most obviously, it compensates for the physical absence of a doctor. Renaudot's book aims to compensate for the fact that some of the poor living in the countryside "do not want or are unable to have the doctor come visit them at home; either because they live too far away, or because they do not have the money to pay the travel of those they trust who cannot or will not visit them at home" (Renaudot 1642:6).[14] His text is an attempt to "compensate for this insufficiency" ("*supplée* à ce defaut" [my emphasis]; Renaudot 1642:6). But Renaudot's work does also supplement the original good deed in a more fundamental and metaphysical sense. The aim of his work is "to make such a good deed even more communicable, *that is, even greater*" (Renaudot 1642:5, my emphasis).[15] Renaudot's text does not only add to the good deed, it is the fulfilment of its intentions. The original deed is accomplished through its textual supplement; the original good is made even greater through translation. This supplementary nature of good deeds is also manifest in the Catholic notion of tradition. Although the doctrine (the original God-given message) is complete in itself, it is enriched through the unfolding

of the Sacred Tradition: "It was above all for the Church to circulate the Divine Book by minting its doctrine, adapting and explaining it, by offering it and drawing from it nourishment wherewith to nourish souls, briefly by *supplementing* the book, making use of it, and assisting others to make use of it. This is the debt of Scripture to the living magisterium" (Bainvel 1912, my emphasis). The relation between the original charitable act and its translation through Renaudot's text seems to follow a similar supplementary logic. The good deed is an ultimate presence and an absolute plenitude in terms of overflowing with goodness and being equal to the incarnate Word. Still, it is a presence that needs a supplement, the Word must be doubled in order to be fulfilled. Renaudot's translational endeavour is bound by this double indebtedness: the fidelity to the original message *and* to its fulfilment. In the following, we will see how the supplementary character of his work serves several different purposes which further illuminate the relation between knowledge, practice and translation in Renaudot's text.

More Present than Present

If the book is meant to serve as a tool for the patient or the person assisting him in describing his medical condition, it is not only because the patient is absent. It is also because patients and the local "Apothecaries, Surgeons and Barbers" or other persons assisting "are not always sufficiently educated to describe a disease or its symptoms" (Renaudot 1642:6).[16] Although a proponent of the art of medicine, Renaudot objects to the practice of unlearned "empirics" such as surgeons, apothecaries and barbers. Surgeons and apothecaries in particular grew in influence during the first part of the seventeenth century and progressively broadened their jurisdiction to include medical advice and consultation (French 2003:188). With his book Renaudot wishes to provide these paramedical groups with useful instruction to compensate for their lack of knowledge. At the same time, however, he emphasizes that their knowledge is inferior to that of the learned doctor and that they are unfit to treat patients, lamenting that poor sick people from the countryside "are forced to leave the treatment of their diseases to apothecaries, surgeons and barbers" (Renaudot 1642: 6).[17] Hence, while providing these surgeons, apothecaries, and barbers with useful instruction, Renaudot is strengthening rather than modifying the established hierarchy between physicians and other paramedical professions.

The book aims to serve as a support or tool to better describe the patient's condition "so that no circumstances required for a complete and perfect knowledge of their illness will be forgotten" (Renaudot 1640:7).[18] Writing is here described as a supplement to the patient's voice: "This will be much better when those who send a description of an illness will have

their lesson in writing, the reading of which will lead them, as if by the hand, so that they notice all things worthy of consideration" (Renaudot 1642:8).[19] Renaudot refers to a writing which is more authentic than speech. With the help of the standardized descriptions in the book and the textual representation that the book helps the patient to create, the patient can construe a narrative that is more "complete and perfect" than the one he would have been able to tell without this assistance. The text/writing that Renaudot's work provides is thus a necessary supplement to the spoken word of the patient. Through his book Renaudot introduces a kind of medical "arche-writing" which guides and structures the spoken words of the patient (Derrida 1998). Furthermore, the text does not only compensate for the patient's absence and for the absence of his spoken words, it makes the patient and his condition even more present than he would be if he were talking to the doctor face to face. The text guiding the description protects the transfer of information about the patient's condition from any negligence or ignorance which otherwise could have altered his story: "So that those who would carelessly write up these reports to take the advice of the doctors, will no longer be able to do so, having no choice but to note or mention each section in the booklet; and thus one can no longer fail out of ignorance or malice, the only two ways in which all errors are commited" (Renaudot 1642:8).[20]

Renaudot's focus on writing has a parallel in the increased use of casebooks and records to document medical practice in the first half of the seventeenth century. Inspired by Hippocrates, doctors started to keep record of name, date, complaint, history, and remedy in a series of cases. It has been argued that the introduction of the medical record marked a turn towards observation and empiricism in medicine (Pomata 2005; 2010). However, it can also be seen as an expression of an increased emphasis on text and writing as means to authorize knowledge (Kassell 2014). Doctors used casebooks to advertise their services and to guard against accusations of malpractice. Casebooks were also used to keep track of "the complete historia of the disease and what happened to the sick each day, each hour, each moment, giving specifically the name of each person", as the Turin doctor Francois Valleriola explained (Kassell 2014). We find many of the same topoi in Renaudot's arguments for the importance of his book.

Not only the patient's story but also the doctor's knowledge is supplemented by the book. The written description of the patient's condition supplements the doctor's memory: "Doctors who treat diseases of consequence, where it is important to note from time to time, even several times a day, the state of their disease, will also find a significant relief for their memory, and a great summary" (Renaudot 1642:9).[21] Once again, the aim of the book is not to "enlighten" the doctor through the transfer of new

knowledge. The text distinguishes between learning and use. Like the patients, the doctors are not expected to internalize the knowledge provided through the text but to use it as "relief" ("soulagement") for his memory. The text is a tool which makes it possible for him to remember and organize his knowledge. It is *as* a text, or "knowledge in the world", that the doctor is expected to make use of the book; he is not supposed to learn or change from his reading. Thus, the text is supposed to supplement the doctor's knowledge without really adding to it. Translation is here related to a material displacement and to the use of an inscription, not to the internalization of a message.

That the doctor is not expected to learn from the knowledge provided by Renaudot's book also has to do with the dominant understanding of knowledge and learning of the period. According to the Aristotelian paradigm still hegemonic in medical education at the time, true knowledge about any phenomenon must be related to Final Causes or the ultimate purpose of the phenomenon (Cook 2008: 409). Although Renaudot's project as a whole is linked to a final cause (a God-given mission), the content of the form does not relate to final causes but only provides practical advice. Thus, it falls outside the definition of knowledge that a physician is expected to "learn" in a strict sense. Furthermore, while Renaudot's translational project leans on a textual supplement, early modern medical education, although principally built on ancient texts, was at the same time paradoxically based on an oral supplement. Medicine was based on ancient text but could not be learned from texts alone; it was considered to be an Ars Commentata and the aim of medical education was for the students to "understand the ancients as though they were present and speaking in the same room" (French 2003:98). This could not be attained through the reading of books alone but necessitated the interpretation of the master. The technique of *accessus ad auctores* implied that the master controlled the access to the authors through his interpretations (French 2003:62). Thus, in a similar way as Renaudot's oral project of charity was fulfilled through a textual supplement, the communication of ancient texts rested on an oral supplement. Both projects necessitate translation but of completely different kinds.

Renaudot's book is also a supplement to the public knowledge. An important aim of the text is to distinguish between good and bad doctors.

> So that this book will become a touchstone to discern the good from the other doctors, those who do not understand anything of how to use it or of the underlying method because we can thereby easily unveil mistakes that they have committed in the treatment of diseases […] whereas the former, experts in their profession, will be more than willing to make others witness to their actions. (14)[22]

Renaudot also makes the comparison between the doctor and the painter which was a recurrent topos in medical literature of the period, noting that

the written details provided in the form will make it possible to judge the quality and completeness of the doctor's advice, "as we better identify mistakes that painters make when representing people who are present" (9).[23] The text has the same function as the model in painting; it proves the accuracy of the description. As the audience can compare the painting with the real motif, so can the doctor's peers compare his judgement with the written description.

The community of peers is here introduced as a super-addressee with the ability to judge the doctor's clinical decisions. While these peers constitute a source of control, they do not control the doctor's decisions directly through their judgements. Rather their presence inspires the doctor's own self-control. The peers have a panoptic function in the text (Foucault 1995). No matter whether the doctor is actually judged or not, he knows that he might be judged. The peers are not considered active rebutters but passive bearers of the doctor's "reputation" (Renaudot 1642:14).

The purpose of the form is thus not to ensure verifiability in any modern sense. The doctor's judgement concerning the patient is beyond doubt. However, the presence of an audience of peers inspires the doctor's self-control and investment in the patient. What distinguishes the good from the bad doctor is, according to Renaudot, his willingness to make his actions transparent. Vernacular language is part of the project of ensuring such transparency. The good doctor is happy to be seen while the bad one prefers to hide. The good doctor has no reason to hide because he has good intentions. He does not demonstrate his quality through his clinical decisions but through his good will. The bad doctor, on the contrary, not only does wrong but he does it willfully: "they knew it well" (Renaudot 1642:14). His actions are bad in intention. We see how the idea of the good doctor and the good man are strongly connected in Renaudot's text.

Steven Shapin has claimed that credibility in science was associated with the codes and conventions of genteel conduct in the early modern period (Shapin 1994). Truth was connected to civility, honour, and integrity. These are ideas which are clearly reflected in Renaudot's understanding of the good doctor: A doctor who makes true judgements is necessarily a good man, and, vice versa, the lack of truthfulness in a doctor's decisions is linked to his lack of moral integrity. The mark of a good doctor was "behavior, not clinical success or failure, and the doctor's reputation was his success" (French 2003: 201). In sum, it is not only the patient's condition which is made present through the text but also the doctor's intentions. The textual supplement makes it impossible for the doctor to hide. Compared to the traditional notion of *translatio*, Renaudot's text reveals here a new concern for audiences and target cultures. The "public" is not only the scene for a vertical transmission of knowledge and authority. They are bearers of the *auctor*'s good reputation. To make the author's intentions visible to the public

is thus an important authorization strategy in Renaudot's text (Bauman 2004).

Finally, and perhaps most surprising to a modern reader, the text also supplements the bodily condition in that it completes it or fulfils it. Renaudot compares the use of the form with how the astrologist freezes the constant movement of the planets on a diagram: "in imitation of the astrologers who occasionally stop the state of Heaven on paper" (9).[24] The description of the patient's bodily condition provided on the form represents a momentary freezing of the constant "movements of nature". Astrology was essentially a written art. Before the astrologer could make a judgement he needed to measure the locations of the celestial bodies and map them on a chart (Kassell 2014). Renaudot considers a similar mapping to be necessary within medicine. In his view, diseases are not fixed entities but the result of an imbalance in the constant evolvement of human health.

Galenic medicine did not consider diseases as generalized conditions but focused on the constitution and circumstances of the individual. The individual's health depended on seven 'naturals', 'things whose presence is absolutely essential to the existence of the body', such as the elements (fire, air, water, earth) and the humours (Galen in Paavilainen 2009:40). Formed by the naturals, the individual's constitution interacted with the so-called non-naturals or outer circumstances that could affect the body, such as food, air, rest, and passion of the mind. "Complexion" was the balance between the elements which determined the body's health and its reaction to external factors (French 2003:101). An unbalanced complexion indicated illness while a balanced complexion was a sign of health. According to the Galenic system, the human body and the elements were intimately associated and constantly interacting. Thus, neither the body itself nor its conditions had clear boundaries but instead were the results of a constant shift of relations between humours, elements, and outer circumstances – between the inside and the outside.

The bodily conditions that Renaudot's form aims to describe are therefore far from being fixed entities. Rather, they are temporary representations of moving relations. They are unique events rather than entities, units, or organisms. Thus, in the same way as the astrologist's diagram holds back the continuous movements of the planets, Renaudot's form maps unique and individual moments of continuously moving relations between naturals and non-naturals. It represents a moment frozen in time, and, in a certain sense, an *embodiment* of constantly unfolding natural relations. As such, the form is a lot more than an image of a pre-existing bodily condition; it is the representation of a temporary state of the continuously moving relation of the body to its environment. Although Renaudot's book represents a type of standardization of bodies and diseases through the form and the figures it provides, it is a different kind of stand-

ardization than the one we find in modern medicine. Renaudot does not offer a standard based on general characteristics of diseases. On the contrary. As the horoscope is individual, so is the conditioning of the individual's health. Thus the form is a tool for individual measurement. It provides an individual rather than a general standard. Furthermore, the bodily condition is brought into being through textual representation and translation. Thus, the form is not just a substitute for the human body; it renders the body present in a similar manner as the ritual of Communion makes the body of Christ present. In this fundamental ontological manner, the form renders the body more present than it is originally.

A Translational Embodiment

We have seen that Renaudot's text involves several translations or acts of communication. First the patient is instructed about how to make a textual representation of his illness and then the patient's medical condition is transferred to the doctor by way of the form. The aim of this translation, however, is not learning in the sense of acquiring new knowledge. Neither the patient nor the doctor is enlightened through the process. The knowledge remains an external textual device (a knowledge in the world) that patients and doctors can "use" without adopting it. Furthermore, the translated message is conceived as more/other than knowledge in a modern sense. It is both a good deed and a religious practice. The message that Renaudot wishes to translate is an act of charity. This act of charity is in itself a form of translation, a transmission of a God given message. At the same time, charity *needs* translation; it must be spread in order to grow. Together the translation and the translated message form a double supplement, which adds to the message and fulfils the message. As conceived by Renaudot, the text supplements the patient's speech, the doctor's knowledge, and the public judgement of the doctor. Moreover, it completes the bodily condition it describes. The patient's bodily condition (being itself the result of the translation of natural element) is, in a literal sense, brought into being through translation. Through translation the patient becomes more present than present.

On the one hand Renaudot's work is trapped within a traditional conception of *translatio* wherein the ultimate presence is the Word of God. On the other hand, he renegotiates this framework by emphasizing the vernacular text as a necessary supplement to the patient's speech, the doctor's knowledge and the human body. Furthermore, he revalues the importance of audiences and target cultures by considering the "public of peers" as bearer of the *auctor*'s good reputation.

As compared to a modern notion of knowledge translation, Renaudot's text fundamentally challenges the current understanding of the human body

as well as the body of knowledge as fully present and outside translation. According to Renaudot's way of reasoning, translation is more than a secondary term. The text he provides is not a translation of a fixed body or body of knowledge. Rather it should be seen as a translational *embodiment* of medical knowledge and of the patient's health.

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[1] Renaudot published a 12-page pamphlet in which he eagerly defended his project, see Renaudot, 1640.
[2] The text consists of 60 pages and is printed in in-8 format.
[3] "vomit facilement, difficilement, ne vomit jamais".
[4] All translations from French are my own.
[5] "pour rendre un si grand bien d'autant plus communicable".
[6] "Avec les figures du corps humain, & Table servant à ce dessein : Ensemble l'instruction pour s'en server, mesmes par ceux qui ne scavent point escrire".
[7] "simples femmelettes et enfants".
[8] "tout le genre humain indifferement, composé pour la plus part des gens ignorans".
[9] "Mais que ceux qui chercheront un beau langage en Francois, en Grec ou en Latin, se donnent le contentement d'assister à nos Consultations, & ils scauront comme la Medecine y est traitée".
[10] "cette Charité, qui continue de se communiquer tous les jours avec le success que nous laissons anoncer à dix milles bouches".
[11] "L'approbation de Dieu & des hommes qu'ont rencontré nos Consultations Charitables, ne permet pas que ce grand bien demeure plus long-temps enfermé dans l'enceinte de Paris…"
[12] "elle [la charité] envoye encore de son centre comme autant de rayons par tout le monde".
[13] "Elle [cette charitable Compagnie] n'estime pas encore avoir assez fait de députer, comme il se pratique, des Médecins de son Corps, pour aller visiter, traiter & faire médicamenter ceux qui ne se peuvent transporter à ce Bureau ni mesmes d'voir tellement multiplié ces Consultations, pour la commodité des malades qui arrivent les autres jours de la semaine".
[14] "ne voudront ou ne pourront faire venir les Médecins chez eux ; soit pour ester trop éloignez, ou n'avoir pas le moyen de payer le voyage de ceux ausquels ils se confient, & qui ne pourront ou ne voudront se transporter chez eux…"
[15] "c'est à dire d'autant plus grand".
[16] "ne sont pas toujours suffisament instruis pour bien descrire une maladie ni ses accidens".
[17] "pource qu'ils [the poor sick from the villages] sont contrains de commettre le traitement de leurs maladies à des Apothiquaires, Chirugiens & Barbiers".
[18] "en ce qu'on n'oubliera aucune circonstance requise à l'entière & parfait connoissance de leur mal".
[19] "Ce qui fera beaucoup mieux quand ceux qui luy envoyent le récit d'une maladie auront leur lecon par escrit, dont la lecture les conduira comme par la main à la remarque de toutes les choses dignes de considération".
[20] "De sorte que ceux qui voudroient mesmes dresser négligemment ces mémoires pour prendre l'avis des Médecins, ne le pourront plus faire, estans obligez de remarquer ou faire mention de chacun chef du livret : & par ainsi on n'y pourra plus faillir par ignorance, ni par malice, les deux seules voyes par lesquelles se commettent toutes les fautes".
[21] "Les Médecins qui traitent des maladies de consequence, & dont il importera de remarquer de temps en temps, voire plusieurs fois le jour, l'estat de leur maladie, y trouveront aussi un notable soulagement de leur mémoire, et un grand abregé".
[22] "De sorte que cet ouvrage fera desormai une pierre de touche pour discerner les bons Medecins d'avec les autres ceux-cy n'apprehendans rien tant sinon que l'on s'en serve & de la methode qui y est contenue pource que on pourra aisement connoistre par ce moyen les fautes qu'ils auront commises au traitement des maladies […] : Au lieu que les premiers, experts en leur profession, ne demanderont pas mieux que de rendre chacun temoin de leurs actions".
[23] "comme on reconnoit mieux les fautes que les peintres font en la représentation des personnes présentes…"
[24] "à l'imitation des Astrologues qui arrestent de temps en temps l'estat du Ciel sur le papier".

Sigurd Erixon, European Ethnology and *Ethnologia Europaea* 1964–1968

Bjarne Rogan

Lieber Freund!
Ja, Du weißt ebenso gut wie ich von den [sic] Ausgang der Schlacht in Athen in [sic] September 1964, als die alte verwundete CIAP geschlachtet wurde und ein neuer Verein mit den [sic] Namen SIEF gegründet wurde mit neuen Statuten und neuen Menschen. Diese Tatsache braucht ja nicht unbedingt eine Feindschaft mit sich führen. Wir müssen diese Entwicklung gutheißen und hoffen, dass auch diese neue Organisation für die Wissenschaft von Nutzen sein wird. (Sigurd Erixon to Jorge Dias, 15 October 1964)[1]

Je viens de rentrer de Norvège où notre groupe de travail a tenu sa troisième 'Conférence internationale d'ethnologie européenne', sous la présidence de notre éternellement jeune Sigurd Erixon. Dix-huit participants y sont venus de onze pays européens.
(Géza de Rohan-Csermak to Jorge Dias, 26 August 1967)[2]

In three earlier articles in *Arv* I have traced Sigurd Erixon's activities and efforts on the international scene. The first article (2008) covers the 1930s until World War II made contacts and cooperation impossible. The second (2013) presents the resumed activities in the post-war period until the mid 1950s. The third (2015) follows Erixon's activities abroad from the mid 1950s until the defeat in Athens in September 1964 and the replacement of CIAP (*la Commission Internationale des Arts et Traditions Populaires*) by SIEF (*la Société Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore*).

The present article treats the following four years – the last years of Sigurd Erixon's life and career, until his death in 1968, which were also the first four years of SIEF's existence. As for SIEF, the period represented a very difficult start and a resounding lack of success. For Erixon, however, this short period unveiled an amazing burst of energy –considering his age – and a spurt towards a new European ethnology.

My study was originally intended to be published in the form of a monograph, but the archive research was so time-consuming (2002–2014) and – for external reasons – periodically split up and interrupted that the choice fell on four successive articles.

1. Sigurd Erixon on a visit to Norway, August 1967. Photo: Karl-Olov Arnstberg.

Together these four articles constitute a chronicle of Sigurd Erixon's engagement abroad and ambitions on the international scene. At the same time, they constitute a chronicle of CIAP (1928–1964) as well as the early years of its successor SIEF (1964 to date) – a society that took several decades to turn failure to success. The recent successful development of SIEF, however, is beyond the time frame of this article.

I Three Decades of Struggle: A Brief Recapitulation

In September 1964 Sigurd Erixon, by most colleagues considered the doyen of European ethnology, experienced his probably greatest defeat ever. The final phase of the battle of CIAP – *die Schlacht* in Erixon's own words[3] – took place in Athens on the 7th and 8th September that year. His hope had been to keep his old organization CIAP afloat. He did not go to Athens himself, strangely enough, after all the efforts he had put into the planning. He must have had his presentiments about the probable outcome of the meeting, as he gave priority to the IUAES conference on ethnography and cartography in Moscow a few weeks earlier (*The International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences*). To attend both conferences would have been too much both for his health and his economy as retired professor.

I have called it his greatest defeat ever – because he had invested so much energy over so many years in obtaining another result. But how great was the defeat in fact? It would be an exaggeration to think in terms of CIAP as a "dear, old organization" to Erixon. He had experienced too many setbacks and too much opposition to his vision of a unified discipline from folklorists inside and outside CIAP – a discipline that he had labelled "European ethnology", to be subsumed to general ethnology or anthropology.

On several occasions Erixon had wanted to found another international organization – not a rival one, as he sometimes took care to emphasize, but an alternative one. CIAP had been founded in 1928, but in the mid 1930s Erixon participated actively in the establishing of an alternative organization, in cooperation with Carl Wilhelm von Sydow and German and Scottish scholars (IAFE or *The International Association for Folklore and Ethnology*, from 1937 renamed IAEEF or *The International Association for European Ethnology and Folklore*). Due partly to the appearance of a third organization, the French-dominated CIFL or *Congrès International de Folklore* or CIFL), but even more to the nazification of the discipline in Europe in the late 1930s as well as the following World War II, both IAEEF and CIFL disappeared (cf. Rogan 2008a).

In 1947 Erixon made Sweden adhere to a resuscitated CIAP, not for the scholarly quality of this organization but primarily because of its affiliation to UNESCO, a position that secured a certain financial support for international projects, such as a scholarly journal, dictionaries and manuals, a bibliography and atlas projects. Actually, the question of an international journal was an issue that occupied Erixon all through his career, with *Folk* (1937) in the context of IAFE; then *Folk-Liv* (1937–1968); *Laos* (1951–1954) under CIAP; and finally – after the break with SIEF – *Ethnologia Europaea* (1967–) (Rogan 2008a:297–305, 2013:115–118).

But it soon became clear to Erixon and some colleagues, among them the French Georges-Henri Rivière and the Dutch P. J. Meertens, that CIAP was an inadequate organization, for lack of leadership and questioned legitimacy, administrative chaos, and structural and financial problems. When Erixon organized his congress on *European and Western Ethnology* in Stockholm in 1951, he (along with the Swedish committee) was in serious doubt whether a new organization ought to be established, preferably based on members from the Nordic countries, the UK and Central Europe (Rogan 2013:96–102).

But CIAP lingered, and in 1953 (Namur) and 1954 (Paris) efforts were made – to a great extent thanks to Erixon – to reverse the negative development. A central issue was to reshape the membership structure, another to revive the leadership. CIAP reverted to a system of membership based on national committees, as required by UNESCO and strongly supported by Erixon, the General Secretary was dismissed and replaced by a new, prom-

ising scholar who had just entered the scene (the Portuguese Jorge Dias) and an acknowledged Norwegian scholar was elected President (Reidar Th. Christiansen). Erixon himself had declined the position as President, but he willingly accepted the presidency of several specialist commissions, especially on cartography and mapping.

The 1955 congress in Arnhem with the follow-up conference in Amsterdam represents a highlight in the history of the reorganized CIAP. The overall theme was European ethnology as a scholarly discipline, its definition and relationship to anthropology and adjacent disciplines, its scholarly unity and its denomination. Apparently, Erixon's conception of the field and the discipline was accepted by the scholarly community at large. Only the German-speaking delegates hesitated to abandon the term *Volkskunde* in favour of "European ethnology".

However, in spite of the efforts of General Secretary Jorge Dias during the following years, the decline resumed. Members did not respond, the national committees did not pay their fees, and with the exception of Erixon's commissions there were hardly any scholarly activities in CIAP. President Christiansen was mostly absent, UNESCO became more and more dissatisfied, and no congresses and hardly any administrative meetings were held. From the moment when Dias withdrew in June 1957, CIAP was for all practical purposes a moribund organization.

In 1961–62 the work of reforming the organization started again, this time by a group of outsiders (that is, non-members of CIAP), mainly folklorists. The central agent was Kurt Ranke (Göttingen), who appointed four colleagues to plan the details of a reorganized society: Karel C. Peeters (Antwerp/Leuwen), Roger Pinon (Liège), Roger Lecotté (Paris), and Robert Wildhaber (Basel) – a group who nicknamed themselves the Gang of Four. What was challenged – once again – was the membership structure, the unity of the discipline, as well as its name (Rogan 2008b, 2014, 2015b). Erixon, who feared a break with UNESCO and found the system of national committees the only democratic solution, was willing to collaborate and find compromises. But Ranke and the Gang of Four wanted to have their way, which meant a more or less purely folkloristic organization, with a system of individual, open membership (contrary to the UNESCO requirements) and to keep the term "folklore" in the name of the society.

If we stick to Erixon's vocabulary, the battle began in September 1962 with a meeting in Brussels (cf. Rogan 2015b:134) and ended with the putsch in Athens two years later – to borrow another warlike term used by the losing faction. The new masters of the organization, now renamed SIEF, were exuberant about the outcome and the future possibilities. They had conquered all the offices, obtained a new membership structure, new by-laws and a new name – a name that cemented the division between folklore and ethnology. And they had vague ideas about an ambitious working pro-

gramme, including a scientific journal, a newsletter and a series of congresses. At the same time they were very anxious about the reactions from the Erixonian camp; would they found a new, rival organization?

The cards were to be shuffled anew. However, the future would turn out very different from the one Ranke and the Gang of Four had dreamed of for SIEF.

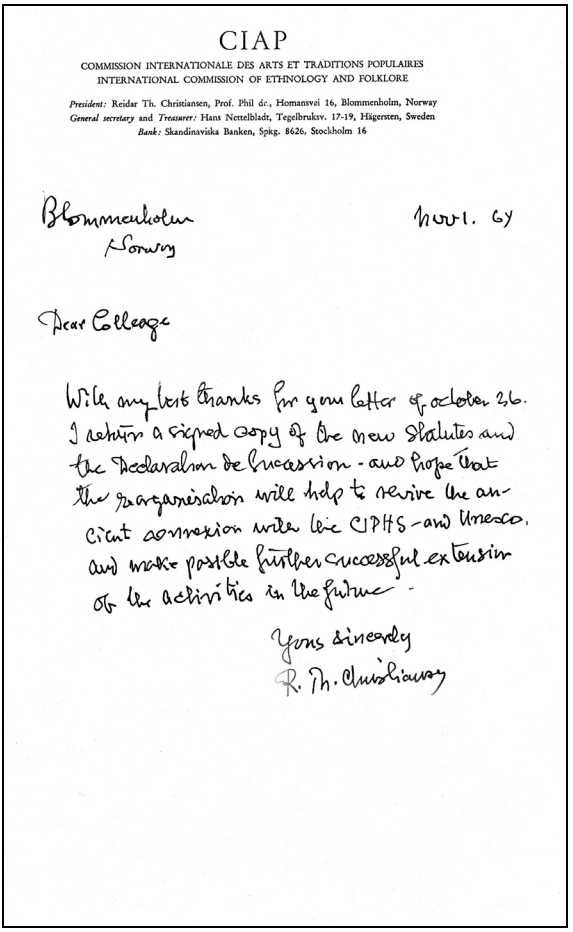
II SIEF and its New Masters (1964–1971)

Lieber Freund Karel Peeters]
[...] Mir scheint, dass durch den Ausfall von Pinon die ganze Angelegenheit wirklich untragbar geworden ist. Ich habe Pinon immer für einen Hohlkopf und Angeber angesehen, und diese Ansicht scheint sich allmählich durchgesetzt zu haben […] Was soll man nun für die SIEF in Zukunft tun? […] bisher nichts geschehen ist. Es ist zum Verzweifeln. (Ranke to SIEF President Peeters, January 1967)[4]

Mon cher Karel [Peeters]
[…] Je viens moi-même de recevoir un mot du Dr. Georg R. Schroubek, de Münich, qui s'étonne de ne pas recevoir de carte de membre […] il se plaint de même de n'avoir reçu aucun numéro du bulletin ni aucune information de l'activité de la Société. A Edimbourg j'ai vu [Wilhelm] Nicolaisen, lequel se plaint de n'avoir rien reçu pour préparer un bulletin. Robert, de France, se plaint de notre inactivité. Tout cela est assez inquiétant. [Don] Yoder, de Philadelphie, lui aussi s'interroge sur la SIEF. […] Est-ce la mode à Anvers de ne pas répondre à semblables requêtes d'autres?
(Pinon to SIEF President Peeters, August 1969)[5]

The Norwegian folklorist Reidar Th. Christiansen (1886–1971), CIAP's President through the difficult decade 1954 to 1964, felt a great relief after being relieved of the CIAP burden in Athens in September 1964. His dealings with administration and international organizations had not brought him any honours, a fact that he clearly acknowledged himself. His priorities had always been research. During the difficult CIAP years, when he sought refuge in his folklore studies, he had succeeded in publishing two systematic typological catalogues – one on migratory legends (1958) and one on the Irish folktale (1963, with Ó Suilleabháin), as well as two monographs – one on Irish and Scandinavian folktales (1959) and one on European folklore in America (1962), in addition to a series of articles (Rogan 2012). His reputation as one of Europe's foremost scholars remained untainted by his presidential neglects.

Erixon, on the other hand, kept the door open to continue the work in the commissions, even after the defeat in Athens, and he had no objection to continuing the work on the dictionaries under the auspices of the new SIEF. But he was more reluctant to give SIEF control of the atlas commission, which had recently strengthened its bonds to the UNESCO-based IUAES.



CIAP

COMMISSION INTERNATIONALE DES ARTS ET TRADITIONS POPULAIRES
INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF ETHNOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

President: Reidar Th. Christiansen, Prof. Phil dr., Homansvei 16, Blommenholm, Norway
General secretary and *Treasurer:* Hans Nettelbladt, Tegelbruksv. 17-19, Hägersten, Sweden
Bank: Skandinaviska Banken, Spkg. 8626, Stockholm 16

Blommenholm
Norway

Nov. 1. 64

Dear Colleage

With my best thanks for your letter of october 26.
I return a signed copy of the new Statutes and
the Declaration de Succession - and hope that
the reorganisation will help to revive the an-
cient connexion with the CIPHS - and Unesco,
and make possible further successful extension
of the activities in the future -

Yours sincerely
R. Th. Christiansen

2. Letter of November 1st 1964, from Christiansen to Peeters, the new SIEF President. Christiansen, who felt that a burden had been taken from his shoulders, willingly signed a declaration of succession, stating that SIEF was the continuation of CIAP. Peeters wanted this declaration in order to convince CIPSH that SIEF should inherit all rights after CIAP. Because he feared that Erixon or others would try to revive CIAP, Peeters even published the declaration in the first issue of S.I.E.F.-Informations. Source: PEETERS 11.

The result of the 1966 atlas commission meeting was that it declared itself independent of SIEF – as *die Ständige Internationale Atlaskommission* (see below).

This loss of its most important commission was not the only blow to the young SIEF. Except for the production of the first volume of *S.I.E.F.-Informations* (vol. 1/1964), the activities started out on a very low pitch. CIPSH – UNESCO's umbrella organization *Comité International de Philosophie et des Sciences Humaines* – would not give any grants to SIEF for 1965–66, and the dialogue with UNESCO turned out to be difficult. History repeated itself: The treasurer Lecotté complained in April 1966 of "the lack of harmony between the received membership forms and the incoming payments".[6] The collecting of fees from the members would once more prove to be a demanding task, and not less so with a high number of invoices and a low fee. SIEF faced considerable economic problems in the first years; its

officers still had to pay for their travel privately, and for every meeting external financing had to be sought.

The envisaged series of congresses and the planned scientific journal were quickly put on ice. There had been a general agreement that a newsletter would be of paramount importance for creating a lasting interest in SIEF. But even the publishing of the newsletter – the *S.I.E.F.-Informations* – turned out an almost insurmountable task. In the first two years there was neither money to have it printed nor an editor to be found; Herman Bausinger, Rudolf Schenda, Lauri Honko and others were asked, but they all declined. The newsletter had been intended as a quarterly publication, but it took one and a half years before no. 2 appeared. And only four issues were published between 1964 and 1970, when the last one in this series appeared. The person who finally agreed to do the editing work was Wilhelm Nicolaisen (Edinburgh), and for economic reasons the printing was done in Budapest, under the supervision of Tekla Dömötör. In the late 1960s the problem was not only the economy; according to Nicolaisen's correspondence with the Board, it was impossible to gather enough contributions to publish even the newsletter. The contrast to Erixon's successful editing of three volumes of the journal *Laos* some years earlier (Rogan 2013:115–118) is striking.

The first SIEF Council meeting, planned to be held in Antwerp soon after the Athens event, was postponed and organized instead in conjunction with the congress of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Volkskunde* in Marburg in April 1965, with a follow-up Council in Antwerp in September. But very little happened and the climate between the old accomplices – the Gang of Four and Kurt Ranke – worsened. In September 1965 Robert Wildhaber (now SIEF Board member) happened to read a long article in *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, written by Arnold Niederer, about the success and the results of Erixon's Hässelby conference and their new organization (see below), an article that he immediately passed on to President Peeters. The situation after the first year can best be described through one of Wildhaber's many outbursts, as in December 1965 when he complained to Peeters over the inactivity of SIEF's General Secretary (Roger Pinon) and first Vice President (Mihai Pop):[7]

> […] I must write and tell you that I am very worried about SIEF. […] Erixon and Bratanić take initiatives and they are working; we are making plans, and nothing happens! By the end of September Mihai Pop was charged with the task of writing to all the commissions and ask if they would adhere or not. *Nothing* has happened yet! How can we "report on the activities of the commissions" in Prague [item on the agenda of the forthcoming Administrative Council, planned to take place in Sept. 1966], when these *de facto* and *de iure* do not even exist yet! The "others" will laugh and be merry, and they will say that they are working, but how about us? On my recent journey, some of my acquaintances asked me whether they really belonged to a commission or not; I could not give them an answer.

Roger Pinon, who was repeatedly criticized by the rest of the Board, explained the situation in this way:[8]

> I must repeat what I have already said: for a person who does not dispose of a staff or a secretariat, it is a too heavy task to keep going the general secretariat of SIEF. It is either this secretariat and intellectual sterilization, or intellectual work and a secretariat that languishes. I haven't been able to do better for you. It's up to the Administrative Council to reflect upon it and find a better solution.

To Peeters, the difference between being in opposition and in position could hardly have been greater. After only one year, in the autumn of 1965, he signalled that he wished to resign as President. Pinon was periodically ill – or silent. In spring 1967 Lecotté fell ill and Pinon left to spend a year in Bloomington. The membership had risen quickly, and with as many as 400 members for a short period (about 220 Europeans, 130 Americans, 50 from Asia),[9] there was more than enough to do. But the number of complaints from the members was also rising – about not receiving any information or any newsletter. Nobody wanted to take over the position as General Secretary, not even temporarily in Pinon's absence, so Peeters had to perform the secretarial tasks himself for a period. From 1968 Vice President Mihai Pop took over the secretariat, and Pinon was forced by his old comrades to resign as General Secretary. Pinon himself was fed up with all the work and Ranke and Wildhaber wanted him out of SIEF. Peeters announced several times his wish to step down from the presidency, but he was forced to remain in the seat until 1971 – not only for lack of candidates and because they did not manage to organize a General Assembly, but also because Ranke would not accept changes in the middle of the first period. As Ranke wrote in December 1965: "[…] otherwise we will lose the last rest of prestige that we still have."[10]

3. Robert Wildhaber, Basel, at the ISFNR meeting in Bucharest in August 1970, which hosted a SIEF Board meeting. Wildhaber, the long-time editor of the Internationale volkskundliche Bibliographie, had been member of the Gang of Four, but he became a severe critic of the way SIEF was led in the period following the 1964 putsch in Athens. Photo: Klaus Beitl.

In the camp of "the others", to borrow Wildhaber's expression in his very critical letters, the climate was quite different (see paragraphs below). With the assistance of de Rohan-Csermak, Erixon organized a series of international conferences where theoretical and methodological aspects of European ethnology were discussed. They launched an offensive programme, with yearly conferences, a scientific journal and plans for a series of ethnological handbooks.

In addition to these conspicuous successes, the 1966 Zagreb cartography conference organized by Bratanić had come up with detailed plans for a new organization of the European atlas work, the *Ständige Internationale Atlaskommission* or SIA (Bratanić 1966, 1967). The conference had ended on a very positive pitch and a series of yearly congresses was announced. That the plans were extremely ambitious and too optimistic as to what cartography could contribute to ethnology is another story; the independence and apparent success of SIA was hard to swallow for SIEF. Bratanić even declined a request to invite Peeters to the conference in Zagreb in 1966, a conference which attracted participants "from almost all European countries".[11] In Peeters' wording the atlas commission was a child of CIAP, but as such "ein undankbares Kind".[12]

So Wildhaber was right: "the others" worked, whereas nothing happened in SIEF. An additional headache, as discussed among the Four, was that central SIEF members (Jorge Dias, Mathias Zender, P. J. Meertens) participated also in the Erixon-Bratanić-Csermak network. And Pinon reported from Bloomington that Erixon's and Csermak's new journal *Ethnologia Europaea* had aroused much interest and that American folklorists expected something more than silence in return for their yearly fees and membership in SIEF.

The minutes of the two SIEF Council meetings in 1966 (Göttingen and Prague) are held in a remarkably humble and conciliatory tone.[13] At the extraordinary crisis meeting in Göttingen in March, the Council discussed how to bridge the gap between folklore and ethnology and "bring to an end the outdated distinction between spiritual and material culture". The Council decided to approach Erixon by means of "a manifest on the new orientation developed through the discussion", to be worked out by Kurt Ranke, Jorge Dias and William Nicolaisen. And letters should be sent to Erixon and Bratanić. But inertia reigned in SIEF and none of the decisions seem to have been carried through. At the Council's meeting in Prague in September 1966 the discussion continued, and there was also a debate on SIEF's focus on "European culture" and the term "European" – a term that Ranke now wanted to see in the name of the organization, after having discarded it in Athens in 1964.

In 1968 SIEF was accepted as a member of IUAES – a "subcommission" status that the Gang of Four had strongly opposed during their campaign be-

4. SIEF Treasurer Roger Lecotté and SIEF President Karel C. Peeters at the ISFNR congress in Bucharest, August 1969, which also hosted a SIEF Council meeting. Photo: Klaus Beitl.

fore the Athens meeting in 1964. Through IUAES SIEF became – once more – affiliated with CIPSH/UNESCO from 1970. But SIEF was not accepted as a CIPSH member in its own right, which had been a claim after Athens. The condition for being recognized by IUAES had been a clear division of labour – which meant a renunciation of SIEF's worldwide ambitions and the plan for continental committees. The agreement on the European profile at the 1966 Prague meeting must be understood in this context.

There is a discrepancy between the official documents (minutes of the Board meetings) and the correspondence. In the letters current problems are discussed openly and complaints and criticism of the low level of activity disclosed; the letters even give glimpses of internal quarrels and calumniation.[14] Ranke was no less worried that the others. He had found money for the extraordinary Board meeting in Göttingen in 1966 (above) to discuss the critical situation of SIEF, and in the preceding years he had shown financial muscles by covering the costs for "the right persons" at the meetings where decisions were taken on CIAP. Now he showed his discontent by giving a clear signal to Peeters that he wanted to sponsor other events and not SIEF any longer. It is also clear from the correspondence that in Athens Ranke had not wanted to see Pinon and Lecotté elected to their offices in SIEF. The two had been useful to him during the campaign against the CIAP presidency (Christiansen and Erixon), but in his eyes they now represented a problem. SIEF was paralysed, and early in 1967 Ranke wrote to Peeters:[15]

> What shall we do now for SIEF in the future? I think that we, for our part, have done everything that was possible, in order to give this young organization life, vitality and the force of credibility. But for my own part I must admit – and you will agree with me – that except for council meetings and designation of commissions – from which we have heard nothing – nothing has happened yet. It's enough to drive you to despair.

The clearest symptom, in addition to the conspicuous absence of the newsletter, congresses and a journal, was the incapacity of convening a General

Assembly. The statutes required an Assembly every three years, but it took seven years before the first General Assembly convened in Paris, during SIEF's first congress in 1971 – a congress that bore the significant "Erixonian" title of "European ethnology". Mihai Pop was elected president, but functioned only part of the period – and SIEF fell into a new somnolent period of 11 years,[16] to wake up again in 1982 for its second congress (Suzdal, Russia 1982). Only in a few commissions could some activities be observed.

As it was, Ranke had every reason to despair – because he himself had contributed strongly, and probably more than anyone else, to SIEF's lack of success during the 15 to 20 years following the Athens event.

III An Alternative European Association

Lieber Freund!
[...] Gleichzeitig wurde jedoch die Forderung gestellt, dass eine neue fachliche Etnologenunion für Europa gebildet werden soll und ich werde von vielen Seiten aufgefordert. Ich habe gesagt, dass dieses meiner Ansicht nach eine gute Idee ist. Man hat mich direkt gefragt, ob ich Präsident werden will, ich habe dieses aber bisher abgelehnt und werde damit fortsetzen [...]

Wir wünschen alle, dass du Präsident werden und dich an die Spitze stellen sollst für die Bildung dieser neuen Organisation [...] (Erixon to Dias, October 1964)[17]

Dear Professor Erixon
I was very happy to receive your letter and to hear that you have almost completely recovered [Erixon was hospitalized because of strain and heart problems]. I am sure that you will soon be able to take over all your scientific activities again.

It is a great event that you, Professor Dias and Professor Bratanić have come to the same point of view towards the foundation of a new association of European ethnology. I shall be much honoured to join and help you in this aim. Your three names will be a warrant, for all scholars who have enough of dilettantism, that the new organization will have strong methodological basis […]
(de Rohan-Csermak to Erixon, February 1965)[18]

How did Erixon react to "die Schlacht in Athen", as he called it in his letters to Dias? To judge from the epistolary sources, with much less emotions than his comrades-in-arms who had been present in Athens. Erixon did not immediately want revenge. In October 1964 he explained to Nettelblad that he "accepted the ruin of CIAP", but he wanted to continue his work in the commissions.[19] On one point he even admitted a certain relief; "I have told this to several of my foreign contacts and I do not any longer need […] to defend the neglects of Christiansen." This was hardly an exaggeration, as he had often written in his letter drafts that he was impatient with Christiansen – remarks that either he or his translator used to drop in the final version of the letters. However, when he added that he had only been a counsellor, and "partly in secret", it is not the full truth; he gave advice constantly, but Christiansen's letters had not infrequently been conceived and drafted by Erixon. But there is also a certain tone of irritation in his remarks. His last

word to Hans Nettelblad concerning the winding-up and the transfer of the secretariat to Belgium was to keep him – Erixon – out and leave it all to Christiansen.[20]

The losing faction in Athens did not waste their time on grieving, however. Since the Bonn conference, organized by Ranke in April 1964 and with Erixon and Dias present, it had been clear to Erixon that the chances of success in Athens were small. The Bonn meeting had ignored Erixon's compromise proposal for a membership system that combined national committees and individual scholars, and it had rejected Csermak's memorandum without even discussing it. On this occasion, Dias had aired privately the idea of a new organization. Erixon saw this as a possible solution, but did not take any further steps.[21]

Less than three weeks after the schism in Athens, and the same day that he wrote his long, bitter report, Csermak came up with a proposal for a new association of European ethnology, to be discussed at a "Symposium upon methodological problems of European Ethnology".[22]

Bratanić, for his part, had accepted the defeat – in spite of his disappointment and his harsh words about Nazi-like methods of the Ranke camp (Rogan 2014, 2015b). When Csermak (and Dias) soon after wanted to discuss the founding of a new organization, he was positive. But he warned – not against a new organization, but against a *rival* organization. In December 1964 he wrote to Csermak:[23]

> All this need not hinder us from imagining a new and *better* organization, and when time is ripe, also of realizing it, 'without breaking in a brutal manner with SIEF' (and as we talked about in Athens, this new organization could be of another type than CIAP/SIEF; that is, not necessarily a competing enterprise). Our objective should rather be the *creation* of something positive, and not to fight against something.

Csermak continued throughout the autumn of 1964 to elaborate the plans for the conference. As relevant themes to be treated he proposed the relationship of European ethnology to sociology and folklore, structural, diachronic and synchronic approaches, questions concerning ethnicity, concepts such as folk-life and life-form, and national, regional and universalist approaches – in other words, a plan very much in the continuation of the 1955 events in Amsterdam and Arnhem. The main difference was that the name of the discipline – European ethnology – was accepted by all and no longer a topic of discussion. Erixon was also positive, but wanted the arrangement and the discussion of a new organization to take place in Stockholm.[24] He communicated regularly with Bratanić, whose ideas – as quoted above – coincided closely with his own strategy.

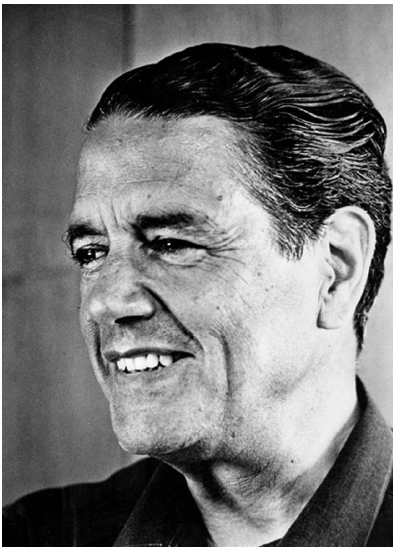
It is time to dwell a moment on the close association of four scholars – Erixon, Dias, Bratanić and Csermak – that emerged during the last year of CIAP's existence. It was this quartet, under the informal leadership of

5. Branimir Bratanić in Copenhagen in 1970. Photo: Grit Lerche. By courtesy of the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Philosophy, Zagreb.

Erixon – "the others", in the terminology of Wildhaber – that would be the motor of the development of European ethnology throughout the 1960s.

Erixon had met Branimir Bratanić and Jorge Dias in the early 1950s, and he invited them to the CIAP meeting in 1953 (Namur), when their common terrain was ploughs and cartography. Bratanić (1910–1986) had been appointed to CIAP's cartography and atlas commissions in 1953, and from 1954 he became a member (together with Dias) of the Permanent International Committee for Ploughing Implements under the Copenhagen institute (cf. Rogan 2013:129–31). All these committees were under the leadership of Erixon. Bratanić was professor of ethnography in Zagreb, where he was responsible in the 1960s for the ethnological atlas of Yugoslavia, including investigations of more than 1100 villages by means of questionnaires. Through the 1960s, Erixon and Bratanić were the leading tandem in Europe on cartography and atlas questions (see below), in close cooperation with the leader of the German *Volkskunde* atlas, Mathias Zender, and the German migrant to USA, Paul Leser.

Even though Jorge Dias (1907–73), or Ántonio Jorge Dias as was his full name, shared the interest in atlas questions, the main scholarly bond between him and Erixon was a general interest in a European ethnology with close ties to anthropology (Rogan 2011, 2015a). Dias was professor of cultural anthropology, from 1952 in Coimbra and from 1956 in Lisbon. His early fieldwork took place in Northern Portugal and resulted in important monographs on material culture and community studies. His later research focused on Portuguese Africa, his most famous work being the monumental study of the Maconde civilization of Mozambique. All his main investiga-



6. Jorge Dias, Lisbon. Photographer unknown.

tions are marked by the integration of material, social, economic and ecological perspectives (Niederer 1974).

Dias was one of the very few Europeanists in the CIAP setting with research experience from other parts of the world, and he insisted repeatedly on the close relationship between European and general ethnology/anthropology – an idea that he shared with the rest of the Quartet. But unlike Csermak, he respected that waving the flag of anthropology was a red rag in the eyes of their opponents. Or as Bratanić warned him before the Bonn meeting in April 1964, where the Gang of Four had proposed the reintroduction of the term "folklore":[25]

> I cannot be present the first day in Bonn. I hope that you will say something. But please, not on "cultural anthropology", even if this of course corresponds more or less with our "ethnology". In the present situation it is probably better that we stick to a European term (and link up with Arnhem and Amsterdam [the 1955 conferences]). (Bratanić to Dias, April 1964).

With his memorandum Csermak took the opposite stance in Bonn, with the result that we know well – that is, a deafening silence from the participating folklorists.

When Dias had resigned as General Secretary of CIAP in 1957, his formal reason had been his appointment as leader of a four-year research programme in the Portuguese colonies. But his annoyance with the bureaucratic burden, the folkloristic dominance as well as President Christiansen's passivity were certainly concomitant motives. However, he was ready to render his services again four years later, when a renewal of CIAP was on the agenda.

An additional qualification of Dias's was his fluency in the major European languages – German, French, and English, in addition to Portuguese and Spanish. He kept contacts with a broad network of colleagues; his archive contains correspondence with some 40 European scholars.[26] Trained as a Germanist, he had especially strong contacts with German-speaking Europe. He had worked in Germany from 1938, first as a lecturer in Portuguese, later as the director of a Portuguese-Brazilian institute in Berlin. During his long stay in Germany he obtained a doctor's degree in *Volkskunde*. If Erixon was respected (and sometimes feared) in both camps, Dias enjoyed an unusual popularity everywhere. He kept good relations with Ranke and was on friendly terms with Wildhaber. He had not been present in Athens because he was on leave from his university and engaged by the Portuguese Ministry of Culture to organize a national ethnological/anthropological museum in Lisbon. Still he was elected *in absentia* to the Council of the new SIEF. Or as Wildhaber wrote to him just after the Athens meeting:[27]

> Concerning the new SIEF, you probably know that a large group actually wanted you as President, Peeters as secretary and Pinon as treasurer. Perhaps that would have been the final result, if it had not been for the not very diplomatic influence of Csermak and Erixon. Well, what's done is done!

This was certainly wishful thinking on Wildhaber's part; it becomes clear from a long series of letters that Dias would never have agreed to collaborate closely with any of the traditional folklorists, whom he regarded in general as narrow-minded and myopic. Central CIAP/SIEF folklorists like Pinon, Lecotté, Marinus etc. were no exception. But pragmatic as he was, Dias agreed to join the SIEF Council and kept regular contact with it, even attending some of their meetings. At the same time, the group around Erixon regarded him as their "crown prince" and successor to Erixon. To judge from a voluminous correspondence, his loyalty was definitely with the Erixon camp. For various reasons (partly health), he did not participate at the three conferences that Erixon organized in 1965, 1966 and 1967. The fourth one, however, held in Portugal in 1968 after the death of Erixon, was organized by Dias.

The junior in the Quartet was Géza de Rohan-Csermak (1926–1976, often called only Csermak in the correspondence), a Hungarian scholar who had settled and married in France. He started his career at the ethnographic museum in Budapest and worked at the Musée de l'Homme in Paris in the 1960s. His fields of research were material culture, both theoretically and applied to fishing technology and agriculture, as well as social relations. He conducted fieldwork Eastern Europe, in Lapland, in Scotland, in the French and Spanish Pyrenees, in the USA and Canada. In many ways he acted as a link between Eastern ethnography and Western ethnology (Gunda 1979). He took a keen interest in questions of ethnicity and the concept of "ethnos", as well as in the theory and historiography of ethnology. It was through

Georges Henri Rivière that he came in contact with CIAP. In our context, he first appears at the conference in Santo Tirso in 1963, organized by Dias, where he was accompanied by Rivière. His next appearance was through the dispatch of his memorandum to the Gang of Four and the Bonn conference in April 1964. During spring and summer 1964 he was in regular contact with Erixon and CIAP's President and Secretary Christiansen and Nettelblad. He even paid a visit to Erixon in Stockholm in the summer of 1964, he talked CIAP's cause in CIPSH and ended up as the interim secretary of CIAP, appointed by Christiansen. Both Bratanić and Dias were enthusiastic about their new acquaintance.[28] As for Erixon, the unreserved support of the young and rather militant Csermak seems to have spurred the old veteran to a continued fight, and he would become the co-founder and first chief editor of Erixon's journal *Ethnologia Europaea*. By the end of the 1960s, just after the death of Erixon, he migrated to the USA and later to Canada, where he taught ethnology at several universities and ended up in the National Museum of Man in Ottawa.[29] He died in June 1976, at the age of 49.

During the winter of 1964–65, when Sigurd Erixon approached the age of 77, he got heart problems. He was hospitalized early in January 1965 and returned from a convalescence institution in mid February – nevertheless as determined as ever to create a new organization. For the planning of a start-up conference on European ethnology, Erixon established a committee in Sweden, consisting of himself (as leader), Åke Hultkrantz and Gustav Ränk, and with Anna-Britta Hellbom as secretary.[30] However, most of the planning took place by correspondence.

Among the difficult issues were the finances. Participants from Eastern Europe needed early invitations to secure all the necessary visas for travelling, guarantees that the Swedish hosts would cover the costs of housing and subsistence, and even pocket money for some of them – due to currency restrictions. A more delicate question was whom to invite. As Erixon wrote to Dias:[31]

> The selection of persons requires great prudence and control. We cannot bring in specialists with narrow interests. Bratanić, Bela Gunda and some East Europeans are welcome as advisors, but we also need some more persons […] Concerning Jacobeit in East Berlin I am still a little uncertain; for him there is hardly anything but agrarian ethnography and an addiction to cattle farming.

It was not only Eastern Europe that posed problems. In some countries ethnology was still in its infancy, at least in the eyes of Erixon, and in other countries – such as Belgium, Switzerland, Portugal, etc. there were internal tensions and competing schools, and for linguistic reasons even several national societies of folklore. A couple of examples from the correspondence:

> Regarding Ivan Balassa, I think it is not too diplomatic to invite him, because he is very unpopular in Hungary (he was a fervent Stalinist), and was turned out of the

Budapest Ethnographical Museum, in 1955, because of his brutality. (Csermak to Erixon, April 1965)[32]

As to Central Europe we have mentioned some names but so far no university professor from Western Germany, as we are uncertain if there is any real ethnologist with such a position in that country. We have suggested [Günther] Wiegelmann, a young scholar from Bonn. As for Switzerland we suggest with great hesitation a professor Niederer[33] in Zürich who has succeeded professor Weiss. (Erixon to Dias, March 1965)[34]

Lists of proposed participants circulated among the Quartet. Some of these lists and comments give amusing glimpses of sympathies and antipathies, but they also give a reader of today a feeling of a project where the protagonists felt that something really important was at stake – and on whom the experiences of the two preceding years had made a deep impact. As Erixon, just out of the hospital, wrote to Dias: "I am very careful with whom we shall initiate in our plans. I need advice concerning whom we can regard as safe and well suited."[35] For a division of labour, Erixon covered Northern Europe, Bratanić Eastern Europe, Csermak Central Europe, and Dias France and Southern Europe. The most systematic among them, Bratanić, ended up with a list of seven categories, from scholars who really had something to offer – the Quartet themselves plus Paul Leser, Åke Hultkrantz, Hans Koren, Sergei A. Tokarev and Kustaa Vilkuna, to scholars who might represent their countries, or scholars that he "did not really know", or scholars who were purely folklorists, or scholars who might have "some good qualities" but for "their temper" [sic] or "their earlier international activities" should be excluded, to those who were totally unsuited "for diverse reasons" … A nice blend of subjective and objective criteria, but probably also reflecting the difficult European situation with a Nazi past and a Communist present.[36]

During spring 1965 there was intense correspondence among the Quartet. Still they wanted to come together to discuss some of the difficult issues. The first possible occasion was the general *Volkskunde* congress (DGV) in Marburg in late April 1965, which also offered venues for the Atlas Commission and the Agrarian Tools Commission. Erixon could not resist the idea of an atlas meeting! In order to discuss face to face their delicate subject at a secluded place after the DGV congress, Csermak invited the group to his mother-in-law's estate just across the French border, in Luxeuil-les-Bains. And once more Erixon planned to do Europe by car, together with his wife Edit and with his assistant Karl-Olov Arnstberg as driver; after Marburg and Luxeuil-les-Bains (and driving Bratanić to the Yugoslavian border!) he intended to stay a couple of weeks in a sanatorium in Austria to recover.[37] However, when all invitations were finally organized, Erixon had to announce that for health reasons he was not allowed to travel abroad.[38] The end of the story was that the three others travelled north after the Mar-

burg congress, to meet Erixon in Trelleborg on 1–2 May where the planning of the September conference at Hässelby Castle, Stockholm, was finalized.

Before we return to this event, we shall pay a short personal-biographical visit to Sigurd Erixon, as an illustration of one of his predilections – that of travelling.

IV Erixon's Last Journey

Arnstberg and I left Stockholm (Lidingö) around 11 o'clock and travelled to [Gustav] Ränk's summer house Solö between Oxelösund and Nyköping and arrived there about half past two. Ränk's place was charming, due to his cultivation of roses but also because it was so nicely situated. We were offered a copious lunch of sandwiches and sole. The meal started with wine drinking outdoors. Then we had beer and another wine, both wines were white. Afterwards we had rowanberry liqueur and coffee. We left the place in high spirits and went to Skärkind [Erixon's birthplace] where we put some flowers on the graves of my parents and my grandfather. Then we went to Hestad where we were warmly received by Karl-Axel and Svea [Erixon's relatives] and offered coffee and many sorts of cakes. Note that Ränk travelled with us. Shortly after eight we drove to Söderköping, where we arrived when it was dark. We had a quick look at our farm and at Brunnsgården and the burnt-down bath-house where the roof had gone. Then we drove on via Norrköping to Örebro, where we arrived around half past ten. We had rooms at Hotel Aston, which we found satisfactory. We had nothing to eat that night. Next morning we continued westwards, passing Karlstad, Örje and Oslo [… to Stavanger] (Erixon, August 29, 1967)[39]

As related in some detail in two of the earlier articles on Erixon (Rogan 2013, 2015b), Sigurd Erixon was an ardent traveller, engaging in several long journeys abroad almost every year, some of them lasting up to a month. When go-

7. From the left: Karl-Olov Arnstberg, Sigurd Erixon and Géza de Rohan-Csermak. Norway, August 1967. Arnstberg was Erixon's assistant and used to drive Erixon in his own private car (in the background). Photo probably taken by Gustav Ränk, belonging to Arnstberg.

ing abroad for conferences, which he normally did several times every year, he often combined the travels with prolonged ethnographic and museum excursions. A long series of notebooks from these travels, full of drawings and notes, combined with observations and personal comments in his more or less unreadable handwriting, bear witness to his many active journeys.

Even though his doctor refused to let him travel in spring 1965, he soon after undertook new journeys. His last long tour abroad was undertaken in August 1967, in his 80th year, less than six months before he died. It was a strenuous ten-day trip by car from Stockholm, all along the southern coast of Norway to Stavanger, and then by ferry to Utstein monastery. The purpose of the trip was his third conference on European ethnology. The journey took place in his secretary Karl-Olov Arnstberg's car, with Arnstberg as chauffeur and Gustav Ränk (1902–1998, professor of ethnology in Stockholm) as co-passenger (see above about the first day). It was "a long and trying journey, which was however enlivened by the alternating roads with extraordinarily beautiful stretches, often with water on both sides and high mountains, plus a number of towns that we passed quickly […]".[40]

At the conference (see below) Erixon was active all the time, leading discussions and giving a pep talk about the future of the discipline that they were now trying to re-establish. If the coastal road to Stavanger was strenuous, the return was no less cumbersome, as he chose to drive on the small roads through Setesdal and Telemark – the two renowned folkloristic-ethnological relict areas of Norway. He passed through the counties of Valle and Bykle, studying vernacular architecture, medieval *loft (stabbur)* and

8. Sigurd Erixon studying a seventeenth-century loft (*stolpbod*) in Karlstad, on his return from Norway in August 1967. Photo: Karl-Olov Arnstberg.

building techniques that he observed along the road, as well as paying a visit to every local museum on his way, and documenting log notches and other building details in his notebook. Nor was he blind to the thrills of nature: "The days in Sätesdalen were filled with brilliant sunshine and we felt deep in the roots of our hearts a joyful happiness in the face of these sceneries of nature, often framed by vertically thrown heights."[41] Then followed the lofts, stave churches and local museums of Telemark.

Passing Oslo, he had to make a halt at the open-air museum at Bygdøy, a museum he had visited several times before. They had a merry evening at Arvika Stadshotell, while the much younger "Ränk had fallen asleep". The following morning he observed that the log-notched buildings on the Swedish side were of little interest, with one exception however: in Karlstad "we almost killed ourselves to find a loft (*stolpbod*) that had been dated to 1660".[42] The researcher Erixon conscientiously made a drawing of the log notches in his notebook, as he had been doing all along the journey (see photo). The (almost) octogenarian accomplished the journey with professional zeal to the very end! No wonder that in the last phrase of his report he admits that he felt sick and was utterly exhausted and would need a couple of days to recover.

V Hässelby, Julita, Utstein and Lisbon (1965–1968)

My dear Erixon
Have you recovered from your stay in hospital? […] For us, a person of your prestige is of primary importance if we want to found an organization for European ethnology. I am convinced that we will succeed, especially with an organization that goes beyond the political frontiers […] and comprises the ethnic boundaries. (Dias to Erixon, January 1965)[43]

Lieber Freund
Vielen Dank für Deinen Brief, den ich vor einigen Tagen bekam, als ich im Krankenhaus wegen Ueberanstrengung und Herzbeschwerden lag. Ich werde daran erinnert, dass ich nicht länger jung bin, und auch nicht mehr die erforderliche Kraft habe, um internationale Angelegenheiten zu führen.
(Erixon to Dias, January 1965)[44]

The first conference on European ethnology was arranged at Hässelby Castle, in a Stockholm suburb very close to Erixon's homestead, on 4 to 7 September 1965. Csermak had obtained the main financial support from a Paris fund, and the Gulbenkian Foundation contributed. Twenty-seven scholars from fourteen countries had accepted the invitation. The keynote lecture, given by Erixon – "European Ethnology in our Time" – later appeared as the programmatic article of the first issue of *Ethnologia Europaea*. Åke Hultkrantz and Csermak followed with lectures on "contemporary ethnological thought" and "le complexe ethnique européen".[45] Of the Quartet only Jorge Dias was not present, due to health problems in the family, and

the fourth invited speaker, Sergei Tokarev from Moscow, suffered the same fate. The list of keynotes came to an end with Alberto M. Cirese, professor in Rome, who spent some time on excusing Italian 'ethnology' for its folkloristic profile, its introversion and lack of cooperation with European colleagues. The general debate focused on both the concept and the content of European ethnology, and especially on terminology, linguistic barriers, national idiosyncrasies and the possibilities of a more homogeneous terminology. Concepts such as culture, ethnicity, folk, nation, tradition etc. were the unavoidable topics.

The conference and its debates are well documented (Rohan-Csermak 1967). There were three main topics that filled the last two days: the question of a series of manuals, a scholarly review, and the founding of a new organization.

As a continuation of the *International Dictionary of Regional European Ethnology and Folklore*, initiated by CIAP (Rogan 2013:131–134), Erixon argued for a series of manuals with surveys of popular culture in the various European countries. If the idea was unanimously welcomed, there was no unanimity as to form and contents, the language (some wanted German excluded), whether they should be monographs or collaborative works, whether the contents should be restricted to material culture only, whether social systems, popular religion and customs should be included, or whether folklore/oral literature should also be an integral part. An editorial committee[46] was elected, and a general vote decided that the next conference should be devoted exclusively to the question of the manuals.

9. From the third conference on European ethnology, Utstein, Norway, in August 1967. From the left: Anne Louise Gjesdahl Christensen (Oslo), Gustav Ränk (Stockholm), Sigurd Erixon, P. J. Meertens (Amsterdam), Hilmar Stigum (Oslo). Photo: Karl-Olov Arnstberg.

At the Trelleborg meeting in May the Quartet had constituted itself as a committee for the planning of a new journal of European ethnology, intended to "correspond to what *Current Anthropology* represents for general ethnology".[47] The conference was solicited to accept the Quartet as its editorial board and all present were invited to join the advisory board. It was Csermak who presented the plans and the philosophy of the journal and proposed its name – *Ethnologia Europaea* – "to express its international character and its independence of any national tendencies". The plans were approved with hardly any debate.

The question of a new association of "Europeanists" triggered more debate. The issue was not if, but how. A few of the participants were preoccupied by questions like the legal foundation of an association, by-laws, relationship to UNESCO, national representation, etc. With the CIAP experience freshly in mind, Bratanić argued vehemently against any sort of formal constitution or legal bonds, and the greater part of the audience accepted that with two projects in common (a series of manuals and a journal) and with an elected editorial board, it would be up to the group to prove their justification.

The final decision was that there should be yearly conferences – in accordance with Erixon's programme. For practical and economic reasons, the Hässelby conference had originally been planned as an appendix to a conference on agrarian history organized by Nordiska Museet. The agrarian conference was postponed one year, however, and Erixon's second conference on European ethnology was arranged on 1–3 September 1966, in connection with this conference. The venue was Julita Gård, an estate belonging to Nordiska Museet and situated to the west of Stockholm, which now serves as the national museum of agriculture.

The second conference is not documented in detail.[48] The programme had been discussed at Hässelby, where it had been decided that it should be exclusively dedicated to the manuals of European ethnology.[49] This ambitious plan was obviously the most difficult part to carry through, and the discussion was continued at the third conference, which took place in Norway on 21–22 August 1967. The venue chosen was Utstein monastery, not far from Stavanger. Erixon had once more obtained money from the Wenner-Gren Foundation, and the local host was Professor Knut Kolsrud from Oslo. Eighteen scholars from eleven countries participated, but one person was once more deeply missed; for health reasons Jorge Dias could not join the group.

The two main topics for the conference were the university teaching of European ethnology and ethnology's position and functions in society. Erixon's introductory lecture gave a historical overview of his earlier investigations into the university status of the discipline in Western Europe (the number of professors and other teaching staff, separate or combined

courses in folklore and material/social culture, etc.), as well as his earlier mapping of archives, museums and other research institutions in Sweden. This time he wanted to map a much wider area, including Eastern Europe and other parts of the world. He also expressed his concerns about the ongoing changes in the curricula and the teaching at the Swedish universities.

When it came to the role of ethnology in society, Erixon's lecture became more of a pep talk, optimistic about the future of the discipline but at the same time critical of the relaxed attitude of many of the university ethnologists of the generation after him. He asked whether the teaching was relevant enough for society's needs, whether the leading ethnologists did enough to influence the authorities, and whether relevant public persons (such as newspaper, radio and television editors and public servants) were versed enough in the discipline. In short, he required a much more offensive attitude from his colleagues towards the public and the authorities. The 79-year-old professor appeared more impatient than ever, asking whether the committee on the planned manuals had reached any conclusions yet or whether he should send his own manuscript immediately to the publisher. Finally, he expressed his discontent with the delay of the publication of no. 2 of *Ethnologia Europaea*. Or, with his final words: "Those who cannot recruit subscribers should come up with money instead. Without more forceful action we run the risk of failing".[50]

The two latter themes, the journal and the manuals, were discussed in detail at the conference. As for the manuals, Holger Rasmussen (Copenhagen)

10. Utstein, Norway, August 1967. From the left: John Granlund (Stockholm), Axel Steensberg (Copenhagen), Gustav Ränk (Stockholm). Photo: Karl-Olov Arnstberg.

was appointed chief editor, with the support of Bela Gunda (Debrecen) and Jorge Dias. Erixon wanted the national manuals to offer possibilities for comparison, and Arnold Niederer (Zürich) was asked to elaborate an inventory of search words and themes to assure their coherence. The responsibility for the forthcoming volumes of *Ethnologia Europaea* was left to Csermak, who announced that he already had obtained 800 subscribers, and more were constantly coming in – which made Erixon exclaim: "This was the most agreeable news at the whole conference".[51] However, less agreeable to Erixon was the fact that no one followed up his criticism of the lax professors who did too little to help their students find jobs and positions and income, and who in general should be "more determined and conscious of the fact that we are working for a future science".[52]

As for the other main theme, the university teaching of European ethnology, most of the reports from the participants were printed in *Ethnologia Europaea* vol. 1, nos. 3 and 4. Csermak, who edited these issues, managed to collect national reports from a number of authors who did not participate at the conference. Volume I (1967) of *Ethnologia Europaea* offers a broad survey of European ethnology.

The participants wanted an organization with internal election procedures, in order to have only scholars whom they trusted. In his report Erixon uses the word "group". Bratanić appears to have been the most restrictive person in the assembly. According to Erixon,[53]

> Bratanić fought like a lion to prevent the election of newcomers, but all the same we managed to have [Alexander] Fenton elected. And through a coup by Csermak it was decided to invite a number of ethnologists [including Gerhard Heilfurth] to the next conference, to evaluate them and possibly elect them at a later stage.

It was generally accepted that the next conference should take place outside the Nordic countries. Csermak had been commissioned to contact their "crown prince" Jorge Dias:[54]

> I hope that I will not endanger your reconvalescence too much by charging you with the organization of our 4th conference. However, nobody is more competent than you for this task. The three first conferences have been organized by Sigurd Erixon, and in our unwritten hierachy it is you who will succeed him. We all consider you as his successor.

Dias accepted the task, and the fourth conference on European ethnology – "The Rural Local Community" – was arranged in Lisbon in the early summer of 1968. The topic was village and community research, and the papers were published in *Ethnologia Europaea* vol. VI (1972). They were assembled and edited by Csermak, who at the time of their publication had migrated to Canada.

The most deeply missed person at this conference was Sigurd Erixon, who had died a few months earlier. Not many years after, Jorge Dias, the crown prince of the group and now their leading scholar, also passed away.

11. From the third conference on European ethnology, Utstein, Norway, August 1967. From the left Hilmar Stigum (Oslo) and Holger Rasmussen (Copenhagen). Photo: Karl-Olov Arnstberg.

Erixon had been the glue that had kept them together, Csermak the motor that pushed the events, and Dias their hope for the future. The fourth conference on European ethnology was also the last – in this series. However, later editors of *Ethnologia Europaea* would pick up the tradition of organizing conferences, called "Working conferences of *Ethnologia Europaea*". They were almost yearly events under the editorship of Günther Wiegelmann, but – for financial reasons – more irregular during Bjarne Stoklund's editorship (see below).

VI An Enduring Project – the Journal *Ethnologia Europaea*

Ethnologia Europaea has set itself the task of breaking down not only the barriers which divide research on Europe from general ethnology, but also the barriers between the different national schools within the continent. […] The construction of theoretical and methodological bases for empirical studies by European ethnologists, and the intensification and co-ordination of their diverse efforts, are the chief preoccupations of this Journal.

The ideal aim of *Ethnologia Europaea* is to unite all those who are anxious to devote their knowledge and efforts to the progress not only of European but also of general ethnology.

(The manifesto of *EE*, printed on the inside cover of the first volumes).

The most lasting result of the combined efforts of the Quartet was the journal *Ethnologia Europaea* (*EE*), published for the first time in 1967, with Csermak as chief editor. The planned *Festschrift* to Erixon for his 80th anniversary was turned into three memorial volumes of *EE* – vols. II (1968), III (1969) and IV (1970), edited by A. J. Bernet Kempers (1906–1992, Arnhem), one of the veterans from Hässelby and the successor of Roukens as

director of the Netherlands Open Air Museum. From 1971, Professor Günther Wiegelmann (1928–2008, Münster) took over the editorship. He remained in the seat for 12 years (vols. V–XIII), until he was succeeded in 1984 by Professor Bjarne Stoklund (Copenhagen, 1928–2013).[55] Stoklund remained the main editor for 20 years (vols. XIV to XXXIV).

With five to six hundred subscribers through the 1980s, the editors strove hard to finance EE. Until 1987, the editors had to seek economic support every year from different foundations or ministries – in France, Portugal, Germany, Sweden, Finland, etc. From 1988, however, Stoklund obtained permanent support from the four Nordic research councils, through their common Nordic Publications Committee for Humanist Periodicals (NOP-H). The condition for this support from the Nordic councils was that the editorial address should be Nordic and that there should be a certain percentage of Nordic contributions. During Stoklund's period about one fourth of the articles were written by Nordic authors. Under Stoklund's editorship there was a symbolical reconciliation between *EE* and SIEF, when *EE* arranged its editorial board meeting at the third SIEF congress – held in Zürich in 1987, and also published the papers from the congress.[56]

Stoklund was relieved in 2005 by Orvar Löfgren (Lund), who shared the editorship with Regina Bendix (Göttingen) from 2006. And *EE* is still going strong, under the present editorship of Regina Bendix and Marie Sandberg (Copenhagen).

From 2015, however, there has been a remarkable twist in the history of the journal. During the early 2000s, the Board of a slowly recovering SIEF regularly discussed the need for a journal, and *EE* was a recurrent topic. Could it possibly become an organ for SIEF? The solution was obvious, not least because several of SIEF's board members were also on the editorial board of *EE*. However, we had to shelve the idea, mainly for economic reasons, but also because of the bond to the Nordic research councils. But in 2014 the membership of SIEF decided to make *EE* its official journal. The decision was implemented from 2015, after deliberations between SIEF, editors and publisher. The (positive) irony of history is that a journal that was once founded in direct opposition to SIEF has finally become SIEF's official journal – 49 years later.

VII An Unavailing Project – a European Atlas

Lieber Professor Erixon
[...] *Die internationale Atlaskonferenz* (als Vorarbeit für einen *Europaatlas*) werden wir wahrscheinlich in Zagreb an unserer Fakultät organisieren. [...] Sie soll eine *dreitägige Arbeits*konferenz sein, ohne Festlichkeiten, Empfänge und ähnliche Zeitverluste. [...] Unsere Atlaskommission soll sich bis aufs weitere als selbstständig betrachten, wie wir schon früher (Moskau) auch offiziell beschlossen hatten, und des weitere abwarten. (Bratanić to Erixon, January 1965)[57]

In meiner Eigenschaft als Vorsitzender der Kommission für einen europäischen Atlas begrüsse ich Sie herzlich und heisse alle wilkommen [...] Wärend der zwei letzten Jahre wurde es uns allmählich klar, dass der Atlas absolut international sein müsste, also Europa als Ganzes umfassen müsse. Dies bildet nun die Grundlage der Tagung in Zagreb. [...] Gleichzeitig will ich mitteilen, dass ich mich zu alt fühle, um den Posten als Vorsitzenden der Kommission weiter zu besetzen. [...] Es dürfte klar sein, welche Person ich am geeignetsten als meinen Nachfolger ansehe.
(From Erixon's opening address in Zagreb, February 1966, including an election appeal for Bratanić)[58]

The chronicle of Erixon's engagement on the European scene would be incomplete without a visit to his doings and dealings with cartography and the atlas question. As discussed in earlier articles (Rogan 2008, and especially in Rogan 2013:121–131), Erixon's active period – from the 1930s to the late 1960s – coincided with the heyday of cartography and ethnological atlases. In 1957 Erixon had finished the editing of volume I of the *Swedish Ethnological Atlas* (*Material and Social Culture*), and he continued untiringly with his plans for European cooperation in the field.

When Erixon, in agreement with Bratanić and Dias, wanted to continue the work in CIAP's former atlas commission, but now as a permanent or *Ständige Internationale Atlaskommission* liberated from SIEF (and possibly associated with IUAES), the background was that he saw cartography as *the* ethnological method par excellence. Another motif – and very important to Erixon – was that the atlas work might ensure closer cooperation with Eastern Europe, where material culture studies held a stronger position than in many other parts of Europe.

In Eastern Europe the interest in mapping popular culture was growing quickly in the early 1960s. At the Hungarian ethnographic congress in Budapest in October 1963 there was a somewhat heated discussion between the Russian ethnographer S. I. Bruk (Moscow) and the leader of the German national atlas (ADV) Matthias Zender (Bonn). Zender had recently taken a seat in CIAP's cartography commission, after the death of Richard Weiss (Switzerland). In Budapest Zender learned that Russian and other Slavonic ethnographers were planning an atlas of vernacular architecture and agricultural tools, to cover Eastern Europe and the contingent regions, i.e. the belt stretching from Finland over West Germany and Yugoslavia to Greece, but excluding Scandinavia and Western and Southern Europe. Worried about this new frontier, which crossed the area of the planned European atlas work, but also seeing a possibility of a Pan-European atlas covering the vast area from the Atlantic to the Ural, he informed Erixon and the rest of the cartography commission.[59] This is probably the reason why Zender, even after his commitment for the Gang of Four in Bonn in 1964, did not want a formal position in the "new CIAP" – or as Lecotté explained in a letter:[60] "Zender has declined, in order not to complicate his relations with the East."

This challenge was discussed at the ADV conference in Bonn in April 1964 – where report no. 3 on CIAP was handled (see Rogan 2015b:153–56). Erixon's presence in Bonn was probably due more to the atlas meeting than to the CIAP discussions, as quite a few eastern ethnographers participated. For the same reason Erixon preferred to attend the ICAES (IUAES) congress in Moscow in August 1964 instead of the Athens event a few weeks later.

Erixon was very satisfied with the result of the Moscow congress, where a decision was taken concerning the independence of the *Ständige Internationale Atlaskommission* (SIA). Furthermore, Professor S. I. Bruk was elected to the commission, and the first plans for a Pan-European atlas was conceived.[61] "Die Begeisterung für einen allgemeinen Atlas war in Moskau gross", he wrote to Dias after his return.[62] He was especially happy with the interest among the Russians in mapping agricultural tools and vernacular architecture, and he had decided to integrate the old, inactive commission for "habitat rural" in the SIA.

For Erixon, the Zagreb conference in February 1966 – a joint venture of SIA, the Yugoslavian national atlas project and Bratanić's faculty at the University of Zagreb – was definitely the highlight of his dealings with the European atlas question; "The congress was very successful and promise [sic] a light future. We hope that all nations will do the required", he wrote to Bratanić a little later.[63] In addition, it gave the inveterate traveller the chance to make a train trip with his wife Edit to Italy and Sicily afterwards – after having passed on to Bratanić the chairmanship of the SIA.

The conference is well documented (Bratanić 1967). During three days participants from 22 nations discussed and presented their national atlases, or their plans for such atlases. Three Nordic countries were represented – but not Norway, where no one had taken any real interest in cartography. According to Bratanić's report, the delegates were unanimous as to the value of a European atlas as a "research tool". An organizational structure was decided, in the form of a commission consisting of all the leaders of the national atlases. A work schedule and three themes were accepted for comparative studies from the start: aratory tools, threshing tools, and bonfires/*Jahresfeuer*. In later phases other themes could be approached, such as other agricultural tools and vernacular architecture – both choices from the Russian side, settlement types and villages – as proposed by Dias, etc. And there was full agreement as to the necessity of arranging annual conferences. With the closing word of Bratanić: "A very comprehensive and absolutely necessary project [*Grossarbeit*] in an international framing is finally initiated in a concrete manner. The prospects for the future are bright" (1967:77).

There is one remarkable difference in these documents, compared to the discussions on cartography and atlases in the 1950s (cf. Rogan 2013:121ff). That is the silence in the 1960s concerning all the methodological problems, as argued especially by Marcel Maget. It would soon turn out, however, that the future was far from bright, regarding techniques and methodology as well as the use of the maps. As we know, the project of a European atlas – or an EA, as it was called, would never be realized.

In the following years, there were actually biannual conferences on the EA until 1978, when the last one was organized in Enniskillen in Northern Ireland. One of their more permanent features was the Sigurd Erixon Memorial Lecture, given at every conference. But the commission (SIA) vanished when the 1970s faded out, and the idea of an EA was finally abandoned. Quite a few of the national atlases suffered the same fate.

In 1990 SIEF established a new working group, the International Ethnocartography Network, which until 2010 organized seminars on more modern uses and methodological aspects of maps and cartography (Barna 2012).

VIII A Closing Remark

> There were no international cultural movements in Europe in which he [Erixon] was not actively interested and of which, in many cases, he was not a principal pioneer. (Iorwerth C. Peate, 1968:5)

> Professor Erixon, doyen of Swedish folk-life studies and a leading figure in the field of European ethnology […] He played the leading part in laying the foundations of a work which, consolidated and amplified by colleagues and pupils, was to give "the Swedish school of ethnology" its international reputation […] He was a tireless worker for the development of his subject in other countries […]. (Stewart F. Sanderson, 1968:58)

Obituaries are a special genre. But it is remarkable to what extent the foreign authors made references to his role on the international scene. To his contemporaries, Erixon was "the doyen" not only among Swedish ethnologists, but also of European ethnology. His career coincided with the diffusionist paradigm of culture research, hence his strong conviction that cartography and atlases were the techniques and tools that would rejuvenate the discipline.

We should not forget, however, that the theoretical basis for much of what he did was deeply embedded in a holistic understanding of culture, in the line from Franz Boas via Alfred Kroeber to Robert Redfield and other contemporaries in cultural anthropology. His articles from the 1960s show an intimate knowledge of the works of both American and British anthropologists (Erixon 1964, 1965, 1967a, 1970).

Erixon was spared the paradigm shift in ethnology that followed soon after his death. Or perhaps "spared" is not the right word. He was always

12. Sigurd Erixon at Utstein, Norway, August 1967. Photo: Karl-Olov Arnstberg.

impatient to develop and adapt folk life research, and he followed attentively the cutting edge of international culture research. Many of his papers and articles in late life lingered around the challenges to ethnology in contemporary society. Among his important contributions we find "Folk-life research in our time" (1962), "European ethnology in our time" (1967a), "Urgent ethnological tasks" (1967b) and "Ethnological investigation of the present" (1970 [1966]). For his Julita conference (1966) he proposed as theme "Ethnology in our time put up against Historical Ethnology and its Methods".[64] And at the Utstein conference, he called for an ethnology more in accordance with society's needs. In short, he was impatient. Or as Åke Hultkrantz wrote a few months before Erixon's death, in a text intended for a *Festschrift* to celebrate his 80th anniversary (1968–69:18):

> It is always hazardous to comment upon a scholar's theories and concepts as long as he is still developing them. As everyone knows, this is the case with the indefatigable Sigurd Erixon – in spite of his 80 years he is still creating new ideas, dedicated to formulating a theoretical framework, a concise apprehension of the dimensions of his folklife research.

It might be tempting, as a conclusion to the chronicle of Sigurd Erixon's international activities, to draw up a list of his successes and setbacks on the organizational level, a list of all the societies and commissions, major congresses, committees, manuals and journals that he was engaged in, and which I have discussed in these four articles.

However, I think it is wiser to take a stance from the outside and resume in very few words what the contemporary international scholarly community saw as his most important contribution. The best witness is perhaps his most ardent and militant partisan, Géza de Rohan-Csermak, who in his memorial article "La contribution erixonienne à la théorie ethnologique" (1968–69) concentrated on two issues only. The first is "the thesis of the integration of ethnology", that is, that the study of European ethnic cultures must be an integral part of general ethnology or anthropology – a perspective that according to Csermak was a leitmotif in his theoretical preoccupations. The second is his insistence on "life" – as in "folk life" – as a core concept and the centre of interest for ethnological research.

Then there were all the other scholars, perhaps less theoretically oriented but still "workers in the vineyard" – to borrow an expression from Erixon – who saw in him the helmsman for navigating through the European landscape, that is the cartographer who could help them charting Europe.

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Erratum to the article "Sigurd Erixon – 'The Heavy Artillery' from Sweden" in *Arv* vol. 71 (2015), p. 124: The caption: Stith Thompson is the person sitting to the right in the photo.

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GÖTTINGEN: Institut für europäische Ethnologie, Georg-August Universität, Göttingen. Kurt Ranke's files.

PEETERS: Special collection: Documents from Peeters, Antwerp. This collection has been transferred in May 2012 from the Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires, Paris, to the Meertens Institute, Amsterdam.

DIAS: Museu Nacional de Etnologia, Lisbon. Special collection: Jorge Dias' archives.

SE: Nordiska museet, Stockholm. Special collection: Sigurd Erixons samlingar.

All translations to English from Norwegian, Danish, Swedish, French and German by Bjarne Rogan.

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[1] Letter from Erixon to Dias, 15 October 1964. DIAS, Box 4. See note 3.

[2] Letter from Géza de Rohan-Csermak to Jorge Dias, 26 August 1967. DIAS, Box 4.

[3] Quotation, see note 1. The noun *Slacht* (f) must be translated as *battle*. But in the same quotation Erixon also uses the verb *schlachten*, which means *to slaughter* (animals). This strong metaphor may be due to a lack of familiarity with the German language, cf. also the other grammatical mistakes in the same quotation. Erixon's letters in foreign languages were sometimes translated by his secretary, and sometimes – especially in later years – written by himself.

[4] Letter from Ranke to Peeters, 31 January 1967. PEETERS 8.

[5] Letter from Pinon to Peeters, 28 August 1969. PEETERS 13.

[6] Letter from Lecotté to Peeters, 14 April 1965. PEETERS 6.

[7] Letter from Wildhaber to Peeters, 7 December 1965. PEETERS 8.

[8] Letter from Pinon to Peeters, 14 January 1967. PEETERS 7.

[9] Letter from Peeters to the SIEF Board, 31 January 1967. PEETERS 12.

[10] Letter from Ranke to Peeters, 22 December 1965. PEETERS 8.
[11] Letter from Bratanić to Mauritz de Meyer, 17 November 1965. PEETERS 11. This refusal was badly received by Peeters and led to some further correspondence.
[12] Letter from Peeters to Hans-Richard Purschke, 13 January 1967. PEETERS 8.
[13] Göttingen in March 11–12, 1966 (ATP ORG.APP CIAP–SIEF, 1964–65–66–67); Prague, 5–7 September 1966 (PEETERS 9).
[14] See a series of letters in PEETERS 7, 8 and 10. Most outspoken were Wildhaber and Ranke. Most of the criticism was directed against Pinon, who was even accused of working against SIEF during his year in America.
[15] Letter from Ranke to Peeters, 31 January 1967. PEETERS 8.
[16] See for instance Report of 4 October 1974 from Mihai Pop to Peeters, which reveals that there was hardly any activity between August 1971 and October 1974. A congress planned to be held in Yugoslavia in 1976 was cancelled. PEETERS 7.
[17] Letter from Erixon to Dias, 15 October 1964. DIAS Box 4.
[18] Letter from de Rohan-Csermak to Erixon, 3 February 1965. DIAS Box 4.
[19] Letter from Erixon to Nettelblad, 17 October 1964. SE 8:27.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Letter from Erixon to Dias, undated (late spring 1964). DIAS Box 4.
[22] Project, dated Paris, le 24 septembre 1964. SE 8:33.
[23] Letter from Bratanić to de Rohan-Csermak, 23 December 1964. DIAS Box 4.
[24] Letter from Erixon to Dias, 16 February 1965. DIAS Box 4.
[25] Letter from Bratanić to Dias, 16 April 1964. DIAS Box 4. Translated from German by BR.
[26] Archives of Museu Nacional de Etnologia, Lisbon.
[27] Letter from Wildhaber to Dias, 22 November 1964. DIAS Box 4. Translated from German by BR.
[28] Letter from Dias to Bratanić, 2 September 1964, DIAS Box 4, also in SE 8:27; Letter of 18 April 1964 from Bratanić to Erixon. SE 8:27.
[29] Later "Museum of Civilization", from 2012 "Museum of Man".
[30] Protokoll vid förberedande sammanträde för anordnandet av en konferens i Stockholm sensommaren 1965 för bildandet av en europeisk etnologunion i Sigurd Erixons bostad, den 12 mars 1965. SE 8:72.
[31] Letter from Erixon to Dias, 19 January 1965. DIAS Box 4. Translated by BR.
[32] Letter from Csermak to Erixon, 16 March 1965. DIAS Box 4.
[33] The "hesitation" is probably due to the fact that they did not know Niederer, who had been appointed professor as late as 1964. Only Csermak had met him in Santo Tirso in 1963. See Kuhn 2015.
[34] Letter from Erixon to Dias, 13 March 1965. DIAS Box 4.
[35] Letter from Erixon to Dias, 19 January 1965. DIAS Box 4.
[36] Letter from Bratanić to Erixon, Dias and Csermak, 5 April 1965, with "Preliminary list of members of the planned conference in Stockholm 1965". SE 8:72
[37] Letter draft from Erixon to Bratanić, undated. SE 8:72.
[38] Letter from Erixon, 7 April 1965. SE 8:72.
[39] En rapport rörande Norgeresan 18–27 augusti 1967. 29.8.1967, p. 1. SE 8:88. Translation from Swedish BR.
[40] En rapport rörande Norgeresan 18–27 augusti 1967. 29.8.1967, p. 1. SE 8:88.
[41] Ibid. p. 4.
[42] Ibid. p. 5.
[43] Draft for a letter from Dias to Erixon, probably January 1965. DIAS Box 4. Translated from Portuguese by Joaquim Pais de Brito, Lisbon.
[44] Letter from Erixon to Dias, 19 January 1965. DIAS Box 4.
[45] Both are printed in *Ethnologia Europaea* vol. I, no. 1.
[46] Consisting of Bela Gunda, Holger Rasmussen and Géza de Rohan-Csermak.

[47] *Folk-Liv* 1966 p. 78. Recension probably written by Erixon.
[48] A practical problem is that the archives of Nordiska Museet were closed all through 2015. At the moment of writing this article, there was no access to either Erixon's archives (SE) or those of Julita.
[49] Still, Erixon later proposed as theme for the conference "Ethnology in our time put up against Historical Ethnology and its Methods", probably in order to prepare for the forthcoming "Symposium for Ethnological Research about Modern Time", which he presided over in March 1967. However, Csermak later came up with a third topic. Letter from Erixon to Bratanić, 22 February 1966. SE 8:72.
[50] Inledningsanförande/Introductory lecture. Manuscript in Swedish (also in an English translation). SE 8:88.
[51] En rapport rörande Norgeresan 18–27 augusti 1967. 29.8.1967, p. 2. SE 8:88.
[52] Ibid. p. 3.
[53] Ibid. p. 3.
[54] Letter from Csermak to Dias, 19 September 1967. DIAS Box 4. Translated from French by BR.
[55] Editorial, *Ethnologia Europaea* vol. XIV1 (1984), pp. 3-4.
[56] The editor's report at the meeting of the editorial board of EE in Radziejowicke, October 1989. Private archive (Bjarne Rogan)
[57] Letter from Bratanić to Erixon, 5 January 1965. DIAS Box 4.
[58] SE 8:72.
[59] Letter from Zender to Erixon, 24 October 1963. PEETERS 4.
[60] Letter from Lecotté to Peeters, 25 May 1964. PEETERS 6.
[61] SE 8:72 contains a series of letters, manuscripts etc. concerning the atlas question and the Zagreb conference, all the incoming reports from the different countries included. See also correspondence in DIAS box 4 (especially letters from Bratanić)
[62] Letter from Erixon to Dias, 27 August 1964. DIAS Box 4.
[63] Letter from Erixon to Bratanić, 22 February 1966. SE 8:72.
[64] Ibid.

Jan-Öjvind Swahn 1925–2016

Bengt af Klintberg

Not all folklorists have brought with them a folkloristic heritage from their preceding generations, but Jan-Öjvind Swahn did. A forefather who lived in the eighteenth century was a well-known folk healer, a "cunning man", owner of a book of magic recipes that was later published (C. O. Svahn, *Svartkonstbok*, Lund, 1920). His father, Sven-Öjvind Swahn, recorded folktales, legends and other specimens of folk tradition and had them published in the yearbook *Blekingeboken* as well as in a fine little book, *Folktro och gammal dikt* (1926).

The family lived in the naval town of Karlskrona in the southern Swedish province of Blekinge. Sven-Öjvind Swahn was a schoolteacher and writer, well-known for his knowledgeable and entertaining articles on cultural history, most of them about old Karlskrona. He was also an often heard broadcasting personality. Two of his sons inherited their father's writing talent: Jan-Öjvind, producing scholarly works and popular non-fiction, and his younger brother Sven-Christer who became a writer and translator of fiction.

Jan-Öjvind Swahn was the last student of C. W. von Sydow to write a dissertation. He came to know his future teacher already in his parents' home, since his father was acquainted with von Sydow. He passed his licentiate exam at the early age of 25. He then decided to follow the example of three of von Sydow's earlier students (Helge Holmström, Sven Liljeblad and Anna Birgitta Rooth) and write his dissertation about a folktale.

His choice fell on one of the most widespread tales of magic, in Aarne-Thompson called "The Search for the Lost Husband". The folktale catalogue stated that it existed in three versions, but Swahn's investigation shows that the basic plot is common to a whole cycle of related tales. The oldest instance is Apuleius' classical story of Amor and Psyche, which explains the title of the dissertation: *The Tale of Cupid and Psyche (Aarne-Thompson 425 and 428)*. If Swahn had known what a gigantic assignment lay in front of him it is possible that he would have chosen another folktale; "The Search for the lost husband" has been documented in more than a thousand variants from various parts of the world, many of them written down

in uncommon languages and obscure dialects. When his monograph was defended in 1955, it was greeted as an impressive achievement with an impact on the positions of folktale research. The aim of the geographic-historic school to reconstruct a hypothetic *ur-form* for every folktale type no longer appeared tenable; folktale scholars had to content themselves with pointing out which one of the subtypes was the oldest, in Swahn's investigation the one represented by the story of Apuleius.

During the following decades Jan-Öjvind Swahn worked as a senior lecturer responsible for instruction in folklore research not only at the University of Lund but also at those of Uppsala and Gothenburg. My own first encounter with him was at a lecture in Uppsala in the early sixties, where he demonstrated the use of punched cards, a forerunner to the computer, when analysing an extensive corpus of folktales.

Beside his teaching duties Swahn also served as a librarian for many years. In 1951–1967 he was employed at the University Library at Lund, and in 1978–1983 he held the position of chief librarian at the Nordic Museum in Stockholm. His skills as a teacher of folkloristics were also utilized outside the borders of Sweden; Åbo Academy, the only Swedish-speaking University with a department of folklore, in 1974–1992 made him the head of the department, from 1982 as a professor. He acted as tutor when Gun Herranen wrote her licentiate dissertation about the blind storyteller Bernt Strömberg, a reflection of the increased interest of the time in the study of narrators.

Throughout his career Jan-Öjvind Swahn combined his activities as an academic teacher and librarian with various performances in the mass media. An early example of his talent as an entertainer and creator of festivity was his role as general (or admiral, as he preferred to call himself, considering his origin in Karlskrona) of the student carnival in Lund in 1968. Later on he became a treasured inspector of the society of Blekinge students at the university. He was one of six bearded gentlemen in a series of entertainment programmes in Swedish television in the 1960s, known as "The Beards". However, what consolidated his image as a learned and entertaining representative of Academia were the many television programmes called "Fråga Lund" (Ask Lund), broadcast in the 1960s and the following decades, with Swahn as their anchorman.

All these public activities made Jan-Öjvind Swahn a celebrity in Sweden, a prominent figure of witty cultural entertainment. Not all those who knew him from the mass media were aware that he continued to be an eminent scholar of folklore. He was especially occupied with those folktales which have been brought together under the heading "Tales of Magic". In 1959 the first edition of his anthology *Svenska folksagor* (Swedish Folktales) appeared; it has since been published in four new editions and has been required reading for generations of Swedish students of ethnology. A very

readable anthology entitled *Europeiska folksagor* (European Folktales, 1965) might be seen as a follow-up to his dissertation. In 1987–1988 he published the series *Folksagor* (Folktales) in seven volumes, all containing international folktales arranged according to certain themes. Their design with silk covers and colourful illustrations was suited to the coffee table, but the insightful commentaries after the tales revealed the expertise of the editor. Eva Wigström's folktale collection *Fågeln med guldskrinet* (The Bird with the Golden Case), published at long last in 1985 by Nils-Arvid Bringéus as a homage to Swahn on his 60th birthday, also contains learned commentaries by the latter.

Several of Swahn's many scholarly articles, devoted to issues of folktale research, are of theoretical interest. In "Jason och Medea i Kråksmåla" (1959) he studies a Swedish storyteller's oral version of a literary tale in Édouard Laboulaye's *Contes bleus,* which was published in a Swedish translation in the nineteenth century. The source of Laboulaye's tale is a Norwegian version of the widespread tale type "The Magic Flight", which the author has reworked stylistically and furnished with different additions so that it has become several times longer. However, in versions from Swedish oral tradition these adornments have to a great degree been peeled off; the narrators have known the rules of oral storytelling and excluded details without meaning in the plot.

In the book *Wie alt sind unsere Märchen* (1990), written together with German folktale scholar Charlotte Oberfelt, Swahn takes up the much debated question of the age of the tales of magic. He returns to the subject in his article "Hur gamla är våra folksagor?" (How old are our folktales?) which was published in *Sagorna finns överallt* (The Tales Are Everywhere, 1995), the result of a Nordic folktale project. Here he delivers a sharp critique of psychoanalytic folktale interpretations which overlook the traditional context of the tales. Further articles are surveys of research on folktales and other forms of folklore, for instance "Märchenforschung in Skandinavien", published in the handbook *Märchen und Märchenforschung in Europa* (1993) and "Arvet från von Sydow" (The Heritage of von Sydow, *Rig* 1996). Swahn was also a frequent contributor to the recently finished *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* (1–15, 1975–2015).

Jan-Öjvind Swahn had the opportunity to set foot upon a white spot on the folkloristic map when in the 1970s the orientalist Kristina Lindell contacted him and asked him to join her and storyteller Damrong Tayanin in a fieldwork project among the Kammu, a mountain people in northern Laos with a rich oral tradition. During the years 1976–1995 the three of them published six valuable volumes of annotated Kammu lore.

One sometimes hears about individuals who possess an encyclopaedic knowledge. This was literally true in the case of Jan-Öjvind Swahn. Because of his innate ease in acquiring and communicating knowledge from widely

differing areas, he played a central part when two huge encyclopaedic projects were carried out in Sweden. The first one was *Bra Böckers lexikon*, published in 1973–1981 in 25 volumes. Swahn was the chief editor of the series and responsible for a multitude of articles. In the last two decades of the twentieth century the moss-green books could be seen in innumerable Swedish libraries and schools. Before computers were introduced, they were an important source of knowledge.

An even larger encyclopaedic project was the *Nationalencyklopedin*, which came about on the initiative of the Swedish Parliament. Several big publishing houses competed in acquiring the prestigious task to publish the work. Bra Böcker won the purchasing and carried out the project during the years 1989–1996. Jan-Öjvind Swahn was engaged with the project as one of several experts and wrote more than 2,000 of the totally 170,000 articles.

With advancing age many writers slow down. This was never an option for Jan-Öjvind Swahn, whose productivity rather increased over the years. During the final years of his life a strong deterioration of his sight limited his writing activity, but up to then he often published more than one book a year. His style as a writer was mostly humorous, but the contents were always based upon thorough research. A subject which he especially cherished was the cultural history of food and drink, where Swahn together with his fellow ethnologist in Lund, Nils-Arvid Bringéus, became a leading expert.

Among his many books on culinary subjects some deserve special mention, such as *Svensk kaffekultur* (Swedish Coffee Culture, 1982), *Grötrim på skämt och allvar* (Porridge rhyming in jest and earnest, (1986) and *Boken om kryddor* (The Book on Spices, 1991), the last one translated into five languages. Especially interesting for a folklorist is the study of the custom in Swedish peasant society of rhyming when eating the Christmas porridge. It can be traced back to a custom among the upper classes of rhyming when eating liver, and it not only had the function of increasing the high spirits around the table but also served as an outlet of social criticism.

The form of the encyclopaedia also proved useful when Swahn wrote about food. His *Mathistorisk uppslagsbok* (Encyclopaedia of Food History, 1999) deals with food and drink from antiquity to Absolut vodka, as is stated in the subtitle of the book. The first edition was followed by two revised and enlarged editions, the last one entitled *Stora matlexikonet* (The Big Food Dictionary, 2009). Other contributions to the cultural history of food in Sweden are *Fil, fläsk och falukorv* (Soured milk, pork and Falun sausage, 2000) and *Potatisboken* (The Potato Book, 2011). Jan-Öjvind Swahn was a highly esteemed member of the Gastronomic Academy of Sweden and a regular contributor to its yearbook *Gastronomisk kalender,* for many years as a member of its editorial committee.

A third field in Swahn's oeuvre beside folktales and the cultural history

of food belongs to the very core of ethnology: the festivals of the year. Among his books within this domain *Den svenska julboken* (The Book on Swedish Christmas, 1992) holds an exceptional position. It is a lavishly illustrated book which gives an exhaustive history of all the customs of Christmas. The presentation is so fluent and good-humoured that an uninformed reader might not notice how painstakingly Swahn has researched every detail. In many cases the book gives a deeper and more accurate picture of Swedish Christmas than any of its predecessors. A more concise survey of the most important annual festivals in Sweden is given in *Majstång, kräftor och Lucia* (Maypole, Crayfish and Lucia), a commissioned work for the Swedish Institute which has been translated into no less than twelve languages.

The entrance of the third millennium coincided with Jan-Öjvind Swahn's 75th birthday. During the subsequent years he published fifteen new books. The breadth of his learning might be illustrated with the following titles: *Varför säger vi så?* (Why do we say so?, 2000), a book about sayings and proverbs with a history, *Änglar* (Angels, 2006), and *Vampyrer och varulvar* (Vampires and Werewolves, 2010).

Jan-Öjvind Swahn's father, who was as diligent as his sons, died at the early age of 58 years. His younger brother Sven-Christer lived to be 72 years old. Jan-Öjvind himself believed that he would die when he was around 70, but he almost reached the age of 91. It can be established that he used his years well. He leaves behind the memory of a man who enjoyed life and the company of friends and colleagues and generously shared his great learning with other people.

His folkloristic library was probably one of the most comprehensive in Scandinavia. The books of interest to folktale scholars number approximately 2,500. Jan-Öjvind Swahn expressed his wish that this section of his library should not be split but accessible to future folklorists. It is very satisfactory that this goal has been achieved thanks to the efforts of Fredrik Skott, archivist at the Dialect, Name and Folklore Archive of Gothenburg. All the books are now the property of the archive.

Book Reviews

Mumming and Masks in Denmark
Inge Adriansen & Carsten Bregenhøj (eds.): Maske og forklædning i Danmark. Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2014. 410 pp. Ill.

In recent years, the scholarly interest in masks and mumming customs has increased. For example, from 1999 to 2002 several ethnologists and folklorists took part in a large documentation and research project about masks and mumming traditions. The project leaders, Carsten Bregenhøj and Terry Gunnell, have helped to revitalize the study of the traditions; the former not least with his ground-breaking book *Helligtrekongersløb på Agersø: Socialt, statistisk og strukturelt* (1974) and the latter for example with his thesis *The Origins of Drama in Scandinavia* (1995). Gunnell also edited the book *Masks and Mumming in Nordic Area* (2002), 850 pages about Nordic masks and mumming traditions.

Together with Inge Adriansen, Carsten Bregenhøj is now one of the editors, and main authors, of the book *Maske og forklædning i Danmark*. The book consists of 32 articles. A range of different traditions and perspectives on the traditions are discussed. The examined time span is wide: there are contributions concerning the Viking Age as well as the present day. While there are many international comparisons, the focus is on masks and mumming customs in Denmark, in various parts of the country and in different social strata. The contributions differ in character. Most of the writers are researchers but some of the texts are written by people outside academia. For example, in some of the essays the organizers and participants describe their own experiences of the customs.

A wide range of masks and mumming traditions are presented and analysed in the book. Written descriptions and images tell of Christmas goats, Santa Claus figures and Twelfth Night mumming. Other contributions deal with court masquerades and different kinds of Shrovetide mumming. A strength of the book is that the editors have not limited themselves to (supposedly) "old Danish traditions"; instead there are also articles dealing with, for example, line-crossing ceremonies ("Equatorial baptism"), stag and hen parties, and contemporary carnivals. Traditions connected to the last day in school, Halloween and the Jewish festival of Purim are likewise discussed in separate articles. There are also more thematic texts in the book, for example about masks in art and advertising, masks and eroticism, the history of banning masks and the manufacturing of modern latex masks.

The editors of *Maske og forklædning i Danmark* have aimed at reaching the interested public as well. The book is well written, beautifully designed and very richly illustrated while neither references nor theoretical discussions are missing. As a reader one is struck by the wealth of imagination, by the customs as creative expressions in the borderland between playfulness and seriousness. Overall, the book also effectively conveys the traditions as so-

cial phenomena, how the activities contribute to a sense of belonging and community but also the opposite. Many of the authors also discuss – directly or indirectly – the interplay between continuity and change; it is undeniable that many of the traditions have a long history although traditions like these always reflect their time and the participants' values, hopes and fears. In short, *Maske og forklædning i Danmark* is a highly valuable source both for a knowledge of the traditions and for inspiration for future practitioners.

Fredrik Skott
Gothenburg, Sweden

Performance Study in the Finnish Way

Anette Arlander, Helena Erkkilä, Taina Riikonen & Helena Saarikoski (eds.). Esitystutkimus. Kulttuuriosuuskunta Partuuna, Helsinki 2015. 412 pp.

Performance Study as an academic discipline has its roots at the University of New York in the late 1960s. A theatre scholar named Richard Schechner, together with some of his colleagues, founded the Performance Group of New York, which later became the core of the Performance Study Department. Although the discipline has been connected mostly to theatre studies, the first director of the department, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, was a folklorist. This fact – and e.g. the contributions made by the ethnographer Dwight Conguergood of Northwestern University in Chicago – has been important and today *performance* and *performativity* are more often seen as necessary tools for analysing everyday life in cultural studies. Interest in interpreting various phenomena as performances has since spread all over the Western world, and the method is used widely in different disciplines and with researchers adopting different approaches. This year, we have had the privilege to welcome the first Finnish anthology on performance studies – or performance research, as is the preferred term in the UK.

As one of the editors, Anette Arlander, points out in the introduction, the aim of the book is not merely to translate Anglo-American performance study into Finnish, but rather to gather together Finnish scholars from different disciplines interested in performance as a method or a perspective for their research. The result is as promised: a multidisciplinary approach with contributions ranging from arts and popular culture to history, the social sciences and cultural anthropology as well as folkloristics. Ethnologists remain behind the scenes in this publication – but only for the time being. One must also remember that this kind of joint publication often has a particular background with long-term co-operation. Most of the articles, nine of them, are based on papers from seminars and workshops organised by the Finnish Performance Study Network between 2011 and 2014.

The book is divided into three sections. The first part consists of the above-mentioned peer-reviewed articles chosen from the network's connections. Four of the articles fall under the heading *Ethnographies of a Performance* (Esityksen etnografiat), two under the heading *Art Performances* (Taiteen esitykset) and three under the heading *Performing* (Esittäminen). The topics are diverse, ranging from popular dances on pavilion floors, celebrating Saint Lucy's Day and young Somalis in Finland, to keeping a blog and oral agitations of the early 20th century in Finland. One of the core principles of the book is that each writer introduces readers to some of the prominent figures in performance studies via various key concepts. Hence, Helena Saarikoski discusses vernacular writings about popular Finnish couple's dances using the concepts 'liminal' and 'liminoid' adopted from Victor Turner.

Arlander sees her auto-ethnographic writing of blogs as twice-behaved behaviour and discusses the phenomenon through restored behaviour, with the latter concept have been adopted from Schechner.

In order to introduce the field of Finnish performance studies, the editors invited six shorter pieces from distinguished scholars. This second part of the book is called 'Tulokulmia', and it introduces readers to different perspectives in performance studies. In the first article, Jaana Parviainen presents bodily performances of work through professional bodybuilding. She discusses gender and gender roles and performing a profession with respect to Judith Butler's notion performativity, and she sees such bodily performances as a metastructure that categorises us according to sex, skin colour, body shape, age, ethnic background or spoken language. According to her concept of 'physical bodily', performativity can be seen as being constructed from the stereotypes and attitudes of the surrounding environment. Similar issues are discussed in Annamari Vänskä's text about performativity in fashion. She scrutinises how one can communicate and modify performances of sex and sexuality with clothes and how one can read clothing as a performance of gender. For this purpose, she takes several examples from history, such as dandys and Macaronies as well as the recent Eurovision Song Contest winner Conchita Wurst.

When it comes to studying performances, one could assume that music performances are widely studied using the method in question. However, as Pirkko Moisala points out in her text about ethnography, bodily practices and culture in live music performances, the field of musicology has only recently adopted the perspective of performance studies, even though the sub-discipline of ethnomusicology has been a pioneer in the field. In her own study, she finds music performances a fruitful lens through which to analyse culture. One of the interesting concepts she uses is that of 'musicking', which embodies how music is not only a product of action, like composition or song, but also a social process wherein all the participants, from the performer to the audience and even persons making coffee for the audience, are part of the process.

The most exceptional text of the book comes from Marjukka Lampo and Marleena Huuhka, whose article discusses games through the lens of performance study. They construct the text itself as a game: all the sections can be read in any order. Each section explores different concepts of performance study, such as 'game', 'ritual', 'mimesis', 'play', 'role play', 'live role play', and so forth. With this peculiar structure, they construct a performance as such. The approach also brings to my mind the publishing seminar editors organised for this book, where the articles were introduced by other authors of the same book. Additionally, it was an excellent idea for bringing new angles and perspectives to texts, being also a kind of performance in and of itself.

The final part of the book includes two articles translated from reputable professors Peggy Phelan and Della Pollock. Phelan's article, *The Ontology of Performance,* was published already in 1993, while Pollock's article, *Making History Go,* was published in 1998. Both of the articles can be considered as central texts on performance studies.

For the reader, *Esitystutkimus* provides a wide-ranging viewpoint into the theory and methodology of performance studies. Even though a certain level of anxiety could be detected in the publishing seminar towards the lack of renewal in performance theory worldwide, and a fear of Finns only copying Anglo-American perspectives was expressed, the book represents an important starting point for the state of the field in Finland. The book manages to convey the fact that the field is not at all homogenous or

predefined – or at least to give its own interpretation of the field, and therefore it has its place in the Finnish multidisciplinary scene of cultural studies. It is the first publication introducing the Finnish contributions to performance studies, and as such, it succeeds in exhibiting the field in an excellent manner. The ways in which it does so are manifold, and the many different examples provided will certainly help readers understand how to proceed with and analyse their own subjects from the perspective of performance. As Inka Juslin points out in her article on a historical movie, the ethnographic research method is an essential part of performance studies and is not far removed from the classical idea of thick description first introduced by Clifford Geertz.

Anne Ala-Pöllänen
Helsinki, Finland

French Essays on Scandinavian Fairy Tales

Elena Balzamo: Autour du conte. Neuf études. Flies France, Paris 2016. 223 pp.

The book consists of nine essays in French, dedicated to the fairy tale in Scandinavia. The author, Elena Balzamo, was born in Moscow and studied Scandinavian literature there before she settled in France, where she now teaches Scandinavian literature at the University of Chartres. This special background has had as a result that she has written a considerable number of works in three different languages: French, Swedish and Russian. Her interest in Swedish fiction is reflected in several valuable studies of the works of August Strindberg, Hjalmar Söderberg and other writers, and she has also contributed to research on one of the giants of the scholarly scene of the sixteenth century, the exiled Swedish archbishop Olaus Magnus.

At an early stage, however, she became especially occupied by fairy tales. In her doctoral dissertation at the University of Lille, she analyses the development of the literary tale in Sweden. In 1999 she published a selection of Swedish folktales, chosen from the nineteenth-century collection of G. O. Hyltén-Cavallius and G. Stephens and translated by her, *Le chien boiteux et autre contes*. It has been followed by a series of books and articles on Scandinavian tales, which have made Balzamo an important introducer of Scandinavian folklore to francophone readers.

In the present volume she has put together nine essays on Scandinavian storytelling. They are presented in two sections, the first one with focus on traditional folktales, the second on tales by well-known writers of fiction. First come three essays which give a survey of the collection and publishing of folktales in Scandinavia during the nineteenth century and later. In her presentation of the Swedish activities in this field she pays special attention to the two men who gave Sweden a counterpart to the tales of the Brothers Grimm, the Swede Hyltén-Cavallius and the Englishman Stephens, but she also mentions that the tales were later revised by Fridtjuv Berg and Jöran Sahlgren in order to make them better suited as children's literature. Next comes a presentation of Asbjørnsen and Moe's Norwegian folktales, characterized by Jakob Grimm as "the best folktales there are", and their background in the language situation in the country, where the *Bokmål* (Book Language) was considered too close to Danish. The great success of the Norwegian folktales was due to the fact that their language answered the demands for a "national language".

A third survey of the history of Scandinavian folktale collection is entitled *Les étiologies introuvable: un aperçu historique*. Here Balzamo asks how it comes that aetiological tales about the origin of animals, plants etc. are rela-

tively sparsely represented in Scandinavian folktale collections. The answer seems to be that the editors used the tales of the Grimm brothers as a model, and there the aetiological tales make up but an insignificant part. This explains why Hyltén-Cavallius did not include them in his and Stephens' folktale collection but chose to present them in an addition to his ethnological investigation *Wärend och wirdarne*. Not until a hundred years after the Grimm brothers, with Oskar Dähnhart's four volumes of *Natursagen* (1907–1912), did the richness of aetiological storytelling become obvious to researchers.

The aetiological narrative is a genre to which Elena Balzamo has paid special attention. Her collection of aetiological folktales from Sweden, *Aux origines du monde: contes et légendes de Suède*, has been published both in French and in Swedish, in the latter case with the title *När Vår Herre målade fåglarna* (When Our Lord painted the birds). Together with Reinhard Kaiser she has also edited a collection of aetiological tales in German which appeared in 2004. The most comprehensive essay in her present book, "Le conte étiologique: esquisse d'une typologie", is a substantial contribution to the study of this neglected folktale genre and its roots in Christian concepts and popular imagination.

The section containing essays on tales created by writers of fiction starts with a "case study" of Perrault's "Le chat botté" and its relation to H. C. Andersen's "Prindsessen paa Ærten" [The Princess on the Pea]. In both cases the tales are considerably older than these two literary versions. The motif which links them to one another is that the protagonist in both cases comes to a castle, claiming to be of royal birth. Balzamo presents ample evidence that Andersen goes far further than Perrault in his revision of the folktale material. In the following essay she scrutinizes in more detail H. C. Andersen's personal style as a storyteller. The section also contains a well-balanced survey, "La conte littéraire et ses metamorphoses", where she describes the development of the literary tale in Scandinavia from Andersen to Astrid Lindgren and Tove Jansson. The two final essays are devoted to the much beloved Swedish author of children's picture books, Elsa Beskow, and an analysis of the changes of the troll figure in Scandinavian children's tales from the nineteenth century to Tove Jansson's good-natured *mumin* trolls.

Altogether, the nine essays give an initiated and many-sided picture of the Scandinavian fairytale scene. Francophone readers who are not familiar with the treasures of Scandinavian folktales and literary fairytales will find a lot of interesting information in Elena Balzamo's book.

Bengt af Klintberg
Lidingö, Sweden

The Nordic Minuet

Gunnel Biskop: Menuetten – älsklingsdansen. Om menuetten i Norden – särskilt i Finlands svenskbygder – under trehundrafemtio år. Finlands svenska folkdansring, Helsingfors 2015. 327 pp. Ill.

Historians of dance do not grow on trees. It is incomprehensible that more people have not taken an interest in the place of dancing in cultural history. Are these traditions perhaps too low to entice researchers? To difficult to do research on? Or is it because dance studies do not belong to any specific discipline?

Probably the most productive dance researcher writing in Swedish is Gunnel Biskop in Finland. She gained her doctorate in 2012 in folkloristics at Åbo Akademi University with a dissertation on staged folk dancing and the accompanying collection of dance traditions in Swedish-speaking Finland. The bibliog-

raphy in the dissertation contains no fewer than 38 works by Biskop, which shows that she was no fledgling leaving the nest when she got her degree, but a fully fledged researcher. Among her many contributions to the history of ballroom dancing I would particularly single out the readable study *Zacharias Topelius i dansens virvlar* (1998), which describes a previously unknown side of the great author, while simultaneously giving insight into the dance habits prevailing in Topelius' circles.

Gunnel Biskop has now tackled the minuet – known as "the favourite dance". The book is based on a number of articles previously published by the author. The approach is broad as regards both chronology and geography: from the seventeenth century to the present day, and covering all the Nordic countries, although with more detailed treatment of the Swedish-speaking districts of Finland. Biskop makes use of mentions of the minuet in topographical literature, published diaries and memoirs, records of folklife, and dedicated documentations of dancing. The most frequently used source is Admiral Carl Tersmeden's memoirs from the Gustavian era (published in the 1910s). Biskop's diverse range of sources types is typical of this research field – dancing through history has not left us particularly rich or comprehensive source material. The discrepancy between the wide prevalence of dancing and the scarce archival traces is striking.

The arrangement of the book is mainly geographical, describing the minuet country by country. A concluding chapter is more of an overall survey and comparison.

The minuet was initially a courtly, almost ritual dance in the upper strata of French society. It spread very quickly to Scandinavia – it was already being danced at the Danish court at the end of the seventeenth century. Here it remained for a long time as a ritual dance that was often performed as the opening of a dance evening, and retaining many features of its French origin. For instance, participation in the dance was regulated according to the formal rank of the guests. But soon the minuet also occurred as a general dance among the people. It persisted for a remarkably long time, despite changes in dancing fashion. In Swedish-speaking Finland it attained a special position for which Biskop's explanation is that the minuet there was "the men's dance" (p. 159). Men had the explicit role of leading the dance. Throughout their lives men were expected to be able to dance a minuet in all its complexities, which helped to keep this form of dance alive.

Biskop's monograph on the minuet contains many details: people, places, the dance steps, the concrete contexts in which the dancing took place. She appears to have spared no pains in searching for – and presenting – traces she has found in the diverse source material. Conclusions and syntheses could well have been allowed to occupy more space and come more often. A distinctive feature of the text is that Biskop regularly interprets historical references with the aid of her experience as a dancer. In this way she can derive significant knowledge from sources that otherwise would say less to us.

Gunnar Ternhag
Falun, Sweden

The Forbidden Joik

Ola Graff: Joikeforbudet i Kautokeino. Davvi Girji, n.p. 2016, 197 pp. Ill.

Research on joik and joiking has long been dominated by an interest in pre-modern joik traditions. The functions of joiking, its forms and its regional variations, have occupied the pages of books and journals – a direct parallel to the tendency that has dominated re-

search on other Nordic folk music for so long.

Roughly 25 years ago, research began on joik and joiking in modern society. Two trails, often combined, can be discerned: the encounter of joiking with popular music and joik as an expression that generates identity.

Ola Graff's latest research goes beyond these well-trodden paths when he investigates the ban on joiking in school teaching that the school board in Kautokeino imposed in 1953. The prohibition was maintained for several decades. Graff's study examines how the ban was enforced and heeded, how the ban can be explained and how it was described in literature and the press. Ultimately, this detailed study concerns the ideas about joik and joiking that have existed during the period in question: among local decision makers, among the Sami population in the municipality, and among teachers and school management.

Ola Graff is a curator at the University of Tromsø who has for many years published works about joik and joiking. In several studies he has taken an interest in analyses of form. He has refuted the previously widespread view that joiks are improvised, with the form being of little significance. Graff's conclusion is the opposite, namely, that joiks are built up with a strong sense of form. In his doctoral dissertation (2002, published in a revised version in 2003) he succeeds in making the extremely scant source material say something essential about the Coast Sami tradition that is now extinct in practice. Graff shows how the proximity to Norwegian musical culture has affected joiking among the Coast Sami, and how their joiking, despite this proximity, has preserved very old features which disappeared even earlier elsewhere.

Kautokeino in the present study is a municipality in the northern county of Finnmark with a small population. There is a large Sami element. The prohibition on joiking in school teaching was made by a wholly Sami school board; it was thus neither the school management nor any central Norwegian body that was behind the ban. The negative attitude to joiking among the Sami in the locality was based on two unfavourable circumstances, namely that joiking was regarded as pagan and that it was associated with drinking. There was an equally negative view in the neighbouring municipality of Karasjok, but there, according to Graff (p. 164) they did not go as far as to impose a formal ban. To understand this difference in attitude one needs to know that Laestadian belief had a strong position among the Sami population.

Graff follows closely how the schools related to the prohibition. A relevant factor is that many teachers did not have a Sami background and in many cases came from the south. They thus had poorer contact with the Sami population and their way of thinking, and above all they could not teach the children about joik. They were thus doubly disqualified in this burning issue.

Teachers and school management obeyed the decision of the school board for a long time, even if they did not sympathize with it. In 1976 the question came up again. By then the attitude to joik had changed in Norwegian society as a whole, and the first joik-based bands had been formed. But the school board chose to maintain the prohibition on the use of "joik discs or sound recordings in history lessons in school" (p. 62).

Graff's study goes on to describe how this prohibition became increasingly difficult to comply with, even though schools were obliged to respect the renewed decision. An external decision that affected the situation locally was when Nils-Aslak Valkeapää was invited to joik at the opening ceremony of the Winter Olympics in Lillehammer in 1994. His performance rekindled the negative emotions about joik among certain Sami, even though joik had then

become an acclaimed symbol of Norway and the northern culture. The gap between these perceptions illustrates the great distance between the central elite and a minority who were distant in several respects.

Ola Graff's book is meticulous in its description of this drama. There are so many details, and the quotations from minutes and newspapers are so long that a reader may suspect that the author is mainly addressing a local readership out of a desire to satisfy their need for reconciliation in this value-laden conflict. The narrative can no doubt still be sensitive. "The question of joik in school was fraught with emotion. One of the reasons for that is that joik itself is fraught with emotion" (p. 177). In the text there are interviews with people who were themselves involved in the events. It is rather telling that we see less soul-searching than a tendency to forget.

The scholarly value of the book lies, to begin with, in the well-found choice of topic. The prohibition in Kautokeino is a seemingly trifling matter, besides which it is now a thing of the past, but it is nevertheless an important piece in the puzzle that is the history of how joik was moved from the solitude of the reindeer herder to today's media spotlight. The prohibition illustrates how difficult the change of attitude was among certain Sami and how local thinking was not in step with the reappraisal in society at large. Although the study took place in a small environment, it is a much broader problem.

As for the text, a reader with an interest in research will get most out of the closing part of the book, which is entitled "Reflections" but which just as easily could have been called "Conclusions and Discussion". Here Graff puts the conflict into a larger perspective, viewing it in relation to the transformation of joik in our times and the changed status of the Sami in their respective societies. Those involved in Kautokeino were staunch in their opinions, but they were nevertheless firmly clamped in the vice formed by these larger changes.

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Narratives of Nordic Summer Life

Kerstin Gunnemark (ed.): Sommarliv. Minnen, drömmar och materialitet. Makadam förlag, Göteborg/Stockholm 2016. 335 pp. Ill.

Cultural research on tourism in the Nordic countries has recently displayed a new vitality. A Nordic network on the history of tourism was established in Lund in 2015, and a conference on the history of tourism was held in Uppsala in 2016. This year also sees the appearance of this volume edited by Kerstin Gunnemark, the Gothenburg ethnologist, about summer life.

In this volume about summer life, sixteen authors, fourteen women and two men, have collected and analysed narratives from the 2010s in which informants retell their personal memories of many years of summer life. The collected material is reflected in the book through generous quotations. The authors work at universities, archives, and museums. Thirteen of them are ethnologists, joined here by one art historian, a human geographer, and an economist. We should remember here that folkloristics in Sweden is included in the discipline of ethnology. Twelve of the authors work in Sweden, two in Finland, and two in Germany.

The study addressed the owners of houses and caravans and also boat tourists. It covers the period from the 1950s to the present day. It was in the 1950s that the construction of small, simple holiday homes began.

Kerstin Gunnemark has written both the introduction and the epilogue. Life in the summer resorts is contrasted with urban life during the rest of the year. The

differences are palpable, especially the simpler way of life and being close to nature in the summer. It has been common to return to the same places year after year, reinforcing the sense of having a stronger affinity to the summer paradise than to the place that is home the rest of the year. According to the life stories, it can be more difficult to sell one's inherited summer cottage than one's childhood home. In the epilogue each of the authors gets a chance to give a brief account of their own summer experiences.

For this review I have chosen to present some of the essays in the book briefly. It begins with Yrsa Lindqvist describing how Swedish-speaking people in Finland spend their summers along the coast. The summer cottage is a meeting place for different generations in the family, which is treasured as a heritage. A questionnaire study yielded more than a hundred responses and rich pictorial material.

The island of Gotland is one of the bigger tourist attractions in Sweden. Huge numbers of people come in the summer, especially from the Stockholm region but also from Germany. The Gotland ethnologists Carina Johansson and Birgitta Strandberg-Zerpe have seized on the fact that even permanent residents of Gotland have acquired summer homes on the coast. A simple summer dwelling makes it possible for the family and relatives to get together.

Ole Rud Nielsen works in Finland but originally comes from Denmark. In the 1970s he conducted a study of summer life in the Danish coastal resort of Tisvilde in northern Sjælland. In summer 2015 he did a new field study in the same place, where he found obvious changes that had taken place in the intervening decades. In 2015 festivals had become a prominent feature, but they were unknown in the 1970s.

Silke Göttsch-Elten from Kiel has used narratives in Internet blogs to study German citizens' dreams and experiences of summer holidays in Sweden from the 1970s onwards. They particularly mention the sense of freedom and being close to nature, the sight of elk and red wooden houses. Astrid Lindgren's children's books have been and still are an inspiration for the dreams.

Asta Burvall has interviewed caravan owners who have spent their summers year after year in the same place. They see both practical and economic advantages in staying in a caravan compared to acquiring a summer cottage. Tents set up beside the caravan give extra habitable space and serve as living rooms.

Maja Lagerqvist discusses how old and abandoned crofters' cottages function and are perceived when they have been turned into summer cottages. This became increasingly common in the 1950s and 1960s. The gardens around the cottages give additional opportunities for relaxation. The question of attitudes to the cultural heritage also arises in this connection. The historical roots communicated by the houses through their simple character and atmosphere are felt to be important by many people.

Kerstin Gunnemark studies narratives provided by informants who have changed their summer homes two or more times. This has taken place during different phases of life, affected by changing family constellations. According to actor-network theory, an interaction arises between people and the materiality constituted by the summer cottage.

Susanna Rolfsdotter Eliasson examines some personal blogs about summer life. These describe the summer cottage and its surroundings in our times. They are full of descriptions of natural scenery. Based on actor-network theory, she also studies relations between people and materiality, the significance of the things that people find it important to surround themselves with in the setting of the summer cottage.

Christine Fredriksen and Eva Hult have investigated narratives about life

on a popular type of leisure boat that was first manufactured in the 1960s. It was a sailboat of plastic which was also used in races. Social interaction has always been important in pleasure boating. The simple way of life and being close to nature among solitary islands in the archipelago is also emphasized.

Mattias Frihammar has devoted interest to the people who acquire leisure boats of wood and who can be called veteran boat enthusiasts. Their meeting places are boat clubs where they renovate old boats with loving care. At wooden-boat festivals in the summer the boat owners exchange experiences. In this essay it is relevant to discuss issues of nostalgia and cultural heritage.

This collection of essays gives interesting insight into how people today look back on summer life over a long sequence of years and share their experiences and reflections. Changes have taken place. Nostalgia and thoughts about cultural heritage have emerged. The book is an important contribution to current Nordic research on the history of tourism. It can also be read by anyone with a general interest in cultural history. The long, bright summer days have a special position in the thoughts and experiences of Nordic people.

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Ballad Singing and Chain Dance

Lene Halskov Hansen: Balladesang og kædedans. To aspekter af dansk dansk folkevisekultur. Museum Tusculanums Forlag, København 2015. 373 pp. Ill.

Do *ballad singing* and *chain dance* constitute a unit in Danish folk culture? This is a major question posed in this book. The author's premise is that these two terms are often mentioned in Danish literature, but research on the two forms of expression seldom goes very deep, at least not from a musical perspective. As regards ballads, Danish research is said to have focused on source material from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and mostly considered the texts, with the result that the ballad genre has usually been placed in the field of history of literature and has not been given comparable attention in more music-related fields of knowledge. In addition, there is no up-to-date source-critical study of how chain dances were used in practice and how they can be related to simultaneous singing. In Danish academic literature it appears that chain dances are mostly linked to the performance of epic ballads, almost always regarded as being intimately associated and with a presumed origin in the Middle Ages, even though there seems to be extremely limited evidence in support of this apparent factoid. From the Middle Ages there is in reality just one Danish source depicting the phenomenon, namely, a frieze showing dancing in the church at Ørslev near Skælskør, dated around 1325. The existence of this painting is nevertheless no guarantee that people in the Middle Ages sang in connection with chain dances; it merely shows the use of musical instruments. It is not even firmly established that the frieze illustrates a Danish phenomenon, since it could have been inspired by a foreign cultural expression. A distinctive modern expression that is often cited as an argument that ballad singing and chain dance go together is the *kvæði* sung to the Faroese chain dance, but as the author stresses, the continuous occurrence of a cultural expression in a neighbouring country need not mean that something similar was necessarily a part of the Danish repertoire.

The main aim of the book, however, is not to undertake a detailed study of the Middle Ages; instead the focus is on traditional and post-traditional customs in peasant society concerning ballad singing and chain dance; in other words, an up-to-date examination of more or less

acted-out folk music conventions which are not infrequently canonized by accepted research in Nordic ethnology and ethnomusicology and among present-day practitioners of folk dance and folk music. The central source material of the study is consequently from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. From the last century the author makes particular use of five selected tradition bearers whose expressions are documented and archived at the Danish Folklore Archives in Copenhagen. For material with a nineteenth-century provenance the records of the folklore collector Evald Tang Kristensen (1843–1929) are used, in combination with listening studies of phonograph rolls containing ballads documented by Tang Kristensen and others, also archived in the same ethnographic collection. Besides a preface, introduction, list of sources, index, English summary, and a presentation of central concepts and persons in the book, there are three main parts, each divided into chapters: "Ballads as Narrative Song", "Chain Dance", and "Rounding Off". There is an accompanying CD containing 19 tracks with field recordings related to the material presented in the book.

Part I, occupying roughly half the book, deals with *ballad singing* and how it arises, and comprises studies of the repertoires of different tradition bearers. It also elucidates how the ballads were claimed and what the singing meant for both the individual and the community. On the use of singing, the author follows the American ethnomusicologist Alan P. Merriam (1923–1980) with his theoretical concepts of *use* and *function*, that is to say, how music can arise in different use situations. But what characterizes a ballad? In the 1980s the majority of Nordic scholars in the field of folk music began using the word *ballad* instead of *folkvisa* and its Scandinavian cognates to designate epic songs with presumed roots in the Middle Ages. This was to distance themselves from romantic nineteenth-century belief that these songs reflected the soul of the people or that they had even been constructed collectively by the people. The difference between the two terms may seem academic, but the skein is more tangled than this. It is not made any simpler when more recent ballad-like creations have instead been called "derivative ballads" (*efterklangsvisor*) to underline that they were not original enough or were constructed according to traditional patterns. The word *visa* is used in parallel as a substitute for *ballad*, for example, when the tradition bearers did not appear to have any fixed opinion as to which genre the works they sang actually belonged to. Halskov Hansen evades this problem nimbly, based on the thesis that the singing of ballads does not belong to a limited time, but exists simultaneously with the people who give expression to it. In this cluster of scientific nomenclature one can detect several challenges, and in some cases it should also be possible to use a more practically oriented terminology, even though there is a certain risk of ending up in contextual and anachronistic traps.

The following chapters in this part deal with the oral transmission of ballads, including published ones, alongside the older generation's active appropriation of the repertoire and their transmission of it to the next generation. The author likes to put the children in the centre, an approach that is not so common in studies of early music. She highlights children as natural recipients of older people's ballads, but also as good examples of implicit tradition bearers, sometimes singing enthusiastically to their coevals. Among other things, we are given a portrait of the Danish folk singer Ingeborg Munch (1906–1978), who injured her foot in a mowing machine when she was eight years old. This left Ingeborg unable to dance, and instead she acquired a broad repertoire of folk songs as a school child. The later chapters in this part investigate illustra-

tive examples of ballads and comparable folk songs from different tradition bearers, accompanied with musical notation. The examples are also to be found as field recordings on the CD. The concluding chapter here concentrates on the concept of *the narrative song expression*, and the more elementary conclusion goes no further than to say that the studied examples belong to a form of narrative that is essentially dependent on the emotional state. Consequently, the singer has not entirely decided in advance which tune or rhythm to use, but can more or less unconsciously vary the verses and retain some flexibility, with regard to the course of events in the words and to how the ballad was once learnt.

Part II is about chain dance and begins by considering what characterizes this form of expression. Apart from the fact that there can be set steps for the dances, which can be performed either as an open chain or in a closed circle, the definition can also include one or more of the participants breaking out of the formation and performing more or less individual acts, as in Eastern European tradition. The author presents a more detailed examination of the dance frieze from Ørslev church, which is also compared with some medieval illustrations from parts of continental Europe; the analysis concentrates mainly on the expressiveness of the dances, how the persons move, and whether there are any variations in dancing technique; no singing or corresponding oral activity can really be explained by these examples. The next two chapters present two Danish sources describing the dance steps in two different types of chain dances: a *tospring* in an open chain from western Jutland which was in use in the mid nineteenth century, and a *trendans* in a closed circle from Mandø which was used around 1900. The latter is said to have been accompanied by the singing of comic ballads, while the former were chiefly accompanied by instrumental music. As regards the *tospring*, it seems that short melodies were sometimes sung with simple texts, a form of expression that is not equated with the singing of ballads. A source with a concrete description of customs that seem to correspond to more coordinated ballad singing and chain dance is a manuscript from the end of the seventeenth century, sent in to the editor and lexicographer Matthias Moth (1647–1719). This account concerns a couple of parishes in the far south-west of Jutland where ballads are said to have been sung in conjunction with the dancing of *tospring*.

The later chapters in this part deal with several sources from the twelfth to the eighteenth century which link dancing with singing in various ways. In some cases this material shows specific links between ballad singing and chain dance, such as material sent from northern Jutland by Katrine Høeg-Høyer (1817/1818–1915) the celebrity Svend Grundtvig (1824–1883) among others. In other cases the links are more obscure, as the source material does not give any indications as to the kind of dancing or singing that was performed. On the small Danish island of Fur, for example, there are records showing that ballads (*kæmpeviser*) were sung in the eighteenth century at weddings, but on these occasions it could just as easily have been the standard couple dances, the polska and the minuet. In Halskov Hansen's judgement, however, the narrative structure of ballads makes them unsuitable for singing to couple dances; they work much better with the chain dances because of their form, patterns of movement, and the presumed custom of having a lead singer.

Part III provides a rather brief summary of the problem complex of ballad singing and chain dance in Denmark, and whether these separate forms of expression can also be regarded being a unit. Although the custom of singing ballads

never completely stopped, despite the fact that the true era of the genre is thought to have ended in the mid twentieth century, the age of the chain dance is believed to have ended at least half a century earlier. Between the lines one can read that the chain dances presumably lacked the corresponding revitalization process to which the ballads were subjected, for example, during the folk music wave in Denmark in the 1970s 1980s, since real prior knowledge of chain dances and their context in reality was limited or forgotten. It is highly likely that ballad singing and chain dance historically occurred here and there in Danish folk culture as a constitutive unit, although the author believes that the overall impression of the phenomenon is still somewhat obscure; the sources that could confirm the opposite are simply not sufficient. This is an interesting book that relates insightfully to both theoretical and practical perspectives.

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Dracula Tourism

Tuomas Hovi: Heritage through Fiction. Dracula Tourism in Romania. University of Turku, Faculty of Humanities, School of History, Culture and Arts Studies, Department of Folkloristics, Turku 2014. 224 pp. Ill. Diss.

Count Dracula is the very archetype of the aristocratic vampires known in popular culture for more than a century, beginning with Abraham "Bram" Stoker's famous novel in 1897. For almost as long, there has been speculation about whether the novel has any basis in real history, or if it is purely based on the author's imagination. Views on this have varied considerably, but in recent years it has become common knowledge that the Romanian fifteenth-century prince (*voivode*) Vlad Tepeş ("Vlad the Impaler", also known as Vlad Dracula) is the historical model for the novel's character, Count Dracula. This theory was widely spread by a work of popular scholarship published in 1972, written by the two historians Raymond McNally and Radu Florescu: *In Search of Dracula*. In this and some following books, the authors presented extensive and seemingly convincing evidence that Vlad Tepeş was the template for Bram Stoker's Dracula.

Ever since Stoker's novel gained its fame, Transylvania has been known as a land of superstition, vampires and myths. In the Western popular imagination Transylvania has become synonymous with Dracula's country, the home of vampires and other supernatural beings, and many foreigners actually think that it exists only in the minds of fiction writers and film-makers. They express surprise when they learn that Transylvania exists as a real region.

Transylvania – today part of Romania – is therefore strongly associated with both the historical Vlad Tepeş and Count Dracula from Stoker's novel. How these two figures – the real and the fictional – affect the heritage of history and tourism in today's Romania is the focus of Tuomas Hovi's doctoral thesis. The book represents a very interesting case study on the interplay between fictional and historical facts regarding the use of history and heritage. Hovi investigates heritage in the context of Dracula Tourism in Romania, a term that refers to tourists visiting places connected with either the fictional vampire Count Dracula or Vlad Tepeş.

Is it possible to uncover Romanian heritage through popular fiction in Dracula tourism? And if so, how can Romanian heritage and culture be shown and promoted through a seemingly superficial Dracula tourism which is based on Western popular culture? Tuomas Hovi approaches these problems through several smaller research

questions and with concepts like authenticity, heritage, folklore process and popular culture. In the introduction, Hovi introduces his research questions, as well as methods, key concepts and research material. He describes his research as mainly empirical in nature, with the fieldwork carried out in 2010 and 2011 as the main sources, together with the websites of ten Romanian travel agencies that offer Dracula tourism. The stories and images they present form the bulk of the research material.

The emphasis and perspective of the dissertation is folkloristic, with the main theoretical approach formed by what is described as critical discourse analysis and multimodal discourse analysis. Hovi defines discourses as manners of speaking, ways of thinking and ways of representing a subject, and multimodal discourse analysis as an approach which focuses on how meaning is made through the use of multiple modes of communication. In addition the research material is approached through intertextuality, folklore process, hybridization, authenticity and social constructionism.

According to Hovi, tourism is a field where intertextuality can be adopted, especially in literary tourism, movie-induced tourism and media tourism, as a helpful tool to understand both the appeal of this particular form of tourism and the tourist's own experiences. Dracula tourism is well suited to this kind of approach because it utilizes different sources, literature, movies, fiction, history and tradition, and is therefore intertextual in nature. Another analytical tool is the folklore process outlined by the Finnish folklorist Lauri Honko. Hovi has the ambition to see if it is possible to use, redefine and improve Honko's original idea and use it when dealing with concepts such as authenticity, tradition and tourism.

In chapter 2 Hovi introduces the two central characters of Dracula tourism, Vlad Tepeş and the fictitious vampire Count Dracula, with a brief but informative historical overview of Vlad Tepeş and the traditions connected with him. He also explains the connections – or rather lack of genuine connections – between the two characters. The reason why they are often linked is mainly because of the writings of Raymond T. McNally and Radu Florescu. Nevertheless, Hovi traces this connection earlier, and he is probably the first researcher to refer to Stephen Csabai's article from 1941 "The Real Dracula" as being the first scholar to suggest the link between Vlad and Count Dracula. Previous research has indicated that this connection was first made by Bacil F. Kirtley in his 1956 article "Dracula: The Monastic Chronicles and Slavic Folklore".

Hovi also outlines the Romanian vampire tradition and offers some possible explanations as to why it is rather downplayed in Dracula tourism. His theory is that this can be explained as being for both political and cultural reasons. The political reasons had to do with the official reaction towards Dracula tourism and vampire lore, especially in the 1980s, when the words Dracula and vampire were applied to Nicolae Ceauşescu in the Western press. This dissuaded the government from associating itself with the Western Dracula, making both this character and vampires something negative. This is also something the author of this review has personal experiences of, from my travels in Romania in those days. The other reason has to do with cultural identity, with many Romanians not wanting their country to be reduced to the "home of vampires". One further explanation has to do with semantics. Because the word vampire is not known or used in Romanian folklore it can technically be said that there is no such being in Romanian tradition. It is, however, clear that the vampire as phenomenon is common in Romanian folklore, under indigenous names.

Chapter 3 introduces Dracula tourism, its history and the locations that are visited on the tours. The author investigates the stereotypes and discourses used on the websites of the studied travel agencies. Through this analysis Hovi suggests ways of understanding the interplay and negotiations between tradition, history and fiction and how Romanian tradition and history coexist with Western fiction in Dracula tourism. One interesting result is that the tour agencies do not use much imagery involving Dracula from popular culture, but mainly pictures of locations visited on the tours, promoting the historical and cultural side of Romania. It is very clear that the tour agencies do not want to promote the idea of Romania as Dracula's country or as the mysterious and magical vampire-infested land known from popular culture. By using historical and cultural imagery and by narrowing the use of fiction discourses to the places that are connected to popular fiction, they actively try to separate the fictional and foreign elements from the factual history and culture.

Chapter 4 shows the kind of tradition and history that are used in Dracula tourism and the eras of history highlighted at different sites. Hovi argues that even if some traditions may be constructions, selections or even inventions, they can still be seen as authentic and interesting in themselves and form cultural phenomena that have value. Because Dracula tourism is very much a composition of fiction, tradition and history Hovi finds intertextuality useful in order to understand the experience and expectations of tourists. In Dracula tourism this intertextual reading of the locations visited is set against a background of a preconceived conception of Romania, Transylvania and Dracula. The questions about whether Dracula tourism can be seen as Romanian culture or tradition and whether all Dracula tourism can be reduced to divisions between foreign popular culture and Romanian culture, or between inside culture and outside culture, or between global culture and local culture are further considered in chapter 5. Hovi approaches these questions through the concept of hybridization, which basically means the mixing of cultures to produce new forms of culture. Although the origins and demand for Dracula tourism are very much a global phenomenon and Dracula tourism can be seen as a hybrid form of culture, cultures have always been hybrid. The conclusion is therefore that it may be futile to make a strict difference between global and local culture in this case. Dracula tourism can be seen both as a form of hybrid culture and as Romanian culture which has been influenced and affected by global cultural forms.

In chapter 6 the author researches the connection between the concept of authenticity and Dracula tourism and how heritage is manifested in Dracula tourism. Authenticity and heritage are concepts that might seem difficult to link with Dracula tourism in Romania at first. Although authenticity is a controversial concept within folklore studies, Hovi found it necessary to address it because it is widely used both in tourism studies and in tourism itself. He also tests the concept of the folklore process, introduced by the late Lauri Honko in researching the use of folklore and tradition. Hovi finds that by simplifying the process that Honko described, it can be used as a framework to research a piece of folklore or tradition, its history and its current form and use. The folklore process can also be seen as a dynamic construction of a tradition, a process that is constantly evolving and is constantly negotiated. In Dracula tourism the understanding of authenticity has been one of the main reasons why this kind of tourism has been opposed in Romania. Still, most of the stories used in Dracula tourism are authentic pieces of Romanian folklore, if what is meant by authenticity is something that is old and has

been alive and used in the community for a number of years. On the other hand, even if the stories and narratives used were new, they would still be authentic as pieces of current folklore and tradition. Hovi therefore divides the concept of authenticity into so-called historical or scientific authenticity and experienced authenticity. This form of authenticity is not so much connected with the actual historical knowledge of a certain site or tradition, but rather with the experience of authenticity of the tourist.

When the first Western tourists started to travel to Romania in the 1960s and 1970s, some of them wished to see the places connected with Dracula that they knew from Bram Stoker's novel and from the movies. The locals in Romania for the most part did not know what the tourists were talking about, because the Western Dracula myth was almost completely unknown there at the time. For many of those Dracula enthusiasts who wanted to see the literary or the supernatural roots of the Dracula myth, the most sought-after place was Dracula's castle in the Borgo Pass in northern Transylvania, on the border with Bukovina, where Stoker had placed his fictional castle. Since there was no castle there, foreign tourists were instead taken to Castle Bran, far from the Borgo Pass, which had already become a tourist site, although as a museum of feudal art. Bran has been dubbed Dracula's castle since the 1970s because it is easy to get to and it looks like a Gothic vampire castle. Vlad Tepeş might have visited it on occasion, but it was never his castle. Bran is a place where the historical Vlad and the fictitious Count Dracula are merged, something that Hovi finds especially interesting since neither has very little if anything to do with this place.

The local reaction in Romania towards Dracula tourism has been ambivalent and mixed. Most of the criticism has been because it is seen as something strange and unfamiliar or even non-authentic. It may be seen as a foreign and unfamiliar form of culture that has been forced on Romania or as a combination of indigenous and foreign culture, or even as a part of modern indigenous culture. It can also be seen as a case of global versus local culture and even as "glocal" culture. Hovi approaches these definitions through the much-debated concept of hybridization. Although originally a foreign idea, many Romanians have become very heavily involved with Dracula tourism.

I consider Tuomas Hovi's dissertation a very valuable contribution to research into cultural heritage and tourism, as well as into modern folklore. It is a thorough study, well written, with an interesting theoretical and methodological approach. Of special interest is the analysis of the interplay and the negotiations between tradition, history and fiction in Dracula tourism, how Romanian tradition and history coexist with Western fiction, and whether Dracula tourism can be considered as Romanian local culture and tradition or if it is purely global culture. Hovi's study also shows how this Dracula tourism can be used as a gateway into broader aspects of Romanian history and culture, how popular culture can be used to present heritage and how heritage can be used as a form of protest against a cultural threat.

A few minor factual errors are present in the text, but nothing that disturbs in any significant way. An example can be taken from page 115, which states that Castle Bran is not located in Transylvania but in Wallachia. It is true that Bran (a medieval fortress of the Teutonic Order in the early thirteenth century, later Hungarian Törcsvár) constitutes a border fortress, but it is nevertheless located in Transylvania, on the border with Wallachia, 30 km south of Braşov.

Finally, I cannot refrain from presenting some personal reflections on the possible relationship between Count Dracula of the novel and historical characters. As Hovi mentions in his book,

Vlad Tepeş as the inspiration for the fictive Count Dracula is far from undisputed. Alternative theories have been put forward, more or less spectacular. One example was presented to a wider audience in the Austrian film from 2007, *Die Vampirprinzessin*. The film illustrates the hypothesis that the Austrian Princess Eleonore von Schwartzenberg (1682–1741) served as the inspiration for Stoker's novel, not least for the existing prologue to the novel, named "Dracula's Guest" (published posthumously in 1914), in which a female vampire occurs. According to this hypothesis, Stoker chose to place the story in the more remote Transylvania instead of Bohemia, primarily for atmospheric reasons.

My own interest in Transylvania and its cultural history goes back to when as a young student in the 1980s I travelled extensively in Eastern and Central Europe. I then had the good fortune to get to know people who gave me insight into a world that today is largely gone. Especially one man, the Romanian historian Dr Paul Binder (1935–1995), who belonged to a German-Hungarian family in Braşov, deepened my knowledge of the cultural history of this region. This fine scholar, who was a dissident during the late Ceauşescu era, unfortunately died much too early although then completely rehabilitated. As part of his interest in Transylvanian cultural history, he also studied the genealogical history of some noble Transylvanian families. In this research he made some very interesting discoveries, possibly of great importance for the understanding of the background of Stoker's novel.

What he came across was the history of Vlad Tepeş's descendants, with one branch forming a Hungarian noble family using the name Dracula (Drakulya) as family name until the late 17th century. Unlike Vlad Tepeş himself, his descendants actually were rooted in Transylvania, in manors situated in its northern part, not far from where Stoker places Dracula's castle in the novel. One of these places is Sucutard (Hungarian: Szentgothárd), where the castle was destroyed by the regime after the Second World War, and Ţaga (Hungarian: Czege) where part of the mansion is still standing. The connection to theses places is due to the fact that Vlad Tepeş's great grandson Ladislaus married Anna Wass de Czege, a member of the famous Hungarian noble family Wass. Ladislaus and his descendants are also connected to the village of Band, and especially the place in its vicinity that until this day is called Draculea after the family name. Even though it is a fictive novel and nothing else, the consistency between the story of the Drakulya family in northern Transylvania and the story told by Count Dracula to Jonathan Harker in Stoker's novel looks more than a coincidence. Unfortunately this theory had little or no impact, although Paul Binder managed to get an article published in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 1988 (vol. 27, no. 4, pp. 301–314: "Une famille noble roumaine de Transylvanie: les Dracula de Sintesti"). This article is unfortunately still almost unknown in research, despite its well documented and interesting content.

Paul Binder became a personal friend of mine, and I got research material directly from him with his blessing and desire that I should use it, as I later did in the Swedish popular science book *Dracula och hans arv – Myt, fakta, fiction* (Dracula and his heritage – Myth, facts, fiction), published in 2009. For an alternative and intriguing view of the cultural historical background of the fictive Dracula, I recommend Paul Binder's article as well as this reading.

Last but not least, I of course strongly recommend the reading of Tuomas Hovi's very interesting and well-written dissertation.

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Cultural Heritage Built through Stories

Eeva Karhunen: Porin Kuudennen osan tarinoista rakennettu kulttuuriperintö. (English Summary: Narrating Cultural Heritage in the Sixth District of Pori.) Annales Universitatis Turkuensis C 379. Turun yliopisto, Turku 2014. 302 pp. Ill. Diss.

Home and hometown are concepts that bring forth a great deal of meaning and emotions for each and every one of us. Homes are places for engaging in daily life and activities. Hometowns are often viewed sentimentally in a world where people migrate more now than ever before. Therefore, it is important to stop and think more closely about the concepts and what they mean to us. With time and age, we seem to appreciate both home and hometown more and more as part of our identity. Nostalgia for times gone by and anticipation of what the future may bring are also present in Eeva Karhunen's study of the cultural heritage constructed through stories of the Sixth District.

Karhunen's book is a good read for anyone interested in questions concerning home and hometown. In this book, attention is given to the interaction between officials and inhabitants in the process of urban planning. The study is anchored in the Sixth District in the town of Pori. The district is one of the largest nineteenth-century wooden house districts in Finland and has been classified as one of Finland's most significant cultural sites due to how well the homes have been preserved.

In 2012, 405 buildings in the Sixth District were listed as protected objects. This meant that the buildings were guaranteed preservation for future generations via planning. Meanwhile, Karhunen's study shows that the preservation of the district was done from very different perspectives. The officials dealing with the preservation efforts based their appreciation of the district on explicit, official knowledge. The inhabitants, on the other hand, value their neighbourhood based on immaterial values such as the sense of community spirit and the intangible heritage transferred from generation to generation. The inhabitant's experiences are encapsulated by the concepts of home and hometown, which are built around and reflect collective stories about the buildings. This interpretation both challenges and completes the knowledge of the officials.

Karhunen's research material consists of official documents, reports and historical data as well as the inhabitants' personal experiences and memories of the Sixth District. The variety of research material enables the researcher to study the district from multiple perspectives, giving the study a solid context and a platform for scientific discussion. This dissertation not only sheds light on the process of giving meaning and value to an old wooden town environment. It also raises questions about who gets to decide what is valuable in an old wooden house environment and what is not. It also sheds light on questions of why homes and hometowns are meaningful and valuable for us and in what way.

The content of the book is divided into seven main chapters, including a fairly long introduction, contextual chapters with historical data, theoretical and methodological chapters, and an analysis of the research questions. At the end, Karhunen briefly summarises the findings and outcomes of her study and topic of research.

Karhunen's study highlights the complexity of the legislation and the different types of enactments that help ensure the preservation of old environments. Karhunen describes the legislation policy concerning the old town districts and shows how intertwined the legislation and different kinds of practices around them can be. She demonstrates that the web of actors playing a role in the preservation is vast and that the uses of the old urban sites are numerous. She also

discusses the role and importance of the plans, projects and people involved in these preservation processes.

The chapters are impressive in their scope. They offer readers a thorough insight into the problems and questions concerning the preservation of old environments. I was impressed to learn how many people and factors are involved in the processes. Still, in the end, old environments like the Sixth District in Pori are in practice in the hands of the inhabitants, who add their own flavour and twist to the dilemma of preservation — how to preserve and, most of all, why.

I was also impressed by the theoretical discussions and applications to the inhabitants' experiences and contextual knowledge about the Sixth District. Karhunen applies a hermeneutical-phenomenological approach to her material of the stories told by inhabitants and to the wider connections attached to the environment. The study emphasises the birth, inheritance and evolution of local cultural heritage. It also includes interesting discussions about the key concepts, such as cultural heritage, preservation, oral history, memory and locality as well as hermeneutics and phenomenology. These concepts are well worth continuous discussion and re-evaluation at a time when their content and importance are undergoing a transformation.

The concepts are also in focus in the negotiations between the different parties involved in the preservations processes as well as in the current use of the Sixth District. Karhunen explains and discusses the intense interaction between the different actors during the years when the preservation plan came about. No one wanted to preserve old buildings during the modernisation period in the 1950s and 1960s, but later on environments with old building stock became more and more important for both town inhabitants and the decision makers. This process of becoming cultural heritage is discussed as a political and socioeconomic issue, but also as a personal and private issue dealing with roots and personal heritage.

One of the important questions discussed in the study is the question of *why* it is important to preserve old environments. This discussion providing the dissertation with a valuable addition. The stories shared by the old and contemporary inhabitants of the Sixth District are presented fairly late in the dissertation. I would have preferred to hear their voices much earlier in contrast to the official discussion. At the same, I understand the chronological layout of the content in the book. Nevertheless, the personal insights and memories attached to the Sixth district give a broader and more complete background to the individual voices presented and analysed.

The pages dealing with the memories and experiences of the inhabitants are the most interesting part of the dissertation from both an ethnological and personal standpoint. They give a valuable addition to the view of the experts and to the general discussion of life in the neighbourhood. With the help of personal viewpoints and memories, we are given the chance to dig deeper into the life of the inhabitants of the Sixth District. The whole environment is filled with different kinds of stories, revealing the back stage for those of us used to only seeing the front stage.

Therefore, the study conducted by Eeva Karhunen is a welcome and important addition to ethnological studies done in the past decades. Karhunen's study reflects the interest that ethnologists and cultural scientists have in trends, processes of change and continuity in society and among individuals. It is timely and part of an ongoing discussion in which old environments are compared to new environments and the values that play a role in our actions regarding such environments are shifting.

Karhunen's study not only gives new insights into the Sixth District and its

existence in Pori, but broadens our understanding of a built environment with multiple meanings and connotations in relation to immaterial and material values.

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A Double Micro-Perspective

Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto: Her Own Worth. Negotiations of Subjectivity in the Life Narrative of a Female Labourer. Studia Fennica Ethnologica 16. Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki 2014. 215 pp. Ill.

In her study, Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto analyses twelve life history interviews, which she recorded for a period of three years with her own grandmother, Elsa Koskinen. The aim of the study is to use the interview material to discuss issues of gender and class, but also to follow on how economic, cultural and political changes at the macro level of Finnish society are handled by Elsa in her narratives at the individual micro level.

The study is linked to a folkloristic research tradition on individual narrative repertoires that dates back to the work first done by Mark Azadovskij in 1926 (Eine sibirische Märchenerzählerin, FFC 86) and followed by, among others, Linda Dégh (Märchen, Erzähler und Erzählgemeinschaft dargestellt an der ungarischen Volksüberlieferung 1962), Ragnar Bjersby (Traditionsbärare på Gotland vid 1800-talets mitt, 1964), Juha Pentikäinen (Oral Repertoire and World View 1978) and Annikki Kaivola-Bregenhøj (Kertomus ja kerronta 1988). Contrary to several of her predecessors, however, Koskinen-Koivisto introduces a narrator who is 'not an extraordinary personality or a well-known expert story-teller' (15). The difference in approach may reveal a difference in attitude towards the material and the narrator as well as towards the role of narrating. The folklorist hunting for expert story-tellers is probably more interested in documenting artistic and performative skills than in documenting the role of everyday, low-key conversations among ordinary people.

Typically, early folklore studies directed its interest towards the traditions of the (allegedly) disappearing farming society, while to a large extent neglecting urban and working class folklore. Have the cultural patterns characteristic of the era of industrial production currently faded away (at least in Western Europe) to a degree that make them tempting to investigate by a new generation of folklorists? Elsa Koskinen was born (in 1927) into a factory worker's family. She did not even finish the six years elementary school, but started at the age of 12 to work as a maid in local middle-class families. From age 15 until her retirement, she worked on the production line at the ironworks factory.

A central idea in the book, from the title onwards, is 'negotiations of subjectivity'. At an early stage of the book, Koskinen-Koivisto declares that she wants to approach the life story of her grandmother as a 'process of negotiating subjectivity' (26). This idea opens up several different lines of thought. The negotiation points in the direction of dialogue, both between interviewer and interviewee, between narrator and the narrator's memories of personal experiences, and between the individual who experienced them and the surrounding society; furthermore, the study makes reference to dialogic anthropology and discusses the researcher's reflexivity. Subjectivity, in the sense of somebody striving to become a conscious subject, in its turn evokes such concepts as agency and identity. Both concern the process of positioning oneself with the help of narratives and narrating. Not surprisingly, the author emphasises that, in her

opinion, different dimensions of social life should be regarded not as separate, but as intertwined (29). It is my impression that Koskinen-Koivisto throughout the book actually manages to keep all these balls in the air, even if it is not always obvious to the reader how they are culturally interwoven.

Within the twelve longer life interviews, Koskinen-Koivisto has been able to identify no less than 276 micro-narratives, or shorter accounts of certain episodes in Elsa's life, many of which are repeated several times. She takes Finnish folklorist Lena Marander-Eklund's definition of micro-narratives as a starting point: '[m]icro-narratives are dense formulations, which express and dramatize important matters in the narrator's life' (48). The small, individual narratives may demonstrate different kinds of relationships to collectively accepted grand narratives, or master narratives, and Koskinen-Koivisto shares with the reader her reflections concerning some of these terms (51f), but does not dive deep into the discussion. After comparing her approach to that of other narrative analysts, the author states that her interest lies not in the structural construction of the micro-narratives, but in their content. An alternative – or complementary – approach could have been to use folkloristic narrative analysis to show how it was possible for Elsa Koskinen in her conversations with her grand-daughter to recount memories of her experiences in narrative form.

During the war years, when many Finnish men were enlisted in the army, considerable responsibility rested on the female half of the population not only for family care and home-making but also for industrial production. In Chapter 3, the emphasis is on how gender topics surfaced in the mixed group of workers at the iron mill. Humour, irony and narrative competence were important skills for the young female workers to manage in order to get along in an environment where traditional male ideals were predominant. The gender issues appearing in Elsa's life narrative are given attention by the author, who successfully applies an intersectional approach to describe how Elsa relates to existing stereotypes as those about the 'heroic mother' and the 'working mother'.

In this chapter, one of Elsa's key micro-narratives (maybe it is at the very core of her life history) is discussed. This story has been named 'Back to Work' and recounts the crucial moment in Elsa's life when she, at a time when both her husband and her daughter were studying, decided to go back to work in the factory. Instead of becoming a passive housewife provided for by her engineer-to-be husband, Elsa chose, against her husband's wishes, to once more enter her former role as a 'greasy-skinned worker'.

In the chapter on social class, the author analyses Elsa's micro-narratives concerning the conditions at the ironworks, where she spent most of her working career. Koskinen-Koivisto examines how Elsa handled hierarchies, class stereotypes and existing social groups through the help of her narratives. We are shown how Elsa uses narrative means to position herself in relation to stereotypical ideals and historical facts concerning different aspects of working-class identity. Several informative examples are given regarding the interplay between the workers and the mill owner, the solidarity among the workers, problems connected with workers' alcoholism, generational conflicts, oppression and professional pride as well as other recurring narrative motifs.

Drawing inspiration from Mikhail Bakhtin, the author takes the vantage point that the narrated identity consists of different voices that at times may contradict each other (145), or – put differently – that the narrating self is interacting with several narrated past selves. One chapter of the book is devoted to

following how Elsa applied different narrative strategies to position herself in relation to the elements of social change that she had experienced during different phases of her life. On the one hand, Elsa appreciated the arrival of new machines and technology that made work easier both at home and in the factory. On the other hand, she expressed feelings of nostalgia when reminiscing about the idyllic moments of her childhood and adolescence. Koskinen-Koivisto links these accounts of temporal changes to spatial and topographical changes (such as the demolishing of the factory's smokestack) and to the metaphor of life as a journey. Several of Elsa's micronarratives about the journeys she had undertaken seem to present fairly clear outlines of her personality as she has understood it at different points of her life. At the same time, they can be taken as examples that a human life seldom is as smooth and consistent as a skilfully composed narrative.

The double micro-perspective (studying small narrative units collected from one single individual) allowed the researcher to follow at the most detailed level how social and cultural changes are transformed into emerging cultural patterns, with narrative structures and dialogical interaction serving as generative tools. The conscious attempt to apply different forms of close reading to empirical material in order to understand cultural processes at different collective levels has always been one of the central methods of folkloristics and ethnology. Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto's study constructively demonstrates how such closeness to the empirical material typical of a well performed folkloristic analysis will reveal knowledge that other theoretical approaches might easily overlook. In her conclusion, she rightly points out that it would take several similar investigations to be able to demonstrate what figures of thought and what narrative patterns have received collective acceptance. It is to be hoped that this solid monograph by a very talented folklorist will be followed by many more.

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Natural Disasters as Cultural History
Kyrre Kverndokk: Naturkatastrofer – en kulturhistorie. Scandinavian Academic Press/Spartacus, Oslo 2015. 300 pp. Ill.

There is more to natural disasters than their geophysical explanation and material harm. Upon onslaught, disasters immediately become vehicles of intense interpretive activity, generators of surprising narratives of cause and effect, and subject to mass media communication. Natural disasters, in other words, are and have always also been cultural phenomena thoroughly mediated by human imagery and understanding. Accordingly, disastrous events can be fruitfully explored through the lens of cultural history. This is the basic and important point of departure for Professor Kyrre Kverndokk's fine book on natural disasters. As the author phrases it in the introduction, "It is this kind of mediated attempts to understand the world that this book is about. With the earthquake in Lisbon in 1755 as the starting point and today's climate debate as the finishing point, this is a cultural history of how incomprehensible and unmanageable tragedies are made comprehensible and culturally manageable" (p. 12).

Surely, this is no little task to undertake. The author clearly and cleverly specifies his choice of theoretical approaches and argues well for his selection of case studies. Thus, we learn how three interrelated takes on natural disasters form the backbone of the analysis: *conceptual history*, exploring the changing concepts through which experiences of disaster have been understood; *narrative theory*, shedding light on how par-

ticular – shifting as well as recurring – storylines are employed to structure disastrous events; and the notion of *media events* that helps us understand the edited cultural impact and afterlife of natural disasters. These theoretical approaches seem to me to be obvious choices for the project at hand, though no less well-chosen for that. Jointly, they make up a clearly defined project – namely that of offering a cultural history of natural disasters. Perhaps Kverndokk's choice of case studies is somewhat more surprising. He chooses three disasters to focus on: The earthquake in Lisbon in 1755, which was seen as an omen of the imminent apocalypse and gave rise to intense theological discussions in interesting dialogue with the natural scientific knowledge of the day; the explosive volcanic eruption on the island of Martinique in the Caribbean in 1902, which manifested a new sense of the world as a global village, both because Europeans involved in trade were stationed on the island and because of new technological means to speed up the worldwide media transmission of the disaster; and finally Hurricane Katrina hitting New Orleans in 2005, which Kverndokk takes as illustrative of an intensified media coverage and an example of how natural disasters become intertwined with issues of poverty, race and ultimately of morals. As an argument for this choice, Kverndokk explains: "These three studies represent three periods with different perceptions of nature, different perceptions of disaster, and different media realities" (p. 18). Taken together, according to Kverndokk, these three cases enable a search for the "deep structures" in the interpretation of natural disasters. While I clearly acknowledge this choice of empirical material and read the chapters – perhaps especially the study of the Martinique volcano eruption with which I was least familiar – with great interest, I was struck by the way in which the book sees these disastrous events also as somehow exemplary of something else – a media reality, a deep interpretive structure, or something else. This is clearly spelled out as a premise for the project: "Writing the cultural history of natural disasters means to a certain extent turning our gaze away from the actual catastrophic events. From the perspective of cultural history it is instead the descriptions of and narratives about the disaster that are at the centre" (p. 16). As such, I do not mean this as a critique, nor do I seek to launch a discussion about what is "real", but the stated approach made me wonder how to accomplish and actually work through such a distinction between the natural disaster itself and its narrative, mediatized and interpreted aftermath. In other words, would a study of "the actual catastrophic events" ever be possible? And is "natural disaster" a category of a different and more abstract order than, say, an "earthquake"? And if so, is this "abstraction" an effect precisely of the ambition to write a *cultural history* of natural disasters – an ambition that might require that a generalized concept of natural disaster be central for the cases to be comparable? To me, the book gave rise to such considerations – a fact that speaks to its merits, as I see it.

To end, I would like to highlight the book's very interesting chapter (7) about hurricanes, most notably exemplified by Hurricane Katrina, as rhetorical figures in the current discussions about climate change. Drawing on a range of materials, to me this chapter really shows the power of the cultural-historical approach, through which Kverndokk manages to dynamically combine disaster discourses and understandings from different eras and parts of the globe, connecting human interpretive activity across time and space.

As a whole, Kverndokk's book is fascinating and provides both highly interesting insights into the particulars of the natural disasters he has chosen to deal with, and makes a convincing argument

about the fruitfulness of cultural history – by offering just that.

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A Dictionary of Verbal Magic

Claude Lecouteux: Dictionary of Ancient Magic Words and Spells. From Abraxas to Zoar. Inner Traditions, Rochester, Vermont, & Toronto 2015. 418 pp. Ill.

This book is a translation of *Dictionnaire des formules magiques* (Paris: Éditions Imago 2014). The author, a former professor of medieval literature and civilization at the Sorbonne, has demonstrated his knowledge of medieval magic and its offshoots in popular tradition in several earlier books. Some of them have been translated into English, e.g. his treatise of black books, *The Book of Grimoires*: *the Secret Grammar of Magic* (2013) and *The High Magic of Talismans and Amulets* (2014).

The present book is an alphabetically arranged presentation of magical words and compounds of letters, found in manuscripts and printed collections containing secret magic spells. Some of them, which have been more often documented than others, are provided with commentaries and notes on further reading. Lecouteux confesses that he has devoted a considerable time to the project, which also becomes quite obvious to the reader: his source material is overwhelmingly rich – the bibliography comprises 26 pages – and covers a great number of language areas, preferably in western and northern Europe. The oldest instances have their roots in ancient Egypt and Rome. A much used source is a grimoire, printed for the first time in Rome in 1670, which has been attributed to Pope Honorius III (1148–1227). Adolph Franz's *Die kirchliche Benediktionen im Mittelalter* has of course been utilized, as have compilations of popular magic made by folklorists in recent times. A language area which seems to be especially well represented is Scandinavia; one is struck by the number of references to Bang's *Norske hekseformularer og magiske opskrifter* and to Ohrt's *Danmarks trylleformler*. A more recent source is Willy Louis Braekman's compendium of Dutch medieval white and black magic (1997), which will certainly become a classic in due time.

The book is based upon altogether more than 7,000 magical words and formulae. Many of them contain elements of Christian liturgy in Latin, but Hebrew and Greek words are also abundant. Distortions arising over the span of centuries have not infrequently transformed originally comprehensible words into gibberish. Among the spells most difficult to interpret are those abbreviations of longer texts where only the first letter in each word is given. One example is the letter series BBPPNENA, which has been found engraved in a ring and which is supposed to protect its bearer on journeys or when taken to court. Lecouteux reports a longer variant of the same spell, informing the reader that the letters have been interpreted as a presentation of the name of Saint Veronica.

The great majority of the texts are unique in their kind and extremely hard to interpret. However, the dictionary also contains several well-known magical words originating in a European esoteric tradition. Examples which can be mentioned are ABRACADABRA and HOCUS POCUS, which are both subjected to elucidations. The former word was already known as a magical spell in the second century BC, whereas the latter got its wide distribution as late as the seventeenth century.

A recurrent stylistic trait in many charms is that they consist of three rhymed words. The formula HAX PAX MAX (sometimes with the addition DEUS ADIMAX) has been used all over

Europe to stop blood or to cure fever. It is thought to be an extrapolation of the liturgical phrase *pax tecum*, enlarged through homophony. One variation among many is MAX NAX PAX, in fifteenth-century France believed to cure nosebleed when said three times. Another is VAX MAX CAX, written with the blood of a cat and tied under the left foot of a person who has been bewitched. Further examples of this magic principle are ABIA DABIA FABIA which was inscribed on gun barrels in early-nineteenth-century Germany and Switzerland in order to ensure their target was struck, and KOTA ROTA DOTA, in Lithuania supposed to provide protection against the venom of a snakebite.

The palindrome has been an often used magical device. A well-known example is ABLANATANALBA which has been commonly used on Greek amulets and papyri. The most well-known palindrome is the so-called SATOR formula, where the words SATOR AREPO TENET OPERA ROTAS form a square. The oldest instance dates back to the year 70 AD and was found in a Christian church in Pompeii. Lecouteux devotes several pages of commentary to the formula, where he reports various interpretations which have been offered, but without mentioning that it might have been constructed from the letters in "Pater Noster" plus another circumlocution for God, A and O.

An increased interest during the last decades in researching the European tradition of charms has led to the establishing of an ISFNR committee on charms, charmers and charming and the birth of an electronic journal, *Incantatio*. The present dictionary will no doubt further increase this scholarly interest. Lecouteux demonstrates that many texts in the black books, previously considered by many to be unintelligible, are in fact possible to interpret. His dictionary also shows that many magical spells conceived as gibberish have had a wider international distribution than has hitherto been known.

It might be considered ungrateful to point to missing sources in such a rich and exhaustive book as *Dictionary of Ancient Magic Words and Spells*, but as a Swede I would have liked to see the 60 "Ephesia Grammata and Characters" published in Em. Linderholm's *Signelser ock besvärjelser från medeltid ock nytid* as one more Scandinavian source. Some of the texts in Linderholm's collection have close parallels in Lecouteux's dictionary. One finds, for example, a Swedish spell which is almost identical with a formula against epilepsy, rendered by Lecouteux under the entry Dabi (p. 101).The Swedish text, from the early eighteenth century, goes + DABI + HABI + HABER + HEBER, and the source given is Cardanus, the Italian inventor and mathematician.

To sum up: this dictionary compiled by Claude Lecouteux is a book that all those interested in the European tradition of verbal magic should have in their library, either the French original or the English translation.

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Liquor Smuggling in the Baltic

Johan A. Lundin & Fredrik Nilsson: Spritsmuggling på Östersjön – en kulturhistorisk studie av nätverk i tillblivelse. Centrum för Öresundsstudier 35. Makadam förlag, Göteborg/Stockholm 2015. 225 pp. Ill.

Vessels named *Poseidon*, gunshots fired in the night, underwater torpedoes filled with illegal liquor and double agents. This book invites the reader to explore the practices of smuggling in Sweden in the 1920s and 1930s − a time when, in the name of progressive morale, the Swedish state had banned liquor, and cross-border trade in Europe was chal-

lenged by protective politics. The study of smuggling of a substance that today is legal in all European states sparks interesting discussions of transnational networks, state-building and border practices that are more than relevant in the current European context.

The book is by the Swedish historian Johan A. Lundin and the Swedish ethnologist Fredrik Nilsson, and sets out to go "behind the myth" of smugglers in the Baltic Sea, notoriously known as the "Vodka Sea". Drawing upon extensive archival material such as police reports, correspondence in the National Customs Services, verdicts from trials against smugglers, discussions in parliament, newspaper articles, memoirs, and more, the authors explore how smuggling networks were established and stabilized across nation states.

Among the detailed analyses, or rather as part of them, the reader is presented with a range of spectacular stories of smuggling adventures and the struggles they caused for customs police. Moreover, the book is generously filled with photographs of smugglers, their boats and cars, and numerous newspaper cuttings, which makes it a pleasure to browse through the pages.

As the subtitle of the book, "A Cultural Historical Study of Emergent Networks", indicates, the authors share an interest in the study of social and material networks and in applying contemporary theories of social and technological networks in the analysis of historical source material. These conceptual interests inform their main research question, which is to explore how smugglers established networks, and how customs officers tried to destabilize these networks.

The book opens with the authors outlining the societal context of the smuggling industry. In so doing, they single out two main tendencies that caused the emergence of an illegal liquor smuggling industry in Sweden. Firstly, the temperance movement that grew in Swedish society from the late nineteenth century and peaked with the ban on liquor in 1922, and secondly, the reduction of free trade in Europe in the aftermath of the First World War. As the authors remark, "there was a longing for order", both morally and administratively in Swedish society. In other words, in addition to being a story of how smuggling networks are stabilized through social relations and technology, the book is as much about a young welfare state struggling to create an orderly society in which it can maintain its legislation, its monopoly on violence, and its territorial borders against the perpetrators of subversive actions.

The book is divided into two main parts. The first part, written by Johan A. Lundin, is called "The Liquor Smugglers' Social Relations" and covers the dependency chains of the smuggling network, and how these where held together. The second part of the book, "The Technological Relations of the Liquor Smuggling" is written by Fredrik Nilsson and explores the technological race between the smugglers and the customs officers and how the use of new technologies played a crucial role in their divergent and conflicting attempts to "stabilize the network", as Nilsson puts it. This division reflects earlier research conducted by the respective authors, and has as its goal to elucidate the phenomenon of "smuggling" from different perspectives.

In the first part of the book, a range of central persons who took part in the smuggling networks of the 1920s and 1930s are introduced, and the first chapter shows how exporters, importers and middlemen communicated with each other, how the network was organized, and what tasks were part of the practice. Further, Lundin describes the social backgrounds of the smugglers, thereby providing an understanding of the social conditions that made smuggling a viable way of life for the people involved. Often the smugglers were people who had

left family farms or family crafts behind to go sailing, ultimately to find themselves making money in the liquor smuggling industry.

Lundin draws upon the British social anthropologist Clyde Mitchell in order to analyse these networks in terms of patterns and in character, showing how the networks consisted of different kinds of actors and spread over a vast area geographically. Interestingly, the analyses point to the inherently transnational character of the smuggling networks: Estonian smugglers, Danish middlemen, Polish liquor factories and German vessels were all necessary actors in the smuggling network. Through detailed descriptions of the smuggling practice, Lundin unravels a transnational network in which the smugglers had to be able to navigate in complex contexts and geographies, and be able to operate among different customs authorities and other law enforcement agencies.

By analysing sources such as letters sent among the smugglers, stories told to the police during interrogation situations, and newspaper articles, Lundin highlights the importance of trust among the smugglers. He points to four trust-building practices in the smuggling networks: making use of family ties, relying on recommendations from other smugglers in the network, always only sharing information at short notice, and finally, following certain social codes such as not giving each other away if one was caught by customs officers or police.

In the second part of the book, the focus is transferred from the social relationships between the central nodes in the smuggling network to the non-human actors of the smuggling networks, drawing attention to what Fredrik Nilsson calls technologies of speed and communication. With inspiration from the French sociologist Bruno Latour and the philosopher Paul Virilio, Nilsson traces the role of technology in the struggle between the customs officers and the smugglers. The central argument of the chapter is that the development and use of new technologies were integrally tied to the practice of smuggling in the Baltic Sea, and helped maintain the networks. Studying mail correspondence between customs officers and leaders in the National Customs Service, newspaper stories of smuggling events and police reports, Nilsson unfolds the technological race that as wan integral part of the smuggling industry.

When transporting the liquor from one country to another, the quality of the vessels was of the utmost importance, and when distributing the liquor within the country, cars were the central means of smuggling. Nilsson shows that smugglers were often in possession of fast vessels and fast cars, making them way ahead of the customs officers, who were for most part stuck with slow motorboats and bicycles. Besides being fast, Nilsson shows how being silent and being invisible were strategies that both smugglers and customs officers applied in order to wreck the other's plans. However, when it came to telecommunication as well, the smugglers outsmarted the customs officers, making the use of telephones and secret code language part of their smuggling practice. Through examples from discussions in newspapers and among customs officers, Nilsson shows how the technological battle between smugglers and customs police was indeed a struggle of reputation: the one with the newest technology would be considered "modern", and being considered "modern" equalled being powerful, Nilsson concludes borrowing from Virilio's ideas of speed as a tool of power in modern society.

In spite of some successful operations conducted by the customs officers, the analyses show that the smugglers seemed to win the battle of reputation. The final chapter of the book deals with precisely this – the reputation of the smugglers. Based on newspaper articles

and popular cultural representations, the authors argue that the smuggler gained a role of a "national hero". The National Customs Service's unsuccessful and ineffective fight against the smugglers revealed the difficulty of closing the state borders, and finally made people lose their belief in the liquor ban altogether. In this regard, the customs officers and thereby the state failed to secure their borders, and hence, to establish order.

To summarize: throughout the chapters, Lundin and Nilsson use their extensive archive material to paint a detailed picture of the smuggling practices in the 1920s and the 1930s. The analyses are at their very best when the authors show how combating the smuggling industry was closely related to the modern state's attempt to control its borders and to sustain power over its territory.

Similar discussions, of state sovereignty, border control and illegal passage of borders, flourish in the growing research field of border studies – a field that this book is most relevant to, but which it does not address directly. However, the book's relevance to contemporary studies of border practices is obvious, and makes this book not only interesting but also highly topical. Even though liquor was legalized a long time ago, and that the Baltic Sea no longer goes under the name of the "Vodka Sea", a constant battle against illegal smuggling and border crossing is still a central part of state work.

Today, states constantly struggle to prevent the illegal entry of goods as well as humans into their territories – with the use of technologies, of new legislation, and new police strategies, to destabilize the tactics and strategies of petty smugglers, organized smugglers and human smugglers. However, when states fail to achieve this task, or when they solve this task in an unsatisfactory way, people might end up turning their backs against this fight. Read in this light, Lundin and Nilsson's book raises questions that were not only urgent in the 1920s and 1930s, but which are general questions about the means that states apply to guard their territory, to protect their borders, and to sustain their order.

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New Glimpses at Finnish Indigenous Religion and Folk Beliefs

Risto Pulkkinen: Suomalainen kansanusko. Samaaneista saunatonttuihin. Gaudeamus, Helsinki 2014. 416 pp. Ill. Maps.

Religious studies scholar Risto Pulkkinen's volume is an ambitious enterprise, doing more than the actual headline, *Finnish Folk Belief*, at first sight promises. In fact, the book not only covers what is usually understood as folk belief, i.e. the non-Christian popular traditions of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but also the ancient, pre-Christian religion, as suggested by the subtitle, *From Shamans to Sauna Goblins*. The author's aim is thereby to reconstruct the pre-Christian indigenous worldview and religion of the Finns and to describe the changes and gradual transformation into 'folk belief' due to Christian influences. The author uses the term 'folk belief' in two different senses, both of them quite unconventional. As the title of the book implies, his broader definition includes both indigenous ('ancient') religion and later folk belief. It is unclear, however, why the author has chosen this unconventional definition, which might create confusion among the readers. Also, Pulkkinen's narrow definition of 'folk belief' as the amalgamation of folk belief and vernacular Christianity is somewhat puzzling. The author does not give any explanation for this terminological choice, but it probably is an attempt to supersede the problematic dualism di-

viding folk belief from Christianity. This is quite commendable, but it might have been wiser to choose another term to denote this religious conglomeration in order to avoid confusion.

Pulkkinen's book is largely based on his university lectures and is meant to serve as a basic textbook on ancient Finnish religion and folk belief, but it also addresses the wider audience outside the academy. His overview starts with a reconstruction of the proto-Uralic cosmography and worldview, traces of which can be found in Finnish mythology. Following the traditional approach of his predecessors, he then takes the Finnish reformist Mikael Agricola's 'list of gods' from 1551 as his point of departure when describing the ancient pantheon of Finns, or rather, those of the Tavasts and Karelians. The miscellaneous beings listed in this record are presented under the heading 'The Otherworld', which is somewhat surprising since the author admits that the dualistic distinction between this world and the otherworld was not straightforward. In spite of this awareness, he incorporates the dualistic model into the headline and classifies the superhuman agents along these dualistic lines. This chapter would have benefitted from taking into account Lotte Tarkka's insightful studies on the otherworld and its symbolism, but her work is not mentioned among the cited literature.

Agricola's record is an invaluable source on Finnish indigenous religion, but it – as well as the very notion of 'folk belief' – directs scholarly attention in particular towards mythology and beliefs. The author is well aware of the problematic aspect of the last element of the term, 'belief', and problematizes it in his chapter on definitions. In spite of this, the cognitive side of religion is privileged in his book. A great deal of attention is allotted to reconstructing the Finnish worldview and to exploring the proto-Uralic worldview. Napolskikh's reconstruction of the proto-Uralic worldview can of course serve as an interesting source of inspiration, but in addition to it being quite schematic, it also has limited interpretative value and there is an overarching risk of over-systematisation. Research today holds that ideas and beliefs are usually not well articulated in indigenous (and lived) religions, and therefore, they do not tend to form a neat, logically coherent system of ideas. This being the case, a strong emphasis on the cognitive aspects risks making the presentation of what we might call indigenous religion somewhat unbalanced, since practice tends to be more central in this type of religion and it is practice that gives the ideas a logical coherence. This is not to imply that a discussion of religious practice is lacking in the book; rather, it is not given the weight it deserves. For example, Chapter 8, *Magic in practice*, presents some important ritual practices, even though the usage of the term 'magic' in the book and the categorisation of practices as either benevolent or damaging is somewhat problematic.

In the preface, Pulkkinen asserts that the book does not make an independent contribution to research, but rather it should to be viewed as a summary of the state of field. According to him, the interpretations presented are largely agreed upon by scholars. However, in some instances he allows scope for his own speculations and those of others. He justifies his resorting to speculation – which to my mind is not limited only to a few instances – somewhat offhandedly as a way of enhancing the reader's interest in the topic at hand. Given the fact that the volume is meant especially for undergraduate students and non-specialists, his speculations may be problematic if not ill-advised, as a new-beginner lacks the tools for a critical appraisal of the theories and interpretations presented in the book. As the running text lacks references, with the exception of several concrete instances, it is difficult for a non-specialist to distinguish between

generally accepted knowledge and speculation. Moreover, it would also have been important to clarify and problematize the value of different source categories for the study of ancient religion and folk beliefs, for instance place names, rock paintings and modern fiction. Unfortunately, this is not the case and the reader is not informed, for instance, as to why certain rock (and Sámi drum figures) should be interpreted as souls of the dead descending into the land of the dead or as depictions of altered states of consciousness.

Even a scholar who is fairly familiar with the topic and the source materials might find it difficult to evaluate the source value of the folklore materials included in the book. This concerns, for instance, the data related to Forest-Finns living in Central Scandinavia, which is allotted a central position in Pulkkinen's book, but which can be viewed as problematic in several respects. The description of mummifying the corpse of a dead family member by smoking it in the sauna can be mentioned as one dubious example. Pulkkinen judges this piece of information as reliable (p. 202), but it seems that he has obtained his evidence from J.V. Palmqvist's dissertation in History of Religions (1924), which is marred by serious problems with respect to sources. Palmqvist, who did not know Finnish, served as a vicar in Värmland, and his informants included such local authorities as a vicar and a churchwarden. It seems to me that they probably would have viewed local legends about the 'peculiar' practices of the old Finns with a certain amount of bias.

Since the book addresses new beginners and non-specialists outside the academy, in my mind it makes it a scholar's responsibility to be particularly critical of the knowledge he/she produces, since educated guesses gradually turn into facts in the complex transmission process they will be subjected to.

The author allots special attention for the so-called Forest Finns in his book, which is quite natural given his prior interest in this group. In Finnish scholarship, Finn Forests, especially in Värmland, have traditionally been regarded as an isolated reservoir, which preserved the Finnish language and cultural traditions from the 16th to the 17th centuries. The Forest Finnish materials therefore have constituted an important source for making philological and cultural comparisons. Pulkkinen reinforces the conventional, but quite misguided, view of Finns being isolated in the backwoods of central Scandinavia when he claims on several occasions that Finns lived in 'a vacuum'. This common view has been challenged by Swedish scholars throughout the 20th century, who have argued that Finns were from the very beginning deeply involved in the local communities and the larger society.

This supposed isolation has served to explain the assumed uniqueness of the Forest Finn culture. Pulkkinen contributes to this prior exoticisation of the Forest Finns. This is particularly conspicuous in his discussion of their ideas and practices related to death. The author claims that Finns in central Scandinavia, having lived 'in a linguistic and cultural vacuum', particularly excelled in corpse-magic and were to a much higher degree preoccupied with it than their Swedish neighbours or the Finns in the motherland (p. 318). Even in this case, though, we have reason to doubt the reliability of his sources.

Pulkkinen's ambition was to produce an updated textbook on ancient Finnish religion and folk belief. The book allots much attention to ancient religion, which probably can be explained by the author's prior research interests, i.e. the indigenous religion of the Sámi and other northern Finno-Ugrian groups. Because of Pulkkinen's evolutionary approach, the later folk beliefs serve primarily as a source for the reconstruction of indigenous religion instead of being studied in their own right and in their actual context. The question is if this em-

phasis on ancient religion is the most expedient one given the fact that several seminal studies on Finnish mythology and indigenous religion already exist, for instance Anna-Leena Siikala's *Mythic Images and Shamanism: A Perspective on Kalevala Poetry* and Lauri Honko's broader Finno-Ugrian studies included in *The Great Bear* and his numerous encyclopaedia entries, not to mention Juha Pentikäinen's work within this field.

Even though Pulkkinen's volume can serve as a useful outline of the ancient Finnish worldview and indigenous religion, there still is an urgent need for an updated, comprehensive synthesis of research on folk belief when using this term in the traditional sense to denote the traditions of 19th and early 20th century Finland.

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Tunes to Jocular Ballads

Norske middelalderballader. Melodier. Bind 3: Skjemteballader. Astrid Nora Ressem (ed.). (Norsk folkeminnelag skrifter 169.) Scandinavian Academic Press, Oslo 2015. 550 pp. Ill.

The staff of the Norwegian Folk and Popular Song Archives (Norsk visearkiv) continue their untiring work of publishing the tunes to the Norwegian ballad material. The first volume appeared in 2011, but it was preceded by many years' work. Now we have the third volume, a stout tome with almost 550 pages. This time the theme is jocular ballads, a category that is popular with the audience but not so easy to handle.

When I reviewed the first volume I stated my view of the principles for the selection and the approach (*Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning* 2013, pp. 180–181). There is thus no reason to repeat that here – the editors' own declaration opens the first volume (pp. 7–12). On the other hand, I will gladly repeat my praise for the forces protecting this untrendy but very important enterprise. The Norwegian Folk and Popular Song Archives are now a part of the National Library, the management of which evidently sees the value of the publishing work itself and of the books that critically and systematically present the tunes to the treasury of Norwegian ballads. That work is led by the research librarian Astrid Nora Ressem, assisted by a handful of colleagues, all evidently well acquainted with the art of critically publishing melodies and lyrics.

Jocular ballads, again, are a tricky category. Originally they were not included in the ballad genre – and when they were finally admitted they were believed to be later than other ballad categories. The Norwegian edition follows *The Types of the Scandinavian Medieval Ballad* (1978). That catalogue includes jocular ballads, but with the reservation that jocular ballads as a category "must be seen as much more tentative and preliminary than is the case with the other groups" (p. 17). Ever since TSB (as the catalogue is colloquially known) admitted the jocular ballads among the other ballad categories, they have been reckoned as part of the ballad tradition.

The TSB editors' uncertainty about jocular ballads has led to problems for the people behind this edition. A number of (nowadays) obviously jocular ballads were never included in TSB, while some types of ballads were described in very narrow terms. Many jocular ballads, moreover, do not follow the familiar forms of ballads, which has led to their exclusion. The publishers of the Norwegian ballad tunes have therefore been obliged to expand the jocular ballads as a category, which is in fact a gain that can give pleasure to researchers on Nordic bal-

lads as a whole. Having grappled with the task of fitting the disparate jocular ballads into a functioning system, the editor-in-chief is able to observe that the volume "gives insight into the playful and creative universe of the singers during 200 years" (p. 5).

She could have added productivity as a characteristic feature of certain ballad types. *Kråkevisa* (in Swedish *Bonden och kråkan*, "The Farmer and the Crow", with the common opening line "Och bonden han körde till furuskog") has no fewer than a hundred variant tunes in this edition – several of them noted down quite recently. *Tordivelen og flua* ("The Dung Beetle's Wedding") and *Møllardottera* ("The Miller's Daughter") are also among the ballads with many tunes, some of them late.

This third volume, like the preceding ones, offers readers a great multitude of tunes. While the words are homogeneous in their mood and subject matter, the melodies are extremely diverse. Different time signatures, varying range, no common tonal mode – any kind of tune can carry a jocular text. With this book in front of you – and perhaps with the assistance of a piano or a melody instrument – it is possible to sing your way to insight into the constantly varying melodic world of folk song.

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Magical Beliefs about Food and Drink in Sweden

Ebbe Schön: Mat, dryck och magi. Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 2016. 227 pp. Ill. Håkan Ljung.

The Swedish folklorist Ebbe Schön, ever since his childhood in Bohuslän on the west coast of Sweden, has taken an interest in and listened to stories about folk belief in pre-industrial peasant society. He has produced a large number of popular works, mostly about folk narrative, folk belief, and legends. He writes in an easily comprehensible and engaging manner. The latest of his publications is the book reviewed here, which deals with questions of magic associated with food and drink in the old days. Magic (Swedish *trolldom* and *magi*) is defined as "symbolic acts and words intended to compel or at least to influence supernatural forces or beings to the advantage of the user" (p. 14).

The book is chiefly based on archival material in the folklore collection of the Nordic Museum in Stockholm, which the author managed for seventeen years. He has also done field studies on bygone folk belief in the provinces of Bohuslän and Dalarna, to which he devotes special attention in this book. Proceedings from seventeenth-century witch trials are also used to some extent. The book is richly illustrated with fine drawings by Håkan Ljung.

The first part of the book deals with the kind of magic used to ensure a copious supply of food and drink. It was important to have a good harvest, cows that gave plenty of milk, and successful hunting and fishing. Magic was also used to ward off the evil that could spoil the supply of food. For example, this evil could take the form of cows being magically milked by thieves, or the wood nymph interfering with the hunt; there was a corresponding lake nymph with power over good luck in fishing. Prophylactic measures to ward off evil were iron objects, fire, and Christian symbols, primarily the cross.

The second part of the book concerns ceremonies in connection with meals. The author particularly illuminates what was supposed to be done on special days in the year and at childbirth, weddings, and funerals, to ensure good and to counteract evil.

Schön's presentation of old folk beliefs is strongly reminiscent of the folklife artist Carl Gustaf Bernhardson

(1915–1998) and his oil paintings accompanied by texts from the coast of Bohuslän. Through his works of art Bernhardson has visualized the folklore that both he and Schön heard stories about in the same area, for example, beliefs about "warners", "brownies", "spirits", "sea people", and so on. Where Bernhardson and Schön differ is that the former actually believed in the supernatural beings that he portrayed in his art. He had what folklorists call "the third eye" (second sight). Even though Schön lacks this insight and a personal belief, he shows great respect for people in the past who told stories about and believed in supernatural beings and the concrete effects of magical acts and words. It is essential that researchers of folklore avoid condescension and irony when it comes to people's narratives and beliefs.

The similarities between Schön's and Bernhardson's accounts also apply to the way the sea people were believed to live with their livestock on the bottom of the sea.

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The Joy of Dancing

Heidi Stavrum: Danseglede og hverdagsliv. Etikk, estetikk og politikk i det norske dansebandfeltet. University of Bergen 2014. 346 pp. Ill. Diss.

Heidi Stavrum's dissertation starts with a visit to a danceband festival. The visit provokes questions about the whole danceband activity. The starting point is that danceband music is in many respects a successful genre. CD sales are high and festivals are well attended. Yet it is a genre that lacks coverage and status among music critics and in the media. It is also a field in which little research has been done. Stavrum's ambition is therefore to contribute to our knowledge of danceband music, chiefly by analysing how the field is perceived by those who take part in it. The aim is to describe and analyse the different values and distinctions that are active in the danceband field and the ways in which they help to create and maintain a social community. To do this, the author starts with the practices of the audience at Norwegian danceband festivals.

The dissertation has a clear and informative structure. Stavrum explicitly presents the different steps in her thinking which led to her choice of method, problem, and theory. She continuously sums up her analytical points and insights. It can sometimes give a repetitive impression but it generally adds to the clarity of the dissertation. She positions herself clearly in relation to the different traditions of thought and academic subjects from which she derives inspiration. She emphasizes that the dissertation arose in two academic contexts. First, she has been attached to Telemark University College and a research environment where the main object of study has been Norwegian cultural politics. Culture should be understood here in the sense of aesthetic activity, and the predominant perspective is a cultural sociology influenced by Bourdieu. In addition, Stavrum has worked at the University of Bergen with its stronger tradition of cultural analysis. Her study should thus be viewed in the light of these two academic settings, and she describes the work on her dissertation as moving back and forth between different traditions of thought. Stavrum chisels out her research project by continuously highlighting and countering potential challenges or alternative approaches to her object of study. She makes clear reservations in relation to scholarly contexts and knowledge goals alongside her own. This is not a cultural history of how the danceband genre emerged, nor is it an analysis of how the Swedish danceband scene has influenced Norway, and it is

not an analysis of the lyrics and sounds of a musical genre. The dissertation, according to the author, is not intended as a contribution to musicology, culture studies, or sociology. Instead the dissertation is a contribution to the ongoing discussion of the defects and normative challenges in research on cultural politics and a study of how social community and aesthetic expressions go together. The intention is that the dissertation will produce new knowledge of an unresearched social context and make a contribution to perceptions of the Norwegian cultural field and cultural politics. The reservations serve as clarifying instructions to the reader as to how and in what context the results and research questions should be understood. It is essential to point out here that the dissertation – despite all Stavrum's reservations – does have something important to add to the field of musicology and to broader culture studies. There are insights here that are interesting outside the academic contexts where cultural policy is studied.

The aim of the study is thus to understand the danceband sphere as it appears to the people who participate in it. To be able to achieve that goal, Stavrum has chosen to work with participant observation and has approached the dancebands in the contexts where they perform, chiefly at festivals, but also on cruises and in ski hotels. The method is well established and reasonable for the purpose. In addition Stavrum has interviewed and spoken to people she met in the field, such as festival goers, musicians, arrangers, and journalists. Stavrum has also used written sources, especially the danceband world's own magazine, *De Danseglade*. The method and material are well suited to the ambition and objective. The different categories of material complement each other, both nuancing and confirming the results they yield on their own.

The dissertation is based to a large extent on observations and interviews. These give the reader an idea of what the festivals in general are like. It also seems to me that the findings as presented are well grounded in the evidence on which the study builds. What I wonder about is primarily how Stavrum's empirical material is presented in the dissertation. There is a recurrent heading "Excursus on Method" where Stavrum, on the basis of her own experiences in the field, discusses boundaries, taste, and values in the danceband field. Here she convincingly uses herself as an instrument. She writes in an exciting way about how her choice of *cava* in the bar is identified by the informants as fancier, somewhat posh. This is contrasted with the drinking habits of the others, and Stavrum carries on an interesting discussion of taste and social belonging. In other cases, when it is no longer Stavrum herself who is the centre of the empirical focus, the ethnography is more summary in character. She describes what dancing, the festival life, and the performances *tend* to be like, often using quotations from a field note. Here I would have liked Stavrum to have considered the empirical examples with the same depth as she applies in the excursus on method, where she paints a more nuanced, less schematic picture of the situations she has studied. If Stavrum had quoted and discussed her observations and notes, for example, from the dance floor and the camping site in the same way, the dissertation would have made an even more reflective contribution to our understanding of the danceband field.

The strength of Stavrum's dissertation lies in the way she exposes the danceband field step by step, revealing its characteristic values and distinctions and how this gives rise to a community. The empirical starting point is the danceband festivals. Visitors come here to have a nice time, to relax and meet like-minded people. An initial and recurrent observation, one that the informants emphasize, is that it should be

"nice". To fit into this nice atmosphere, the festival goers have to be down-to-earth and in good spirits. In addition to the niceness there is a multitude of different distinctions comprising a relatively broad range of things associated with dancebands. There is the size of the dance floor and the facilities surrounding the dances. The lighting should be warm, the air good, and the volume not too loud to make conversation impossible. There should be clean toilets, hot food, and cold drinks. Food should be reasonably priced and the people who serve it must be nice. Everything should be practical, not contrived. The food should not be exotic; suitable items on the menu are pizza, hamburger, or salmon. The security people should be nice and maintain order. "Nice" is thus a frequently recurring distinction that identifies the community of the danceband field. The danceband field can mainly be found in villages and small towns. There is dancing in sports arenas, in community halls, and in exhibition areas. It is an activity that takes place outside the spheres where the more acknowledged culture takes place.

Stavrum identifies four ideal types of people at the danceband festivals. First the *dancers,* who can be recognized by their dancing shoes, indicating that dancing is the main thing for them; then the *danceband fans,* who wear caps and t-shirts with the band names and who come to the festival to listen to the music. There are also the *"yeehawers"* who go to festivals to party and meet people. Other people at the festivals include the *danceband musicians* and *the music business people*. The close contact between fans and musicians is another recurrent theme emphasized by musicians and audiences alike. The musicians may stick out with their stage outfits and hairdos, but the same rule applies to them: they must be nice, not haughty in any way. To be able to live up to the various ideals for the dances, the musicians have a double quality demand to meet. Their music must appeal to the feet and the ears. It has to have good rhythm and tempo you can dance to, the tune must be simple and the words about everyday topics that people recognize. When the music is good, the body responds and people dance.

Recurring all through the dissertation are the two themes in the title, namely *the joy of dancing* and *everyday life*. The author shows convincingly how these make themselves felt in matters of ethics, aesthetics, and cultural politics. It may be mentioned here that these two themes are both well found and well grounded in the empirical study, but that ethics, aesthetics, and cultural politics are better grounded in Stavrum's research premises. One of Stavrum's ambitions is to examine the danceband field on its own terms. Based on the findings of the dissertation, and in keeping with the constitution of the danceband field, it would have been possible here, and perhaps more justified, to speak of consumption rather than cultural politics. That would have been a clearer reflection of the use of culture – in an aesthetic sense – in the danceband field.

Stavrum's careful study enables her to identify a social position where certain shared values and taste preferences emerge. Stavrum describes the social position in relation to the anthropologist Marianne Gullestad's working-class descriptions and a taste position that is identified as popular, of the people. Here Stavrum is particular to point out that, although she cannot say so much about the festival goers' social background, through the distinctions that emerge it is nevertheless possible to interpret taste and values in relation to Gullestad's studies. She describes a social position characterized by classical Protestant ethics and morals, where decency and self-control bring recognition and where traditional gender roles prevail. Morality has a prominent place. Those in the danceband field position themselves in relation to the rowdier "country field"

where people eat more hamburgers (the danceband world prefers hot dogs) and drink too much alcohol. Participants in the danceband field also have to relate to the finer culture of the middle class, who are identified as doctors, lawyers, and professors. In relation to these, the people in the danceband field are more relaxed and less affected. Those who take part in the danceband field belong to the social position that is perceived by the public sphere as lacking cultural interests and therefore are believed to need extra support to find their way to cultural activities. In contrast to this, people in the danceband field regard themselves as large-scale consumers of culture. This is one of the dissertation's contributions to research on cultural policy, since the participants in the danceband field usually stay outside the cultural activities supported by public money, which are thus identified as important. Here we see a parallel to the way people in the danceband field view their own position as being outside the more recognized forms of culture and they distance themselves both from Oslo and from the Swedish danceband world. They think that their danceband culture should be able to stand on its own two feet. They themselves pay for the culture they consume, and they think other people ought to do the same.

Here I lack a more concerted discussion of self-images, or perhaps rather self-representations on the social position of the danceband field. The self-images can include the sense of being alongside the established culture, and the sense of being nice. Another recurring self-image is that danceband is not *harry*. The Norwegian adjective *harry* is understood here as marking something tacky, in bad taste, laughable. Being interested in danceband music, according to the participants in the field, is not *harry*. So what is *harry*? Is it a gender-coded taste? Where can *harry* be found? Or is *harry* perhaps a designation for the others, those who do not need to be defined and therefore can help to shape a social position of their own? Perhaps *harry* should simply be understood as a boundary marker, a way of signalling one's own good taste as cultural outsiders.

Stavrum, as I have said, is careful to point out that her temporal perspective concerns contemporary culture and that this is not a dissertation in cultural history. Yet even in a present-day study there is a history to relate to, a history that reflects earlier power relations in the field of music/culture and the changeability of the aesthetic expression. A social position is not constituted out of nothing, but in relation to earlier practices, values, and distinctions which also recur in the ideas about danceband to which the people interviewed in the study relate. I find it difficult to talk about how community and distinctions of taste are established, without considering continuities or changes in history, especially in a context like the danceband field where the interviewees continually refer to what it was like in the past. There are several examples in the dissertation of how danceband music is seeking new forms of aesthetic expression, and acknowledged danceband musicians are also becoming a part of the more established cultural scene (as when Ole Ivars, for instance, played at the opening of the new opera house in Oslo). A closer look at this could have given some dynamism to the relations constituted by the field. It would likewise have been interesting to examine the significance of country music to find more nuances. Country is used in the dissertation as both a social and an aesthetic category. Here Stavrum could have enlisted Bourdieu with his distinction between field of production and field of consumption. The field of consumption includes those who buy records, join in the dances, in short, those who in different ways consume danceband music. The field of production includes those who produce what is consumed in the danceband field. This may seem like a narrow distinction, and

many of the people who take part in the danceband field belong to both. The important thing here is that it is not a matter of individuals but of positions, which are regulated by different values. With this way of thinking, country music as a social context is a negative social reference in the field of consumption, while country as a musical influence in the field of production can be a positive reference (in the interviews it is pointed out, for example, that the use of saxophones has been toned down and that steel guitar, which is perceived as a country instrument, has become more common).

As regards theory, the dissertation derives inspiration from two main frameworks, Bourdieu's cultural sociology and ritual theory. Bourdieu's theory is rather well tried and tested in such contexts. Stavrum thus adds her study to other investigations of Bourdieuan fields of force. This tradition enables both a subjective and an objective understanding of what is studied. It is, as Stavrum points out, a theory that is capable of considering and integrating both aesthetic and social qualities in interpretations and analyses. In Stavrum's study it is particularly the concepts of *field, acknowledgement*, and *distinction* that are useful, although other concepts such as *doxa* and *illusio* are also used. The danceband festivals are a central event for those who are interested in danceband music. Because of the crucial importance of the festivals in the danceband field, they are analysed as social rituals that help to produce, confirm, and maintain the values, practices, and ideas of the danceband world. Stavrum approaches these from the perspective of ritual theory. She proceeds from classical ritual theory as represented by Durkheim, van Gennep, and Victor Turner, but also from the study of secular rituals like those described by Moore and Myerhoff (1977) and used in ethnology and folkloristics. The use of ritual theory goes well with Bourdieu's observation that rituals help to maintain the fields, to confirm the participants' existence as members of a particular group with certain rights. Both theories clearly contribute to the results obtained by the dissertation and provide answers to the questions stated by Stavrum in her aims.

Stavrum's use of Bourdieu calls for reflection. She writes in the introduction that she wanted to avoid Bourdieu and that she was critical of how his theory almost automatically defined danceband as an example of low culture. She therefore tried phenomenology but returned to Bourdieu since this made it possible to approach the actors' own reflections and how they often included external assessments in their reflections. According to Stavrum this was a way to problematize and not excessively romanticize her object of study. A wise choice.

It is reasonable here to reflect on whether the danceband field is a Bourdieuan field. This is a question that Stavrum bears in mind all through the dissertation. She points out that it is an empirical question, not a theoretical one. Stavrum assumes initially that it is a field and to a certain extent she also arrives at that conclusion. This can be taken to mean that she succeeds in demonstrating what she suspected from the beginning, but it can also give an impression of circular reasoning. It is reasonable that the danceband sphere can be seen as a field from an aesthetic or a social perspective. It has its own distinct actors, a market, arenas for production and mediation, and channels for critique and quality assessment. There is also, as we have seen, a fairly uniform morality. But is it also possible to identify a field where there is a conflict in Bourdieu's sense, and if so, what is it about? Stavrum discusses the question and describes the danceband field as a context where conflict is avoided. She sketches a social position with clear values and attitudes. The conflicts that occur concern what can be perceived as danceband and how the participants are sup-

posed to behave at danceband events. For anyone outside the field, these discussions may seem limited, more like ripples on the surface than a real battle over the field. But this is surely always easy to say for someone outside the field where a battle is being waged, so I do not intend to act as judge on the matter of whether this is a Bourdieuan field or not. What I can say is that the boundaries are much clearer when it comes to the relationship to country festivals, the attitude to cultural support, or how those who are studied constantly relate to the idea that danceband music has a low status. The question of the autonomy of a field is important in more orthodox Bourdieu studies. Perhaps it is not as important for Stavrum's study, where the major contribution lies in the way she manages to highlight the position of danceband music alongside or even outside what is usually included in the field of cultural policy. In any case, Stavrum shows through her reasoning that she is aware of what is expected to be included in a Bourdieuan study. For the sake of the dissertation, however, I think it would have been more interesting if she had grappled more with the social position that she has identified and had been less concerned with whether the danceband field itself is a Bourdieuan field or not. Stavrum's findings as regards the position that is sketched would have been equally interesting even if the field had been defined as a field of music or perhaps of dance music.

I think it is important here to make a distinction between using Bourdieu's concepts as analytical tools and the larger Bourdieu-influenced project of identifying all the positions and distinctions of a field (for example, the field of Norwegian cultural policy). With Bourdieu's tools Stavrum is able to show the distinctions and values that create the danceband field. There is scope here for nuances and surprising results. When dealing with cultural fields as a whole, however, Bourdieu can be a little predictable; this can be interpreted as praise of Bourdieu's acute theoretical apparatus, but it also gives the impression of one subfield after another being checked off as they are studied, so that they confirm Bourdieu's theories step by step. This does not mean that Stavrum obediently accepts all of Bourdieu's assumptions. Rather, she displays an awareness of the limitations of the theoretical conceptual apparatus and its potential determinism. She shows, for example, how entrepreneurs and music in the danceband field do not work from such dry economistic calculations as Stavrum had expected and as is ascribed to the position in Bourdieu's own studies; instead they put more emphasis on the music for the audience's sake than on sheer profit (which is an example of yet another self-image that could have been discussed in more detail).

All in all, Heidi Stavrum's dissertation is a good contribution to research on cultural politics and to the cultural analysis of an aesthetic expression. The dissertation makes one curious about how other genres could be examined with an equally close-up analysis of distinctions and taste preferences. How do country music fans, for example, perceive themselves and their musical interest? She portrays a genre of music with a clear utility aesthetic. She demonstrates a social context alongside or perhaps completely concealed from the strategies and considerations of cultural politics. In this respect the dissertation also fulfils Stavrum's ambition to expose the taste distinctions and values of the danceband field.

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Between Magic and Rationality

Vibeke Steffen, Steffen Jöhncke & Kirsten Marie Raahauge (eds.): Between Magic and Rationality. On the Limits of

Reason in the Modern World. University of Copenhagen, Museum Tusculanum Press, Copenhagen 2015. 380 pp.

Back in 1956, C. G. Diehl, in his dissertation *Instrument and Purpose*, stated that there is no difference between religion and magic from the perspective of actions. In a critical situation a Christian believer would not hesitate to act in order to influence God's plans, no less than a person not believing in God would waver about performing some "magic" acts. In *Between Magic and Rationality: On the Limits of Reason in the Modern World* some thoughts along the same line are expressed.

The book consists of a dozen articles plus an introduction stemming from a project supported by the Danish Research Council for Culture and Communication 2006–2012. The main focus is on the relationship between scientific reasoning, which most of us westerners think we cultivate, and irrational acting or magic acts, which we generally think lies far beyond our ways of living. To us evidence, scientific logic, calculating and critical thinking constitute an ideal. However, this book demonstrates how we often really quit rationality but apply irrational, often even "magic" thinking and actions. The other topic is the fact that natural scientists often deal with issues from the supernatural world. A good example is all those computer games that nowadays fascinate both the ones who invent them and those who play. Contrary to Weber's thesis that religion would vanish, the now so common re-enchantment of the world is central in all articles. The stated aim of the book is "to explore the character and delimitation of rationality and reasoning in social practices" (p. 12), the method of research is highly anthropological-ethnographic, often based on interviews, and the practice of the milieu in which all the studies were conducted is in the focus. Everyday religion, everyday meaning making, everyday explanations are the topics at the centre. In a way this book deals with matters that folklorists favour, and today religious studies are also concerned about the functional belief of living humans. In this way it has several interfaces with general cultural research.

The introduction to the book takes an overview of how several scholars have defined magic and recommends magic to be taken more seriously in modern research. The reason for this is that (post)modern man tends to look for opportunities to manipulate and influence life if it does not turn out in a feasible or pleasing way.

The articles are grouped into four parts. The first one, "On the Limits of Institutional Rationalities", deals with uncertainty as a ground for magical behaviour. A good example is Cecilie Rubow's and Anita Engdahl-Hansen's article about the horseshoe that was recently introduced as an ingredient in Danish weddings. The horseshoe has nothing whatsoever to do with Christian ceremonies, but still it was introduced and accepted in Christian weddings as a symbol of lasting happiness to come. The outcome of the study is that there are many kinds of Christianity in the Danish Lutheran Evangelical Church and that the symbol of the horseshoe is explained in many, very different ways. It can be accepted, rejected or simply neglected by laymen and vicars. And, the opposite, Morten Hulvej Rod and Steffen Jöhncke demonstrate in a fascinating way how strictly rational bureaucratic thinking in planning documents in practice turns into most unreasonable acting. This goes for medical scientific recommendations, for instance, in relation to what people really do when in trepidation. Tine Tjørnhøj-Thomsen and Helle Ploug Hansen have spoken to patients suffering from cancer and childless couples who are willing to do anything, often irrational, in order to become "normal", which seems to be the main target for them.

The second part of the book is called "On the Limits of Science and Materiality". Martin Skrydstrup finds quite a lot of magic thinking within climate science. Inger Sjørslev takes the reader to the Afro-Brazilian religion Candomblé, which contains voodoo characteristics. The visual representation of the gestalt there is a central mediator in the belief in the manipulation of life, and in a parallel way the gestalt is filled with meanings in the Rorschach test. Often we read about paraphernalia that are necessary in a cult, but Mikkel Bunkenborg presents his readers with a study of fetishes and incense, with the magical disappearance as their most important feature.

The third and the fourth parts of the book "On the Limits of Self and Person" and "On the Limits of Ontology and Epistemology" concern more classical supernatural phenomena. Ghosts, spirits, dreams are frequent characters in modern life, and they interfere with the living carnal persons who perceive them. However, these figures are given new meaning compared to what they meant in society a hundred years ago. They are closely connected to the circumstances in which people live, to politics, to social life, to relevant problems. Ghosts have a relationship to deceased people and they can bring messages to the living, for instance in a haunted house, over the telephone or some other way. Dreams are explained as omens and should be taken seriously. People who hear voices are not necessarily only mentally ill, but if they can accept the voices as voices of true figures and decode them they can also lead an easier life. Generally people try to explain extraordinary experiences, they try to understand why they have them and what they might mean. Most interesting are the chapters about people who experience something in which they do not believe. Still, they are sure that they had an experience that was different from anything else. The ways in which people reason in their efforts to understand their experience vary, but are still culturally founded and, consequently, shared.

In many ways these articles are a nice read. However, if you cast a glance into quite normal ladies' magazines you will find a lot of compatible material about how people treat cancer with beetroot juice, how they meet their departed husband, how they hear voices in a haunted house or whatever. In a way I miss some kind of exposé over this kind of material, so common and so often read by "everybody", at least by women. The magazines are efficient distributors of the classical folklore about supernatural beings and folk medicine. In this book, though, the authors often point out how important it is for the researcher, in this case the anthropologist, to try to understand why people are not pleased with what science offers, why they are not pleased with evidence-based facts but want to solve the problems of life in a different way.

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Collective Remembering

The Formative Past and the Formation of the Future. Collective Remembering and Identity Formation, ed. by Terje Stordalen & Saphinaz-Amal Naguib. Oslo, The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture & Novus Press 2015. 382 pp. Ill.

In September 2009 eleven scholars attended a conference called "The Formative Past and the Formation of the Future" at Oslo University. The conference was arranged by a cross-disciplinary network called PluRel, Religion in Pluralist Societies. The scholars gathered for further cooperation to collect their research in this book. During the time of the network the terrible tragedy of Utøya and Oslo occurred, where more than seventy people were murdered. This cer-

tainly was a reason for hundreds of thousands of Norwegians to show their solidarity with their country and its values, to rethink their individual identities as Norwegians and to demonstrate their grief collectively. The book ends with an article by Terje Stordalen called "The Trail of Roses: Time, Media, and Space in Memory Practices in Oslo after 22 July 2011". Here he examines in detail the "Trail of Roses" which expressed the grief Norwegians felt, and which crossed a great area of Oslo, and moreover, to a great deal coincided with the parade for the national annual celebration of 17 May, Norwegian Constitution Day. Here the author utilizes several of the theoretical concepts presented elsewhere in the book.

In her article "Impact and Resonance: Towards a Theory of Emotions in Cultural Memory", Aleida Assmann, an expert in the study of memory as a cultural product and a cultural process, introduces a theory concerning emotions and affect that influence memory through generations. She builds her thoughts on the fact that memories are culturally interpreted with the help of people's individual or shared experiences. She elaborates four concepts: "Resonance" emerges between what happened and how we regard and interpret it afterwards, "impact" is something that occurs as a surprise that does not fit into our possible expectations or frames of reference, "remediation" covers the process a recent medium passes in transforming characteristics in former media (for instance, from written text, over radio to the Internet), and "premediation" concerns the power of the media to influence our future actions in case some event should be repeated. Situations of terror provide good examples. Something horrible and unsuspected happens, we need to explain it in order to understand it, it is described in various media and people react to the information they get.

Helge Jordheim, a scholar of cultural history, concentrates his article "Transformative Pasts, Transformations of the Future, and the Question of the Present" on the "now" that mostly is so complicated and difficult to grasp clearly. He takes his readers through the eighteenth century to Jean Paul's novel *Titan* (1800–1803). Jordheim demonstrates how Paul in an intriguing way combined memory, imagination, nostalgia and utopianism in the "now" of his protagonist Albanus. Not only the "now" but also the future is central in man's perception of time. Otto Krogseth concentrates on utopia in Christian eschatology and postmodern society. In his contribution "From Christian Eschatology to Modern Utopia: On the Exhaustion of Utopian Energy" he underlines that "cultural heritage with its cultivation of the past emerges as an acutely necessary basis for identity" and explains the fact that many recent forms of religion are built on a "'back-to-the-roots' sacredness" but also that the end of time is given an essential role in today's worldview. However, today the end of time is hardly tied to a Christian theological discourse, but to the failure of humans in their practical everyday lives.

A cluster of articles concern studies of remembering and media. Jan Assmann opens with an article entitled "Tradition, Writing, and Canonisation: Structural Changes of Cultural Memory" in which he states that memory and imagination are related and that they are related to time. He makes clear that humans have used and still use various media, such as speech, writing, canonization, second canonization, rituals in order to create a diachronic identity through history, and that this process is dependent on available media. Canonization is also an issue of Terje Stordalen in his text "Canon and Canonical Commentary: Comparative Perspectives on Canonical Ecologies" who demonstrates how the interpretation of canonical texts depends on cultural cir-

cumstances and evokes thinking about how the study of the interpretation of canonical texts should influence them. A scholarly experience of interpreting historical canonical texts might add some efficiency in the interpretation of recent documents about, for instance, macroeconomy or human rights. As we know, they are not understood in the same way all over the world at the same time. In Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati's text "The Lead Books of Granada: Hybridity and Cultural Memory" the lead books of Granada are investigated as hybrid texts intentionally constructed in order to suit both Christian and Muslim needs.

In his contribution to this book "Viewing the World through National Narratives: The Case of Russian Narrative Templates" James V. Wertsch states that there are narrative templates to be filled with relevant content if somebody wants to make people regard the world from a specific perspective. This could be the case when in some political situations the leader wants his subjects to agree on how to rule a state. The Russian narratives consist of hints to the past in a feasible way supporting the leader's ideas for the future. This article reminds me of Vladimir Propp's structural analysis of the Russian folktale from the 1920s. Also Hermann Bausinger's studies of moulds (or templates) for narratives from the 1980s are relevant here, as well as the everlasting debate about the functions of genres.

A couple of articles deal with Jerusalem as a name filled with meanings and associations. Kristin B. Aavitsland in "Remembering Jerusalem in Medieval Scandinavia" demonstrates how the image and idea of Jerusalem were adapted to Nordic medieval needs in order to create a new Nordic identity as part of the medieval Christian world. In accordance with the crusades to Jerusalem the city was also regarded as a place for a Christian *ecclesia militans* struggling against the pagans outside the geographical borders. Yet another viewpoint is presented by Eivor Oftestad, who gives a history of interpretations about who Jerusalem belongs to. Should the Christians of different nuances of belief dominate or should the city be Jewish or even Muslim? She also demonstrates how in this procedure of translation Rome was given several of the characteristics of Jerusalem. Her article is called "The Legitimate Heir: The Translation of the Temple in Twelfth-Century Rome". The city is also the topic in Marina Prusac's study "Non-Formative and Transformative Memories in the Constantinian Reconstruction of Jerusalem" of how Constantine the Great formed Jerusalem into a centre of the Christian world.

Saphinaz-Amal Naguib introduces space in connection with cultural memory. In her article "The Articulation of Cultural Memory and Heritage in Pural Societies" she handles thoughts not only about collective remembering but also about collective forgetting, a very important issue. She reminds her readers that cultural memory is not necessarily always artefacts but above all the knowledge of how to produce them, of the manual skill, and of the ways in which people once behaved in various situations. The classical question of how to represent multiculturalism in a museum comes to the fore.

A couple of the articles refer to Maurice Halbwachs' book *La mémoire collective*. But as far as I can see hardly anyone deals with the meaning of the word "memory". Is a memory a poem or a ritual or a sacred text learned by heart, a phenomenon that creates a corridor to the (mythological) past? Is it an object or ritual around which people gather at some times in remembrance of a bygone event, or is memory a person's thoughts about a specific experience which he or she feels in his or her body and has to interpret individually and explain culturally? Naguib says that "cultural remembering" would suit better than "cultural memory". Indeed, often this is true. But what do we remember culturally? Cer-

tainly, it is possible to create a representation of an event and celebrate the remembering of it together with other people. But generally we cannot remember an event if we did not participate in it.

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The Gyrfalcon Trade

Sigurður Ægisson: Icelandic Trade with Gyrfalcons. From Medieval Times to the Modern Era. Self-published, Siglufjörður 2015. 98 pp. Ill.

Birds are not just a concern for bird-watching nerds and cruisers, as we are sometimes led to believe; there are great many other, perhaps more exciting, aspects of bird-human relations, besides the broad interest as cultural history. Different forms of hunting and trapping belong here. Hunting with the aid of birds of prey, however, is rare in Nordic tradition, although there are archaeological finds from the Viking Age testifying to the occasional keeping of hawks here, which were perhaps even used for hunting. But there is little evidence for this. Instead the Nordic countries have supplied falconers, on the Continent and in early times even more distant customers, with young birds of prey. Gyrfalcons especially (a bird of kings according to the *Boke of Seynt Albans* from 1486, while princes had to content themselves with peregrine falcons) were highly esteemed. They were trained and then had to serve as helpers in hunting. The art of falconry goes back a very long way and is described in ancient sources. During the Middle Ages it was widespread in many parts of Europe. Falconry is often regarded as a pursuit of the aristocracy and the ruling classes, a status symbol and a form of entertainment for people who could spend their wealth and who also had access to open landscape in which to hunt. The royal house of Denmark developed the institution of falconry in the sixteenth century through purchasing, training, and hunting. Falconry, however, means not just owning, tending, and hunting with falcons; the birds also had to come from somewhere, and there is a long chain of fascinating aspects, involving local knowledge, trapping, trade, care of the birds, and early internationalization. This is where the West Norse area comes in. The gyrfalcon, which is still one of the most popular and most expensive species in the sport of falconry, has a northern, circumpolar distribution, occurring all year round in mountains and on tundra. The demand for gyrfalcons from the high north developed early on, and medieval accounts mention the Nordic birds in positive terms. White gyrfalcons were the most highly prized. The twelfth-century author Giraldus Cambrensis (*c.*1146 – *c.*1223) states that the gyrfalcons from "Yslandia" are the best that can be obtained. In a chivalrous romance about Guy of Warwick from the fourteenth century we read that a milk-white gyrfalcon was the dream of every king. When the successful Ottoman warrior, Sultan Beyazit I, in 1396 captured the son of Philip II of Burgundy he demanded, and received, as a ransom twelve white gyrfalcons.

In Norway and Sweden too, gyrfalcons were caught for the international market. Interesting evidence of this comes from the young Linnaeus in his account of a journey to the Särna mountains in 1734, where he quotes interesting testimony about Dutch falcon catchers who came to the area each year to acquire new falcons. It was an old tradition, and one can say that it persists – illegally – in our own times. The desirability of falcons from Norway and western Sweden on the Continent has previously been considered by Olav Bø in *Studia Norvegica* 1962 and Gunnar Tillander in *Fornvännen* 1964. Since the Middle Ages, however, Iceland has been more important for the demand for good

gyrfalcons on the Continent and in western Asia, as we see from Giraldus. This trapping and trade is now thoroughly examined in a recent monograph by the versatile ethnozoologist, ethnologist, ornithologist, and priest, Sigurður Ægisson, who has already authored a number of fascinating books about birds, cryptozoological creatures, and whales. As usual when it comes to Sigurður, it is a well-written and well-documented book he presents.

Sigurður describes in nine chapters the detailed history of Icelandic falcon catching and falcon export, with many illustrations and with information that has previously received little attention. He starts with a survey of the tricky taxonomy of the species, as well as the vernacular names in the languages of Europe, particularly the Germanic and West Norse designations. This is followed by an account of the gyrfalcon's biology and distribution. The background to the Icelandic trade in gyrfalcons is given a separate chapter – the export appears to have begun to develop as early as the mid tenth century – and it was initially a very expensive commodity. This is followed by a discussion of the difficult question of whether white gyrfalcons were always from Greenland, reaching the Continent via Iceland. In fact, it was normally Icelandic white falcons that were traded. An Arabic source from the thirteenth century states that the Sultan of Egypt bought white falcons that came from Iceland, and Olaus Magnus depicted a white falcon (*falco albi*) in northern Iceland on his *Carta Marina* 1539. Such expensive commodities, of course, needed much care and concern. Special aviaries were established in Iceland to house them before they were exported. At the beginning of the nineteenth century falcons were still being sent from Iceland to the courts of Portugal and Russia. Trade actually continued, but by now it was unofficial and unlawful. The significance of the gyrfalcon trade in Iceland is also evident from the part the birds played as symbols in heraldry and other contexts. Place names too still bear witness to the importance of the gyrfalcon in cultural history. The bibliography in the book is as good as exhaustive.

This is a fascinating history that goes beyond local ornithology and Icelandic matters. White gyrfalcons have continued to fascinate the world. It may be mentioned here that there were plans in Nazi Germany to set out white gyrfalcons, and in 1938 the Hermann Göring Foundation therefore financed an expedition to western Greenland in order to study the species. Five white Greenland falcons were brought back by the expedition to Germany where they were kept in an "Arctic" experimental station in the Riesengebirge in Bohemia. The war, however, put a stop to the continued experiment (Göring, incidentally, is also said to have bought gyrfalcons from Bohuslän, see *Fornvännen* 1964, p. 135). And just a few decades ago, crafty bird poachers came to Iceland to steal gyrfalcon eggs to smuggle out so that they could sell the young to rich customers in the Arabian peninsula. Modern systems to monitor nesting birds can effectively prevent this today. Nowadays white gyrfalcons are often smuggled out of Kamchatka and on to the international market. According to current information, the price is over $10,000 each. The ones that are sold in Germany, however, were probably reared there.

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Sámi Perspectives

Anna Lydia Svalastog and Gunlög Fur (eds.): Visions of Sápmi. Arthub Publisher, Røros 2015. 200 pp. Ill.

Visions of Sápmi is a richly illustrated anthology about representations of Sápmi and its inhabitants in art, literature,

maps, scholarship, history, etc. Contributors are members of a group of scholars, *Riekkis*, who initiated the idea of the anthology. The volume consists of an introduction and seven chapters, which are briefly summarized here.

In the first chapter, Anna Lydia Svalastog of Østfold University College writes about Sámi and colonial perspectives on mapping. Her chapter provides an overview of Sámi history in Sweden and in Norway, and it takes maps published and re-distributed in major publications about the Sámi and/or by Sámi scholars as a point of departure. Svalastog's contribution gives an interesting reading of maps of Sápmi in relation to each other, and it illustrates variations of perspectives and ideologies across time and disciplines. The chapter ends with relevant suggestions for what maps of Sápmi should imply, but it would have benefited by including examples of recent maps – for instance those that include winter grazing areas or that place the North at the center by configuring Europe as upside down compared to traditional maps, which problematize the Eurocentric perspective.

The second chapter, written by Mikael Svonni of the University of Tromsø, examines texts and illustrations by Johan Turi, who was canonized as the first Sámi author with his book *Muittalus samid birra* (1910), which was the first of its kind in North Sámi. While Turi's narrative technique has been the topic of previous studies (for instance Cocq, Coppélie 2008 and DuBois, Thomas 2010), less attention has been paid to his detailed illustrations.

Professional film and music maker Runar Enberg's chapter is an ethnographic documentation in stories and pictures of the contemporary life of reindeer herding. It is a poetically written ethnographic text from the perspective of the author as an "observer", in the form of a diary, with quotations and stories from the reindeer herders Enberg visited.

The chapter written by Jan Erik Lundström, the Swedish art curator, concerns the works of three artists: first Katarina Pirak-Sikku and her work "Sápmi" (2008), followed by a more extensive description and analysis of works by Joar Nango, and finally art pieces by Kristin Tårnesvik. As Lundström shows, these artists problematize through their works the views and gazes, and thereby the attitudes, towards the Sámi and Indigenous people.

Ingrid Kristin Dokka of the Norwegian Film Institute focuses her chapter on representations and self-representations in films and discusses a range of productions about Sápmi and the Sámi, from early films to contemporary ones by Sámi producers. Dokka convincingly contextualizes these productions in relation to societal changes. Although the three chapters do not refer to one another, Dokka's, Lundström's, and Svalastog's texts comprise three readings about critical perspectives on representations of Sáminess that complement each other in a productive manner.

Professor of history at Linnaeus University Gunlög Fur's chapter is about the official apology to the Sámi people by the Swedish Minister of Agriculture and Sámi Minister Annika Åhnberg in 1998, and the apology is discussed in relation to Indigenous rights and contexts. It is a timely and well-written contribution to the ongoing debate of reconciliation in the Swedish context, bearing in mind the recent publication of a white paper about the relation between the Swedish Church and the Sámi (Lindmark, Daniel & Sundström, Olle (eds.) 2016) and the work that has been initiated toward the creation of a truth commission (https://www.sametinget.se/90491).

Harald Gaski of the University of Tromsø applies a pan-Sámi and Indigenous perspective in his essay, and he discusses shared foundational values in Sápmi with a poetic yoik text by Anders Fjellner as a point of departure. This chapter is an important contribution to

discussions about Indigenous scholarship, taking into account both Sámi and international contexts. Gaski's approach problematizes and questions perceptions of Sámi communities, identities, and discourses of heterogeneity.

As we can read in the introduction, *Riekkis*, the group of scholars behind the book, was formed in 2003 by researchers and teachers who were at the time appointed to or affiliated with Umeå University, and the idea of a publication was launched in 2006. *Visions of Sápmi* has the ambition "to give the readers a first glimpse, from a number of angles, into an exciting and many-facetted field of study" (p. 15).

Umeå University is one of the few universities in the Nordic countries that offers courses in Sámi culture, history, and language on a regular basis, and where one can get a PhD degree in Sámi Studies. Research at the university related to Sámi issues is also promoted through *Vaartoe*, the Center for Sámi Research. It is therefore not surprising that Umeå University is mentioned in the introduction as the starting point for the initiative of the group and for the book project in 2006. What *is* surprising, however, is that the anthology does not include nor enter into dialogue with the research and education in Sámi Studies that is conducted at Umeå University, despite the many connections and common research foci between the authors and scholars at the university.

In terms of readership, *Visions of Sápmi* will provide valuable insights for scholars, teachers, and students interested in expressive culture, issues of representations, and self-representations in general. Readers with interest in Sámi cultural expressions in particular will find in this book a pertinent overview of significant topics in contemporary Sápmi and within the field of Sámi research.

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Church Involvement among Swedish Youth

Maria Zackariasson: Gemenskapen. Deltagande, identitet och religiositet bland unga i Equmenia. Molin & Sorgenfrei Förlag, Farsta 2016. 232 pp.

Maria Zackariasson has studied present-day youth cultures in Swedish society for many years. It began with her doctoral dissertation, presented at Uppsala in 2001, about the life of young students living in halls of residence. In 2006 the author published a study of Norwegian and Swedish young people's political engagement in the global justice movement.

In the book reviewed here the main question is why young people first become involved in a free church movement and what affects their continued engagement in it. This is a contemporary study of the category of "young Christians". Between 2011 and 2014 Zackariasson interviewed fifteen people aged 15–23, nine women and six men. They were involved in various (anonymized) local associations in the Stockholm area within the free church youth organization Equmenia. Roughly half the interviewees came from homes that were engaged in the free church. The rest came from homes that had no connection to any church. The parents in these homes could be dubious, at least initially, about the children's involvement in the free church. They were afraid that it was a sect. Not all the interviewees regarded themselves as Christians or believers – nor did Equmenia demand this. Involvement in activities did not necessarily go together with personal Christian faith, which may seem surprising to an outsider.

The young people who did not call themselves believers declared this to the other young people around them. As regards lifestyle, the young people were more like each other, for instance in that they mostly exercised moderation or abstinence when it came to alcohol or sex

before marriage. They thus differed somewhat from other young people they met in school.

The term "community" is a key word and serves as the title of the book. The object of study, "young Christians", is viewed in relation to the surrounding Swedish society as a whole, with particular regard to the question of the democratic upbringing that the activities in Equmenia could contribute to. It is the interviewees' narratives about their experiences and emotions that are at the centre of the study. The young people are viewed as actors in their own lives. They are not only recipients of ideas but also help to maintain and change these ideas.

The social solidarity or community within the free church group turns out to be attractive and fundamental for generating engagement. Everyday social acts tie people together. This also applies to the camps that are held at regular intervals. Here the free church youth could be appointed as leaders, which they found a positive challenge. It was also important that the people in charge, in the form of pastors and youth pastors, as representatives of the adults, did not try to govern everything the young people did. A reciprocal dialogue was essential. Openness and an inclusive attitude were important elements when outsiders who had not had any previous contact with the free church met the group. The Christian idea of spreading love was prominent and was felt to be clearly positive no matter whether a person said they believed in God or not. All the young people agreed about the significance of the golden rule. The author has not been able to demonstrate any obvious differences based on gender.

As a reader one is struck by how different, even contradictory, the responses from the informants are. This complicates the author's analysis of conceivable explanations. The book is both strikingly empirical through many long quotations from interviews and clearly analytical in relation to the collected material. On the theoretical level there are many references to and comparisons with literature, primarily in sociology and sociology of religion, all of it applied constructively. The book ends with a detailed index of persons and topics.

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