Arv
Nordic Yearbook of Folklore 2013

ARV

Nordic Yearbook of Folklore

Vol. 69

Published by
THE ROYAL GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS ACADEMY
UPPSALA, SWEDEN

Distributed by
SWEDISH SCIENCE PRESS
UPPSALA, SWEDEN

ISSN 0066-8176

Printed with grants from
Vetenskapsrådet (Swedish Research Council), Stockholm, Sweden

Articles appearing in this yearbook are abstracted and indexed in
Historical Abstracts and America: History and Life 1998–
Editorial address:
Prof. Arne Bugge Amundsen
Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages
University of Oslo
Box 1010 Blindern
NO–0315 Oslo, Norway
phone + 4792244774
fax + 4722854828 e-mail: a.b.amundsen@ikos.uio.no
http://www.hf.uio.no/ikos/forskning/publikasjoner/tidsskrifter/arv/index.html
Cover: Kirsten Berrum
For index of earlier volumes, see
http://www.kgaa.nu/tidskrift.php

Distributor
Swedish Science Press
Box 118, SE–751 04 Uppsala, Sweden
phone: +46(0)18365566
fax: +46(0)18365277
e-mail: info@ssp.nu

Printed in Sweden
Textgruppen i Uppsala AB, Uppsala 2013

Contents

“Eigi er sá heill, er í augun verkir”

Eye Pain in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century *Íslendingasögur*[1]

Kirsi Kanerva

Introduction

Fóstbræðra saga[2] tells of a man called Þormóðr Kolbrúnarskáld who suffers from a pain in his eye (*augnaverkr*), inflicted upon him by a woman in a dream. The story begins when Þormóðr tries to reinvigorate his earlier friendship with a woman called Þórdís. Prior to this he has visited a woman called Þorbjǫrg *kolbrún* and has composed and dedicated a poem, the *Kolbrúnavísur*, to her. Regardless of this, Þormóðr recites the *Kolbrúnavísur* to Þórdís and modifies the verses so that the words praise Þórdís instead of Þorbjǫrg, the former object of his adoration. The friendship between Þormóðr and Þórdís is renewed, but shortly afterwards:

> […] then one night when at Laugaból Þormóðr dreamt that Þorbjǫrg came to him and asked whether he was awake or sleeping. He said he was awake.
>
> She answers: “You are sleeping, but what will happen to you [in your dream] will befall you when you awake; or have you given that praise poem that you composed to me to another woman?”
>
> Þormóðr says: “That is not true.”
>
> Þorbjǫrg said: “Surely that is true. You have given my praise poem to Þórdís Grímudóttir and twisted all those verses that belonged to me most [so that they are now dedicated] to her. Now I shall reward you for the breaching of your words and your lies so that you shall suffer from such eye pain that both of your eyes will burst out of your head, unless you make known to all people that it is my poem and call it so always thereafter.”
>
> She appeared very angry to him and he thought he saw a glimpse of her as she went away. He wakes up with such a severe pain in his eyes that he could hardly bear it without screaming. In the morning he stayed late in his bed. When all the men had got dressed Bersi [Þormóðr’s father] wonders why Þormóðr sleeps so long, and goes to him and asks if he was ill. Þormóðr says that he had pain in the eyes.
>
> Bersi said: “He who has pain in the eyes is not sound.”[3]

All’s well that ends well, however. Þormóðr’s father then expresses his opinion that nothing can be done unless Þormóðr makes things right and returns the poem to its original form. Otherwise, as the father says in the

Mǫðruvallabók version of the text, "both of your eyes will burst out of your head" (*bæði augu springi ór hǫfði þér*, *Fóstbræðra saga*: 176–177), or, slightly less dramatically in Hauksbók, "you will lose both your eyes, one before the other" (*at þv latir bæði avgvn fyri annari*, Hauksbók 1892–1896: 371).[4] As a result, Þormóðr Kolbrúnarskáld dedicates the poem to Þorbjǫrg anew, as it originally was, and immediately recovers from his eye disease (*Fóstbræðra saga*: 177; Hauksbók 1892–1896:372; Flateyjarbók 1862: 155).

The excerpt above is one of the instances in medieval Icelandic sagas where eye pain is represented as an illness that could disable the victim by causing the eyes to burst out of the head, as anticipated in *Fóstbræðra saga*, or cause loss of sight and sometimes even death. In such cases, as in the example above, the cause of eye pain is sometimes explicitly stated; this illness could be caused by some external power or being that appeared in dreams and inflicted the pain upon its victims.[5] However, this type of dream is a departure from the norm in the *Íslendingasögur*, as dreams usually portend future events and are bound up with irreversible fate. The message of these dreams is never in doubt, since they are thought to contain important information about the future. Moreover, dreams always come true. Should the message be hidden behind symbols and allegories, a wise man can interpret the dream.[6] In *Fóstbræðra saga*, however, the dream does not bring knowledge of irreversible fate, but acts as a warning, still allowing the recipient, that is, the dreamer, to react to it and choose either a good or a bad option: Þormóðr can decide whether he will make things right and become sound again, or whether he will keep on living a lie and suffer the consequences, the loss of his eyes.

This deviation from the rules raises some questions concerning the condition of eye pain and how its causes and consequences were interpreted and understood by medieval Icelanders. With reference to Þormóðr's rapid recovery it can be questioned whether eye pain in *Íslendingasögur* was merely intended to indicate a physical disease,[7] or if the phenomenon had other connotations as well. The latter question is raised especially because of the bodily nature of the eye pain, which links the condition to some mental phenomena considered physical in medieval Iceland: mental processes, such as emotions, thoughts, understanding and memories, were connected to the mind, which was considered a physical organ in the breast, that is to say, the heart. Mental functions were thus also considered physical processes (Kanerva forthcoming).[8] This bodily element has been emphasized in earlier studies of emotions in sagas, which have shown that emotions are usually portrayed only in somatic changes, such as blushing and turning pale, or in dialogue (Miller 1992; Miller 1993; Larrington 2001; Kanerva 2012). For this reason it is quite understandable that the inner states of people, what they thought, remembered and felt but did not utter in words or outwardly

reveal as somatic changes, could not be depicted in medieval sagas – unless there existed another way of representing this "unseen".

We may never be certain whether medieval Icelanders regarded eye pain as similar to somatic changes associated with emotions.[9] However, somatization, that is, ascribing pain and defects to various bodily organs and viscerals, has been shown in medical anthropology to be a common means in some cultures to express various negative emotional states and moods that cannot be represented in any other way (Helman 1994:267–271). This parallels the notions of several anthropological and historical studies which have emphasized that in some cultures lacking any means of verbalizing emotions and having emotional discourses, there may still exist other ways of expressing emotions, both through personal communication and in literature (Helman 1994:267–271; Reddy 2001; Bourguignon 2003; Khan 2006; Rosenwein 2006). Moreover, emotions and illnesses were not wholly distinct and unrelated concepts or categories in medieval Iceland. Thus a clear and precise distinction between these two conditions was not always made (Kanerva forthcoming). Accordingly, there is a temptation to inquire further into whether the medieval Icelanders saw a connection between the physical eye pain and the mental state (especially emotions) of the saga protagonist suffering from it.

In the course of the discussion, it has to be borne in mind that the concept and phenomenon of eye pain in medieval Iceland could be based on indigenous and unconscious body schemes and body images that guided ideas of illness, emotions and their causes.[10] In addition, as a part of medieval Christendom Icelanders had absorbed influences from Latin learning and literature (e.g. Kalinke 1993; Vésteinn Ólason 1998:44–50; Høyersten 2000; Høyersten 2004; Lönnroth 1965; Reichborn-Kjennerud 1936:20–26). Both the indigenous, long-term cultural currents and novel, newly adopted foreign influences may thus have been intertwined in *Íslendingasögur* and other medieval Icelandic literary sources. For this reason the sources are studied intertextually,[11] in connection with other saga literature. In addition, retrospective methods will also be employed by paying attention to evidence in later folklore of other geographical areas.[12]

I will examine four episodes in four different *Íslendingasögur*:[13] the above-mentioned *Fóstbræðra saga*, *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss*,[14] *Bjarnar saga Hítdælakappa*[15] and *Ljósvetninga saga*.[16] Concerning the dating of the texts, since the earliest manuscripts date from the fourteenth century, it may be safe to say that the sources reflect the views and conceptions of the fourteenth-century Icelanders, especially that of the literary and political elite that was responsible for the writing and commissioning of *Íslendingasögur*.

Bearing in mind that Iceland had been Christianized for over two hundred years when the sources that I will examine here were produced and later copied, but that Iceland was also on the periphery of Europe, I will suggest

that like some medieval illnesses, the eye pain was also considered a moral disease.[17] The physical symptoms connected to eyes informed the saga readers of the conflicting emotions of the saga protagonists who were recognized as flouting certain social norms. Catching the ailment thus depended on the actions of the sick person. However, the conception was connected to the medieval Icelandic body schema, which saw the body as "open" and porous (Kanerva forthcoming): the body could be seen as "*opening up* to the external environment" (Stark 2006:152, italics original), and the bodily conditions (e.g. emotions, illnesses) could be brought about by external agents and forces. Emotions (including emotional aspects of eye pain) were thus not considered merely feelings that originated within the body in medieval Iceland, but involved engagement with the social and physical environment. Eye pain was a condition caused by external agents affecting the well-being of its victim, but which simultaneously originated in the individual's own disruptive thoughts and emotions elicited by various social and interpersonal conflicts, and in the recognition of his or her personal responsibility in the matter.

Eye Pain: Guilt, Conflict and Broken Promises

Fóstbræðra saga makes clear that the pain in Þormóðr's eyes is caused by Þorbjǫrg *kolbrún* appearing in the dream by explicating the just accusations she has made: Þormóðr has stolen the poem that has been dedicated to her and has presented it to another woman. In *Fóstbræðra saga* the role of Þormóðr himself in realizing the source of his ailment is made explicit. The text tells us that Þormóðr Kolbrúnarskáld is aware of the cause of his pain when he recites a poem after waking up:

> Grievously I erred when on Thordis, maiden of the ring of islands, I bestowed all the Dark-brow Verses — in a dream doom's goddess came to me. I took the punishment she dealt — Thor's splendid daughter is versed in those wily arts, and I would rather make amends with that goddess.[18]

In *Fóstbræðra saga*, Þormóðr's poem explicitly indicates that he recognizes the wrong he has done and that Þorbjǫrg has suffered because of his misdeeds. Because he is aware of his own role , he recognizes the need for compensation. Moreover, Þormóðr seems to be conscious of the link between his misdemeanour and the physical pain in his eyes, and that this punishment is unavoidable unless he makes amends. In the light of the modern definition of the word, Þormóðr's experience, if examined through his motivation, following the example of William Ian Miller (Miller 1992; Miller 1993), involves a sense of guilt, but he also takes responsibility for his actions and therefore manages to make up for his wrongdoing and dispose of his guilt.[19] At the time when the saga in question was written no word for guilt as an emotion existed,[20] but the episode in *Fóstbræðra saga* suggests

that pain in the eyes – a wholly physical experience, that is – was seen as resulting from the recognition of one's transgressions, in this case stealing a poem, which was an inner experience that in the modern definition of the word would also comprise feelings of guilt. This would suggest that eye pain also had emotional connotations in medieval Iceland, an aspect that will be dealt more thoroughly later in the discussion.

Another instance of similar eye pain is portrayed in *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss*. Gestr, an Icelander and a son of a heathen man called Bárðr the Snowfellgod, suffers from a severe pain in the eyes after he had been baptized in the hird of the Christian king Óláfr Tryggavason. The illness is caused by his own father in a dream, and the saga tells of the origin and the consequences of Gestr's ailment as follows:

> The night after Gest[r] was baptized, he dreamt that his father B[árðr] came to him and said: "A poor deed you have done – abandoning your beliefs, which your forefathers have held, and letting yourself be forced to change your faith because of your feebleness of character – and for that you shall lose both your eyes." B[árðr] now seized Gest[r]'s eyes somewhat roughly, and then vanished. After this, when Gest[r] woke up, he had such a fierce pain in his eyes that on the very same day they burst out of his head. Then Gest[r] died in his baptismal clothes.[21]

As in *Fóstbræðra saga*, the cause of the ailment is made explicit in *Bárðar saga*: Gestr's father has inflicted the pain on Gestr because he has broken the unwritten rules of the family by abandoning the faith of his ancestors and receiving Christian baptism, and by doing so he has betrayed them and acted worthlessly.[22] Therefore, the pain in the eyes that Gestr experiences appears to be caused by his "wrongdoing". At this point, however, it becomes difficult to make a distinction between internal state (i.e. whether eye pain refers to emotion) and external punishment, an issue that will be dealt with in greater depth in the two remaining sections of the article. At the moment, it can be suggested only in intertextual connection with *Fóstbræðra saga* that Gestr's eye pain would involve recognition of his transgression and his own role in it, and awareness of the need for compensation – all of which have been mentioned as definitions of the concept of guilt.

Unlike Þormóðr, who re-dedicated the poem he had stolen to his punisher and "then recovered rapidly from the eye pain, and becomes completely free of this malady,"[23] Gestr is not offered a chance of atonement. This is understandable, as it might not have fitted well with the Christian atmosphere of *Bárðar saga,* which emphasized the role of Óláfr Tryggvason as a Christian king. Deprived of the chance to recover from his eye pain, Gestr is portrayed as kind of a martyr: he has not submitted to his (heathen) father's will, but has adopted the Christian faith. Gestr has been obliged to do this by a pledge that he had given while fighting with the dead heathen king Raknarr in his burial mound: namely, that he would accept baptism if he survived the fight. During this incident Gestr had requested his father for help, but Bárðr had

been unable to grant supernatural assistance (*Bárðar saga*: 168), although he had been recognized in Iceland as a kind of guardian spirit for his friends, who "used to call upon him if they found themselves in danger."[24] However, the Christian king Óláfr Tryggvason, though physically absent,[25] had been able to bring divine light into the mound after Gestr's pledge to convert, which ultimately gave Gestr the victory (ibid.: 168).

It is as if Gestr, in an Óðinnic manner, has pledged his eye (and his life) in return for receiving wisdom, in this case Christianity.[26] Though physically disabled, he has gained eternal salvation as a reward for his sacrifice. This is in stark contrast to the pattern of a supernatural power inflicting similar punishments on people that appears in medieval European miracle collections. There God and the Christian saints could and did impose various kinds of punishments, including eye pain and blindness, on sceptical people as punishment for their doubt and scorn (Metzler 2006:146–149; Katajala-Peltomaa forthcoming). In *Bárðar saga*, however, the punisher is heathen, and the tale is reminiscent of many of the legends of the Christian martyrs, as Gestr dies of an illness inflicted upon him by a heathen power after his baptism, remaining true to his new faith until death. From the perspective of the "old and heathen", or perhaps the indigenous ideas of medieval Icelandic culture, Gestr is behaving badly, since he fails to fulfil the expectations of his father who is depicted explicitly as a heathen in the saga. Two forms of obligation are in conflict: the traditional expectations of his father and family, and the demands of the new faith that has been revealed to him. It is the conflict aspect that might lie at the core of the eye pain motif in *Íslendingasögur*, just as it does when Þormóðr's flirtation with another woman conflicts with the aims of Þorbjǫrg *kolbrún*, the earlier object of the poet's affection.

A similar episode occurs in *Ljósvetninga saga,* where a man called Þorvarðr Hǫskuldsson, known as a "wise and very moderate man, and somewhat aged,"[27] returns from a pilgrimage to Rome. While on his way back to Iceland, he hears from some Norsemen that his brother has been killed by Mǫðruvellir men. At this point Þorvarðr utters:

> It's a long way between our axes and the M[ǫð]ruvellir men. And they will still want them wielded if I go to Iceland. But let it be as St Peter wishes. I think it would be better if I did not return there.[28]

The saga then states that Þorvarðr only managed to travel a few miles after that, until "he lost both of his eyes from pain and died thereafter."[29] The culmination of the story is perplexing; Þorvarðr gets eye pain after he has received tidings of his brother's death and has decided not to strive for compensation and thereby rectify the wrong done to him and his family. According to the common ethos of the *Íslendingasögur*, it was Þorvarðr's duty to seek revenge or compensation and settlement, as the saga has briefly referred to him as the head of the family.[30] Instead he chooses to follow a dif-

ferent path, one illuminated by the Christian emphases in the episode: Þorvarðr is a good Christian who is just returning from his pilgrimage to Rome, after (presumably) having atoned for his sins. It is possibly to be anticipated that he will react as a good Christian and attempt to deal with the issue without shedding blood. That this was thought of as the "Christian way" in medieval Iceland, at least in some quarters, is implied by a certain Þorsteinn in *Bjarnar saga Hítdœlakappa* when he suggests how the compensation for his blood brother's death should be handled:

> I want to stipulate that either of us should obtain the right to decide the terms of judgement in a prosecution for the death of the other, to be either outlawry or compensation, rather than putting anyone to death, and *that better befits Christian men*.[31]

The excerpt in *Ljósvetninga saga* thus suggests that Þorvarðr, like Gestr, found himself with conflicting emotions, in this case because of the conflicting demands placed upon him: on the one hand the expectations of his family and the society around him were that he would fulfil his obligations according to the principles of gratitude prevalent in Old Norse-Icelandic culture (Kanerva 2012) and avenge his brother's death, and on the other his obligations as a Christian. Since he was breaking the rules of reciprocity, his actions might have been labelled a *níðingsverk* by medieval Icelanders, a deed for which eye pain was often inflicted as a punishment, as suggested by Anette Lassen (2001:128–129). The writer of *Ljósvetninga saga*, however, appears to emphasize the conflict between two opposing moral codes, the heathen and the Christian, the old and the new,[32] as the core meaning of the eye pain.[33]

Ljósvetninga saga does not reveal whether it was some external power that inflicted the lethal pain on Þorvarðr. In *Bárðar saga*, however, the agent responsible and the essence of the deed as a punishment is made explicit. Symbolically Gestr's father is gouging out or piercing his son's eye, which as an actual act was interpreted as equivalent to castration in medieval Icelandic literature.[34] In this light it is interesting that in later nineteenth-century Icelandic folklore charms could be used to inflict eye pain upon thieves (Simpson 1966:7). This is especially reminiscent of the story of *Fóstbræðra saga,* since Þormóðr Kolbrúnarskáld is guilty of theft: he has stolen a poem from his punisher and has dedicated it to another woman. At the same time, the notion shifts emphasis from internal states to external punishments, and the forces and agents inflicting them.

Eye Pain Caused by Winds, Bad Intentions and Magical Shots?

In two of the cases discussed here, *Bárðar saga* and *Fóstbræðra saga*, the inflictor of the pain is pointed out, whereas in *Ljósvetninga saga* and *Bjarnar saga* the perpetrator is uncertain. In fact, no cause is explicitly mentioned, whereas *Bárðar saga* and *Fóstbræðra saga* give a good description

of the persons responsible. The description of Þorbjǫrg *kolbrún*, who inflicts the pain upon Þormóðr in *Fóstbræðra saga*, suggests that she possessed some kind of magical powers: she has dark hair and eyebrows, and she is remarkably tall:

> Þorbjǫrg was a courteous woman but not particularly beautiful; [she had] black hair and eyebrows – for this reason she was called Coalbrow, [she was] wise-looking and of a fine complexion, had shapely limbs and was slender and splay-footed, but not short in stature.[35]

In the sagas exceptional tallness in particular is a characteristic trait of females skilled in magical arts (see e.g. Kjartan G. Ottósson 1983:71). The tall stature could perhaps be considered a male characteristic, and thus understood as "beyond the natural". Such women were also more adept at tasks requiring physical strength.[36] Gender transgression as such has often been considered a means to gain supernatural power, and in Old Norse-Icelandic mythology the god Loki, who was able to practise witchcraft, was known for the liminality of his gender, which enabled him literally to switch genders, becoming, for instance, a mare and giving birth to a stallion (Laidoner 2012; von Schnurbein 2000). The large size of Þorbjǫrg *kolbrún* may also be a reference to the race of giants in Scandinavian mythical lore, in which giants were sometimes depicted as wise and skilled in magic. Connection to the race of giants is also attributed to the father of Gestr, Bárðr, whose genealogy in *Barðar saga* suggests that he was descended from the giants (*Bárðar saga*: 101–102). Moreover, Bárðr's character and skills are described as follows:

> [A giant called] Dofri trained him [= Bárðr] in every kind of accomplishment, in genealogical lore and in battle-skills. It is by no means certain that he didn't learn sorcery and witchcraft, so that he became prescient and wise in many ways, for Dofri was well versed in these things. In those days, great and high-born men considered all these things to be arts, because at that time, in this northern part of the world, people had heard no tale told of the true God.[37]

Thus Gestr's father is depicted as the offspring of giants, fostered by a remarkable giant skilled in many arts, including the magic of giants, as the saga explicitly states. In medieval Icelandic thought, the foster father was thought to be responsible for the composition of one fourth of the child's "personality" (*Njáls saga*: 109; Høyersten 2004:109). Moreover, proof of Þorbjǫrg's and Bárðr's magical skills is given when the former's prophecy and the latter's threat, both uttered in dreams, really work: Þormóðr does suffer from eye pain and does not recover until he has made amends and atoned for his misdeed, while Gestr loses his eyes as his father had predicted. As hinted above, in *Fóstbræðra saga* and *Bárðar saga* the power inflicting the eye pain is purely profane. It is indeed power that they possess, as they are capable of entering the dreams of their victims and by so doing causing them physical harm.[38]

Concerning ailments caused by supernatural means, an interesting parallel is offered by the Anglo-Saxon tradition, in which, according to folk beliefs, elves would shoot arrows and spears at their victims, "elf-shots", which could cause illness and other forms of harm. This power was also ascribed to people skilled in witchcraft (Hall 2007:7; Hall 2005).[39] Alaric Hall has also speculated that eye pain too may have been associated with elves in Anglo-Saxon tradition (Hall 2007:129 fn 32). This makes the elf-shots an interesting source of comparison for this study, especially when "shots" by supernatural powers had their equivalent in later Scandinavian tradition as well. In later Scandinavian folklore such terms as *alvskot*, "elf-shot", and *trollskot*, "trollshot", sometimes also known as *finnskot* ("Finn-shot"), both involved the idea that supernatural beings and people skilled in magic, such as elves and the Sami people (O N/I *Finnar*), could cause illnesses by sending a magical shot. *Alvskot* was typically associated with earth, but *finnskot* was associated with wind, especially a whirlwind, that arrived from the north (Lid 1921:38–39). Already in the Middle Ages there existed the belief that the Sami could make the wind blow and cause storms in order to transmit and express their magical power (Lid 1921:39; Laidoner 2012:75–76), which was often associated with the "shots" and believed even to be a prerequisite for them (Lid 1921:39). Elves as a source of illness is not a recurrent theme in Icelandic sources (Hall 2007:98), but this does not necessarily mean that the terms *alvskot*, *trollskot* and *finnskot* are of later origin, as Eldar Heide has argued that *alvskot* at least is an old word on philological grounds. However, it has not been attested in older Old Norse-Icelandic sources (Heide 2006a:229).

That *alvskot*, *trollskot* and *finnskot*, though the two last-mentioned were transmitted in winds, could at some point have been understood as *sharp*, is suggested by the nature of the counter to these transgressions that appears in later Scandinavian folklore. According to Nils Lid, one option open to the victim of such a *skot* was to "shoot back the *skot*" by poking the (whirl)wind (where the witch responsible for it might actually be present in some form) with a sharp object, such as a knife, or by throwing the knife into the wind (Lid 1921:39–40).[40] If this counteraction involves an idea common to many healing traditions, that "like heals like", this would suggest that the *skot* was considered either a sharp pain or pain and illness caused by a sharp object.[41]

Moreover, the idea of sharp objects such as arrows as transmitters of illnesses is prominent in the nineteenth-century Finnic folk tradition, where an illness ascribed to witches could be called *nuoli* (literally "arrow"), shot by a witch that caused pain and disease (Lid 1921:54; Lönnrot 1880:296),[42] suggesting that projectiles shot by magical or supernatural agents have been widely held as causes of disease in northern parts of Europe, as a manifestation of indigenous ideas of aetiology that presumably originated long before Christianization.

The sharpness of the projectiles prominent in the examples above is intriguing considering the consequences of eye pain in *Bárðar saga* and *Ljósvetninga saga*. In the former, the word *springa* is used when Gestr's eyes burst out of his head. Þormóðr had been threatened with the same fate in *Fóstbræðra saga* before his atonement. In *Ljósvetninga saga*, it is stated that Þorvarðr loses his eyes, indicated with the verb *missa*. Both verbs are applied in *Fóstbræðra saga* to depict the possible consequences of eye pain, as if suggesting that the verbs are describing similar or identical phenomena. The actual process of losing one's eyes when they burst out may thus be the same in both *Bárðar saga* and *Ljósvetninga saga*. It is not clearly indicated in the text whether the "bursting out" implies that the eyeballs would come out of their sockets, or that a rupture had occurred after damage done with a sharp object, causing matter to erupt from the eyeballs. The likeliness of actual rupture when the verb *springa* is used will be discussed in greater detail in the next section on the consequences of eye pain, but before this it is worth considering whether the eyes bursting out of the head was thought to be the result of a magical act similar to shots caused by supernatural beings or people capable of magic.

The *finnskot* in particular was assumed to originate in winds and currents of air in later Scandinavian folklore (Lid 1921:40). Moreover, wind and air as agents for transmission of ailments and evil influence appear already during the Viking Age, detectable in the charms against "the flying ones" found in runic inscriptions in Sweden, and presumably intended as protective magic against such flying spirits that could cause illness, or intended to drive them away. Likewise, a charm which urges the fever to fly away was inscribed on a tenth/eleventh-century amulet found in Sigtuna (Back Danielsson 2001; Röstberg 2009), suggesting that pathogens were to a great extent associated with currents of air and understood to be transmitted through it.[43]

"The flying one" has also been associated with *seiðr* magic that could involve trance-like states, during which the shaman could leave the body and wander in different places and worlds, often in the shape of an animal (Back Danielsson 2001). In such instances, what was thought to be on the move was the *mind* of the person practising *seiðr*, in the shape of an animal known as a *fylgja*, this being a word that was sometimes used as a synonym to the word for mind, *hugr* (Strömbäck 2000:160–190; Turville-Petre 1964:229–230).[44] Interestingly, in skaldic poetry thought was called *vind trǫllqvenna,* "the wind of the witch" (Prose Edda 1931:191; Heide 2006b), which seems to imply not only that thoughts were considered to have power to influence others, as witches could, but also that some thoughts – those of a witch perhaps, and thus the power (and mind) of the witch – were considered in thirteenth-century Iceland to be transmitted through wind.[45] Moreover, according to Reichborn-Kjennerud, the ancient idea that arteries were both veins

of blood and ducts of air was known in medieval Scandinavia, as the name for the arteries, *vindæðar* ("wind-veins") implies (Reichborn-Kjennerud: 27; Cleasby & Gudbrand Vigfusson 1957:708; *Alexanders saga*: 22).[46]

This wind hypothesis, according to which powers and elements of nature as forces practised and controlled by witches or supernatural agents could influence the mental and physical condition of people, their psycho-physical well-being and emotions, is made even more probable when we consider that the idea of weather conditions influencing the mind was known, and presumably acknowledged, in medieval Iceland. In *Konungs skuggsjá*, compiled in the middle of the thirteenth century in Norway and popular in Iceland, especially on the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Barnes 2007:377–379 and 393–395), we read that the east wind, after being "crowned with [the] golden glory" of the Sun:

> eases grief and regretful sighs and turns a bright countenance toward his neighbors on either side, bidding them rejoice with him in his delight and cast away their winterlike sorrows.[47]

This suggests that elements of nature in general, winds included, were thought to influence the mental states, moods and emotions of people.[48] As noted above, these were not always distinguished from physical illnesses in medieval Iceland. Thus the word for arteries, "wind-veins", and the connection between winds and mental and bodily states suggest a rather rational conception of aetiology: that air currents and whirlwinds associated with bad intentions and magic could *penetrate* the human body in one way or another, and rush into the veins. A similar "openness" of the body is also found in later Finnic folklore, where the power of external agents was considered to penetrate the human body through the so-called "nine openings". According to this view, the evil influence of witches could be sent and received through ears, eyes, mouth, nostrils, anus and vagina (Stark 2006:160). This may have parallels in Old Norse-Icelandic conceptions, according to which *seiðr* magic could be practised or the influence of *seiðr* could be inflicted upon its victim in a state that involved sleepiness. Sleepiness can result in rapid inhalation of large amounts of air or yawning, which could be interpreted as "breathing in the alien mind", a process through which a *seiðkona* could gain information (Tolley 1995:58 and 71; Heide 2006b). In this light, the body scheme of medieval Scandinavians would thus have been "open", as, in Laura Stark's words, "the *boundaries* of the embodied self were depicted as *opening up* to the external environment" (Stark 2006:152, italics original), a condition that in cultures with similar body schema was interpreted as an illness (ibid.: 152–153).

It cannot be excluded that the wind as the mind of the witch or some other powerful agent was thought to enter the body of its victim through a similar process in cases of eye pain. Sleepiness is associated with the condition of Gestr and Þormóðr, since they receive their ailment in dreams (Þormóðr in

a state as if he were awake), which could be interpreted as inhaling the wind containing the unpleasant intentions and thoughts of the transgressors, Þorbjǫrg *kolbrún* and Bárðr.[49]

Mouth or nose were, naturally, more likely channels of penetration for winds (or spirits), especially if yawning was involved (Heide 2006b:166), but the eyes were also among the "nine openings". It is possible that the penetration occurred through the mouth, but that the effect was manifested in the eyes. On the other hand, it is also possible that sharp "shots" were associated with the eyes of the transgressor in medieval Iceland. In *Vatnsdæla saga*[50] a woman called Ljótr, who is skilled in witchcraft, is said to "shoot" (*skjóta*) from her eyes like a troll when she practises her skills and tries to harm her opponents: "Her glance was not pleasant, the way she could shoot them [the opponents] in a trollish manner."[51] The excerpt suggests that a *skot* of some sort that was capable of harming other people was anticipated as being propelled from the eyes of a woman skilled in witchcraft – a concept that fits well with the idea of the evil eye that was also prominent in Old Norse-Icelandic culture.[52] This kind of shot emitted from the eyes is especially interesting in the light of Anette Lassen's notion that a frightening glance or eyes of the kings could be depicted as sharp (*hvass*), and that the verb often used when describing the fixing of one's gaze was *hvessa*, which also alluded to the sharpness of the look.[53] The words used to describe the gaze were thus the same that were used to depict weapons (Lassen 2001: 115). Hence the gaze could be as sharp as a blade or arrowhead, and like missile weapons the eyes could shoot a(n abstract) projectile, *skot*, that in its sharpness and manner of transmittance was equated with arrows and spears. The *Vatnsdæla saga* thus implies that a *skot* was likewise regarded as a force that could emit from the eyes of a person skilled in witchcraft. This metaphor or comparison with missiles that use kinetic energy does not exclude the possibility that the manner of transmission to the body was thought of as similar to the winds, that is, through the body openings.

The *skot* in *Vatnsdæla saga* is emitted from the eyes, but in the examples discussed here it is not made explicit whether the eye pain was thought to be caused by a sharp gaze. However, in *Fóstbræðra saga* (175) Þormóðr clearly has a visual experience as Þorbjǫrg appears to him both angry and imposing, and he thinks he sees a glimpse of her as she leaves. In *Bárðar saga* (170), Bárðr handles Gestr's eyes roughly, which similarly suggests that they make contact. In *Bárðar saga* and *Fóstbræðra saga* the existence of external agents in dream states may thus indicate that Gestr and Þormóðr actually see the eyes of their violators, and that a sharp *skot* from the eyes of the transgressor is the immediate cause of their eye pain.

In *Ljósvetninga saga* and *Bjarnar saga* there is no indication that eyes are the source of a *skot* causing pain. However, in *Bjarnar saga* Bjǫrn experiences troubling dreams before experiencing his eye pain, suggesting simi-

larities with *Fóstbræðra saga* and *Bárðar saga*. In *Ljósvetninga saga* (100–101), the power of the fetches (*fylgjur*) of a person or a family may be involved. In this saga, a man called Finni known to be *skygn*, "sharp-sighted", warns the opponent of Þorvarðr, Eyjólfr, after he has killed Þorvarðr's brother and injured his foot by falling from his horse immediately afterwards. Finni suspects the incident had been caused by the *fylgjur* of Eyjólfr's enemy, which makes Eyjólfr enquire whether his and his family's *fylgjur* would not be more powerful. Finni is not certain, but says that "the test will be if and when we learn of [Þ]orvar[ðr]'s travels."[54] Soon after this Þorvarðr's eye pain begins, suggesting that it is Eyjólfr's and his kinsmen's *fyljgur* (which could also be seen in dreams) that are more powerful, and that they may be responsible for the eye pain that kills Þorvarðr.[55]

There is therefore some reason to think that external forces and agents capable of harming others could penetrate the bodies of their victims in dream states, but also during waking hours, if the object of assault was not strong enough to prevent this. The sorrow over the death of his brother may be the reason for Þorvarðr's moment of weakness, since such emotions as fear and grief were considered to make people vulnerable to external influences (Kanerva forthcoming), in this case the influence of the hostile *fylgjur*.

Eye Pain: An Illness and an Emotion?

If we accept the eye pain of *Fóstbræðra saga* and *Bárðar saga* as a consequence of a *skot* caused by an external agent, it is both an external punishment and an illness. As mentioned above, emotions and illnesses were categories between which medieval Icelanders did not necessarily distinguish, either because it was not found necessary because emotions were sometimes as lethal as diseases, or because the difference was too slight to be observed. Lack of distinction was largely a product of the medieval Icelandic view of emotions as physical phenomena that always involved the body, which made emotions, literally considered "movements of the mind" (*hugarhræring*), very similar to bodily illnesses (Kanerva forthcoming).

Despite the involvement of external agents, medieval Icelanders did not necessarily exclude eye pain from the conceptual category of emotions. In effect, the indigenous lay theory of emotions bore a resemblance to the modern definition of emotion as "subjective engagements in the world", which acknowledges the importance of the human engagement with the (social and physical) world in the arousal of emotions (Solomon 2004:76–77 and passim). Furthermore, in early modern thought the emotions were indeed believed to originate in external influences: fire, for instance, if in the "immediate environment", could elicit anger and thus change the "internal microclimate" (Kern Paster 2004:1–24). In the light of these later theories, the ex-

ternal agent as the cause of ache did not prevent medieval Icelanders from interpreting eye pain as an (internal) emotion, especially as in *Fóstbræðra saga* and *Bárðar saga* there is explicitly a cognitive element involved.[56] The reason why eye pain is inflicted on both Þormóðr and Gestr is clearly indicated in the text and their reactions are construed as signs of recognition: they have transgressed norms and expectations, as Þormóðr has dedicated a love poem to two different women,[57] and Gestr has chosen to convert to Christianity and neglect the strongly held faith of his father. As I have argued above, in *Fóstbræðra saga* especially, there are indications that the sufferer recognizes the situation, which renders the eye pain similar to modern emotions, and the supernatural infliction of eye pain a twinge of guilt.[58] The consequence, physical pain, might be interpreted as confession and acknowledgement of the deed done and submission to the power of the accuser, which could be construed as admittance of one's guilt.[59] The phenomenon bears a resemblance, for instance, to the pre-industrial Finnic tradition, according to which supernatural agents and means were not thought to harm the innocent, but only those who were guilty of the deed of which they were accused (Stark 2006:218).

Further support for the emotional connotations of eye pain is revealed in the consequences of it that are wholly or partly psychophysical in nature. In *Bjarnar saga* the eye pain results in impaired vision, but also has consequences that involve both the mind and the body. Bjǫrn, the protagonist, has constant hostilities with Þórðr, who has married the woman once betrothed to Bjǫrn by cunning and deceit several years ago. This appears to lie at the root of their conflict, in which both men compose humiliating verses about each other. Bjǫrn's friend Þorsteinn tries to arbitrate between Bjǫrn and his enemy. The process of arbitration ends in a failure that Þorsteinn, the arbitrator, ascribes to Bjǫrn's adversary. Later, when Bjǫrn and Þorsteinn meet, Bjǫrn makes it known that he, unlike Þórðr, would have accepted Þorsteinn's judgement in the case. The two men then part as friends after they have agreed to avenge each other if either of them should be killed, with Þorsteinn's stipulation (motivated by Christian ethos) that they would only demand outlawry or compensation as a punishment for the killer, but would not cause anybody's death. The saga then states that:

> Soon afterwards Bj[ǫ]rn had a pain in the eye which lasted for some time. It gave him some trouble, but improved as time went by. However, he was somewhat the worse for it: afterwards his sight was rather dim [literally: because afterwards he was somewhat heavy-eyed], and not as keen[-sighted] as before.[60]

As in *Bárðar saga* and *Ljósvetninga saga*, eye pain in *Bjarnar saga* appears to be associated with the conflict between the heathen and the Christian, as Bjǫrn's friend Þorsteinn so vigorously emphasizes his willingness to act like a proper Christian when they make their agreement. The saga may well be implying that Bjǫrn sees his wishes and the expectations of the others to be

in conflict, as has been suggested above in the case of Þorvarðr. Bjǫrn should avenge the humiliating verses composed by Þórðr, but a proper Christian did not shed blood. In favour of this interpretation, his Christian faith is highlighted in the saga: he has built a church in honour of St. Thomas the Apostle and is later buried in this church after he has been killed (*Bjarnar saga*: 207). Nevertheless, it remains an open question whether he is eager to follow Þorsteinn's wish or is still prepared to bring the matter with Þórðr to a conclusion: if he is, no such intentions are explicitly mentioned in the text.

The ambiguity of the border between emotion and illness has some intriguing parallels in the adjectives used to describe Bjǫrn's condition after he has recovered from the eye pain. He is depicted as *þungeygr*, literally "heavy-eyed", which has often been translated as "dim-eyed", suggesting that something dims his vision and causes the deterioration of his sight, so that that he is "not equally sharp-sighted" (*eigi jafnskyggn*) anymore. The saga's depiction may merely indicate that Bjǫrn suffered a brief period of illness that impaired his vision permanently, but the connotations of heaviness suggest supplementary interpretations. Interestingly, the heaviness implied by the word *þungr* was often used to depict psycho-physical conditions that could involve unusual silence and speechlessness and thus strong and vengeful anger, feelings of sadness and other emotional pain and turmoil that could also be interpreted as a disease (see e.g. Kanerva forthcoming; *Gísla saga*: 32; *Eiríks saga*: 220). Moreover, in *Ǫlkofra saga*[61] it is said of Ǫlkofri that "he had heavy eyes."[62] At first this expression strikes us as peculiar, but as the saga continues, the eyes of Ǫlkofri attain a special role in the saga. When Ǫlkofri faces difficulties at a *þing* meeting because he has accidentally burned down the woods owned by six chieftains:

> He stood there and wept piteously. This man [sent by a certain Broddi who will later help Ǫlkofri] asked him to go in the booth and stop crying "and you should not sob when you come to Þorsteinn." Ǫlkofri started to weep for joy and did so.[63]

Since Ǫlkofri's eyes are given special attention at the beginning of the saga, one is tempted to ask whether this was done in order to emphasize the association between his "heavy eyes" and his tendency to weep. It is thus possible that "heavy eyes" were interpreted as eyes that were prone to crying and weeping. Such eyes would then have a further association with the "heavy" mood that could also indicate sadness.[64] This interpretation would not necessarily indicate that Bjǫrn tended to weep incessantly after recovering from his ocular distress (so that perhaps his eyelids became swollen from crying), but the expression *þungeygr* may well have implied that he was downcast or melancholic, figuratively feeling heavy.

Grief, tears and anger were thus associated with the "heavy" mood, but also with the actual swelling of the body, indicated with the word *þrútinn*,

"swollen" (Larrington 2001:254; Kanerva forthcoming). No bulging is mentioned in the four examples, but the condition has interesting implications for the lethal consequence of eye pain, the eyes bursting out of the head. In *Bárðar saga* Gestr dies almost instantaneously after his eyes have burst out, and this appears to befall Þorvarðr in *Ljósvetninga saga* as well. The result, death, suggests that emotions might have been the cause, since, according to the medieval Icelandic view, excessive emotion could result in death (Kanerva forthcoming). *Springa*, "to burst", which is used to describe what happens to Gestr's eyes, also denoted "bursting" in the sense of "to die from over-exertion" such as extreme physical effort, or perhaps, in this context, an emotion such as grief (Cleasby & Gudbrand Vigfusson 1957:584). In saga literature, *springa* appears to denote actual gushing, spurting, rupturing, bursting out or breaking up of an intact object, including body parts and organs (such as eyeballs, "bloodveins" i.e. arteries and the heart), or infections (boils and abscesses).

All the conditions indicated above appear to have caused a swelling of some kind (including "swelling" because of over-eating), or pressure that resulted in either the bursting out of an organ of the body or the interior matter from an organ (ibid.; Fritzner 1896:500–501; *Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog*, accessed through <http://www.onp.hum.ku.dk/>). The condition preceding the death of those suffering from eye pain could thus be similar to the state of being *þrútinn*, swollen, while the man was experiencing anger or anger-like sorrow (Kanerva forthcoming). Being swollen did not always result in death, but excessive "movements of the mind" (i.e. excessive swelling) would be fatal. The use of the verb *springa* in the eye pain episodes could therefore indicate that a pressure or bulging similar to "swollen mood" had occurred in the eye, either because of physical overexertion, or mental distress and excessive emotion. The last two could be considered feelings associated with swelling of the body, such as sorrow and anger.[65] As they were thought to grow excessive (resulting in increased swelling) the eyes would ultimately burst out of the head.[66]

The consequences of eye pain thus suggest that emotional elements were associated with the actual experience of eye pain. The link between eye pain and internal emotions is further emphasized by the manner in which the pain is transmitted, in dream states. By contrast with *Bárðar saga* and *Fóstbræðra saga*, *Bjarnar saga* (and *Ljósvetninga saga*) initially gives the impression that the ocular distress befalls the protagonist while he is awake. However, before Bjǫrn has the eye pain, he has "dreamed every night [three nights in a row] of something that he thought was noteworthy."[67] There is a strong indication that the dreams and the eye pain are linked, as they are more explicitly for Gestr and Þormóðr. Haunted by dreams and affected by the heaviness of his eyes, Bjǫrn spends his last days downcast (*Bjarnar saga*: 177–178 and 196).[68]

The thirteenth-century *Gísla saga Súrssonar*[69] gives intriguing additional information that throws light on the source of dreams. Gísli tells of his dream experience in a poem that he recites on the last night of his life, before he is killed by his enemies. While sleeping, Gísli dreams that birds soaked in blood enter his house, as omens of his impending death. After waking up Gísli recites these verses:

When we parted, flaxen goddess [= Gísli's wife],
my ears rang with a sound
from my blood-hall's realm
– and I poured the dwarf's brew.
I, maker of the sword's voice
heard two loon birds fighting
and I knew that soon the dew
of bows [= the battle] would be descending.[70]

The literal translation of the kenning implies the origin of the voices Gísli hears in his dream: *heimr sals dreyra,* is "the home of the blood-hall", in which "the blood-hall" denotes the heart, whose likely home was the breast.[71] The poem suggests that Gísli's dream originated from the heart, the seat of the mind and thus of emotions, thoughts and memories as well, and perhaps even from the movements of the mind, which, according to the indigenous theory of emotions hypothesized above, could also be elicited by external agents or forces.[72]

Further support for the argument that dreams were connected to the individual's mind and mental states and functions is given in *Íslendinga saga*.[73] In this saga, Gizurr Þorvaldsson's wife and sons are burned in the house, while he himself manages to escape the killers who have come to avenge the slaying of Snorri Sturluson, an important thirteenth-century chieftain. The deep grief over his loss that Gizurr is experiencing is first expressed in a poem, and immediately afterwards his strength of character and ability to control his sorrow is mentioned:

Still I remember that misfortune when the Hlín of rings [= my wife]
and my three sons were burned in
(my memory recognizes the loss):
the damager of shields [= warrior] shall not be glad
(this breaker of swords lives with the grief)
unless they shall be avenged.[74]

Gizurr Þorvaldsson stayed in Ás for the winter, as was written earlier; he bore his losses well and during the winter remained cheerful with his men and those friends who came to him. He was a strong-minded man and showed but little how he was affected by what he had endured. It was never his way that enmities or other trials interfered with his [eloquence or his] *usual sleep*.[75]

The significant factor is that *Íslendinga saga* explicitly says that the grief, anger, desire for revenge and other emotional turmoil resulting from his loss never interfere with Gizurr's sleep. This statement of what does not

happen clearly indicates what medieval Icelanders might expect to happen, namely that daytime events and experiences as well as incidents that caused strong emotional tumult, in other words external agents and forces, or even emotions themselves, would influence dreams. This conception implies, like the dream of Þormóðr, that the dream was not always about fate and future in sagas, but was also associated with the thoughts, emotions and memories of the individual who was – unless the person in question was strong-minded like Gizurr – unable to control the movements of the mind or prevent the external forces from penetrating the body. The significance of these factors lies in the notion that dreams were states linked with emotions, which further supports the idea presented at the beginning of this study: that eye pain reflected the emotions of the sufferer, emotions that involved engagement with the world and had the experience of conflict at their core.

Conclusion

The discussion above suggests that eye pain in *Íslendingasögur* was indeed an external punishment for social misdemeanour, often caused by an agent skilled in magic or by supernatural beings, but this argument should be studied in the context of medieval western Scandinavia, where a particular view of the human mind and body and their relation to the social and physical environment was held. The boundaries of the body were not considered "closed", but "open", so that the individual was exposed and sensitive to external influences originating from the social and physical environment. These forces could, for instance in the shape of a wind, penetrate the human body and thus cause a condition that could be labelled an illness. However, in medieval west Scandinavian culture, as suggested by the sources, the distinction between illness and emotions was far from clear, which makes the condition of eye pain somewhat complex.

The consequences of eye pain, such as the bursting out of the eyes indicated by the use of the verb *springa*, suggest that eye pain also had emotional connotations, as *springa* often was employed in sagas to depict states of over-exertion or excessive emotion resulting in death. This is also supported by the argument that dreams in which eye pain was often inflicted upon its victim were also considered to originate from the heart, that is, the human mind, which also comprised emotions, and derive from various emotional concerns that a person could have during the waking hours.

The physical pain in an organ of the body, laid upon its victim in a dream state or during moments of weakness, such as grief, could thus be used as a literary tool to describe the mental reaction of saga protagonists resulting from situations of social and (inter)personal conflict. Following the reciprocal rules of gratitude, the character experiencing the eye pain recognized the

bad deed he had done, be it theft or other *níðingsverk*. Representation of emotions through pain in the eye thus resembles examples of somatization in other cultures where a similar lack of discourse may limit the methods of expressing and depicting changing inner states, and where bodily organs and metaphors are used to depict emotional experiences. As a by-product, the study also offers a hypothesis on the medieval Icelandic lay theory of emotions of conscience, such as guilt: that they were not considered to originate merely within the human mind, but were caused by external stimuli that elicited movements of the mind, regarded as emotions in the modern world.

Whatever its emotional aspects, eye pain was also a disease, and a moral one, that affected the well-being of the individual and suggested inferiority of character in the sufferer, who was then no longer *heill* – whole, hale, sound or healed (Cleasby & Gudbrand Vigfusson 1957:248–249).

Kirsi Kanerva, MA
School of History, Culture and Arts Studies
Cultural History
University of Turku
FI-200014 Turku
Finland
email: kirsi.kanerva@utu.fi

References

Alexanders saga 1848: *Alexanders saga – Norsk bearbeidelse fra trettende aarhundrede af Philip Gautiers Latinske Digt Alexandreis* ed. by Carl Rikard Unger. Christiania.

Back Danielsson, Ing-Marie 2001: Hemdrup-staven. Ett nytt tolkningsförslag. *Fornvännen* 96:73–77.

Bárðar saga: Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss 1991. *Harðar saga* […] ed. by Þórhallur Vilmundarson & Bjarni Vilhjálmsson, pp. 101–172. Reykjavík. (Íslenzk Fornrit 13).

Barnes, Geraldine 2007: The "Discourse of Counsel" and the "Translated" Riddarasögur. *Learning and Understanding the Old Norse World. Essays in Honour of Margaret Clunies Ross*, pp. 375–397. Turnhout. (Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 18).

Bitel, Lisa M. 1991: "In Visu Noctis" – Dreams in European Hagiography and Histories, 450–900. *History of Religions* 31 (1):39–59.

Bjarnar saga: Bjarnar saga Hítdælakappa 1938. *Borgfirðinga sǫgur* ed. by Sigurður Nordal & Guðni Jónsson, pp. 111–211. Reykjavík. (Íslenzk Fornrit 3).

Bourguignon, Erika 2003: Dreams That Speak: Experience and Interpretation. *Dreaming and the Self. New Perspectives on Subjectivity, Identity, and Emotion*, pp. 133–153. Albany, N.Y.

Cleasby, Richard & Gudbrand Vigfusson 1957. *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*. Oxford.

Dámusta saga: Dámusta saga 1939. *Þjalar Jóns saga – Dámusta saga* ed. by L. F. Tan-Haverhorst, pp. 48–108. Haarlem.

Einar Ól. Sveinsson 1939: Formáli. *Vatnsdæla saga* […] ed. by Einar Ól. Sveinsson, pp. v–cxxiii. Reykjavík. (Íslenzk Fornrit 8).
Eiríks saga: Eiríks saga rauða 1935. *Eyrbyggja saga* […] ed. by Einar Ól. Sveinsson & Matthías Þórðarson, pp. 195–237. Reykjavík. (Íslenzk Fornrit 4).
Eyrbyggja saga: Eyrbyggja saga 1935. *Eyrbyggja saga* […] ed. by Einar Ól. Sveinsson & Matthías Þórðarson, pp. 3–184. Reykjavík. (Íslenzk Fornrit 4).
Finlay, Alison 1993: Bjarnar saga Hítdælakappa. *Medieval Scandinavia. An Encyclopedia*, pp. 47–48. New York & London.
Flateyjarbók 1860–1868: *Flateyjarbók – en samling af Norske Konge-sagaer med indskudte mindre fortællinger om begivenheder i og udenfor Norge samt annaler*, 3 vols., ed. Carl Rikard Unger. Christiania.
Fóstbræðra saga: Fóstbræðra saga 1943. *Vestfirðinga sögur* ed. by Björn K. Þórólfsson & Guðni Jónsson, pp. 121–276. Reykjavík. (Íslenzk Fornrit 6).
Fritzner, Johan 1886–1896: *Ordbog over det gamle Norske Sprog*. Kristiania.
Gísla saga: Gísla saga Súrssonar 1943. *Vestfirðinga sögur* ed. by Björn K. Þórólfsson & Guðni Jónsson, pp. 3–118. Reykjavík. (Íslenzk Fornrit 6).
Godden, M. R. 1985: Anglo-Saxons on the Mind. *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England. Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, pp. 271–298. Cambridge.
Hall, Alaric 2005. Getting Shot of Elves – Healing, Witchcraft and Fairies in the Scottish Witchcraft Trials. *Folklore* 116:19–36.
Hall, Alaric 2007: *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England – Matters of Belief, Health, Gender and Identity*. Woodbridge. (Anglo-Saxon Studies 8).
Hallberg, Peter 1993: Sturlunga saga. *Medieval Scandinavia. An Encyclopedia*, pp. 616–618. New York & London.
Hauksbók 1892–1896: *Hauksbók efter de Arnamagnæanske håndskrifter no. 371, 544 og 675, 4°, samt forskellige papirshåndskrifter av det kongelige nordiske oldskrift-selskab* ed. by Finnur Jónsson. Køpenhavn.
Heide, Eldar 2004: Våpenet til Tor jamført med *gand*(*r*). Om utsend vind, skjegg, blåseinstrument, "vindhamrar" og Tors-figurar. *The Sámi and the Scandinavians. Aspects of 2000 Years of Contact*, pp. 55–72. Hamburg.
Heide, Eldar 2006a: Gand, seid og åndevind. PhD thesis. University of Bergen.
Heide, Eldar 2006b: Spirits Through Respiratory Passages. *The Fantastic in Old Norse/Icelandic Literature. Sagas and the British Isles*, pp. 350–358. Preprint Papers of the 13th International Saga Conference, Durham and York, 6th–12th August 2006. Durham.
Heide, Eldar 2009: More Inroads to pre-Christian Notions, After All? The Potential of Late Evidence. *Á austrvega. Saga and East Scandinavia*, pp. 361–368. Preprint papers of The 14th International Saga Conference, Uppsala, 9th–15th August 2009. Gävle.
Helman, Cecil G. 1994: *Culture, Health and Illness. An Introduction for Health Professionals*. Oxford.
Holm-Olsen, Ludvig † 1993: Konungs skuggsjá. *Medieval Scandinavia. An Encyclopedia*, pp. 366–367. New York & London.
Høyersten, Jon Geir 2000: *Personlighet og avvik. En studie i islendingesagaens menneskebilde – med særlig vekt på Njála*. Bergen.
Høyersten, Jon Geir 2004: Islendingesagaene – psykologisk enfold eller mangfold? *Edda* 2:107–117.
Jochens, Jenny 1992: From Libel to Lament. Male Manifestations of Love in Old Norse. *From Sagas to Society. Comparative Approaches to Early Iceland*, pp. 247–264. Enfieldlock.

Kalinke, Marianne E. 1993: Old Norse-Icelandic Literature, Foreign Influence on. *Medieval Scandinavia. An Encyclopedia*, pp. 451–454. New York & London.

Kanerva, Kirsi 2012: *Ógæfa* (Misfortune) as an Emotion in Thirteenth Century Iceland. *Scandinavian Studies* 84 (1):1–26.

Kanerva, Kirsi 2013: Rituals for the Restless Dead: The Authority of the Deceased in Medieval Iceland. *Authorities in the Middle Ages. Influence, Legitimacy and Power in Medieval Society*, pp. 205–227. Berlin & Boston. (Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture 12).

Kanerva, Kirsi forthcoming: Disturbances of the Mind and Body: The Effects of the Living Dead in Medieval Iceland. *Mental (Dis)Order in Later Medieval Europe*. Leiden.

Kangas, Sini 2007: *Deus Vult – Images of Crusader Violence c. 1095–1100*. Helsinki.

Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari forthcoming: Riivaukset ja perheiden hyvinvointi ["Demonic possession and the wellbeing of families"]. *Hyvä elämä keskiajalla*. Helsinki.

Kern Paster, Gail 2004: *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage*. Chicago & London.

Khan, Naveeda 2006: Of Children and *Jinn*: An Inquiry into an Unexpected Friendship during Uncertain Times. *Cultural Anthropology* 21 (2):234–264.

The King's Mirror (*Speculum Regale – Konungs skuggsjá*) 1917. Transl. by Laurence Marcellus Larsen. New York & London. (Scandinavian Monographs 3).

Kiricsi, Ágnes 2007: The Passionate Mind and the Rational Heart – The Location of the Old English Mental Faculty. *Change in Meaning and the Meaning of Change. Studies in Semantics and Grammar from Old to Present-Day English*, pp. 1–34. Helsinki. (Mémoires de la Société Neophilologique de Helsinki 72).

Kjartan G. Ottósson 1983: *Fróðárundur í Eyrbyggju*. Reykjavík. (Studia Islandica 42).

Konungs skuggsjá 1983: *Konungs skuggsiá* ed. by Ludvig Holm-Olsen. Oslo. (Norrøne tekster 1).

Kövecses, Zoltán 2000: *Metaphor and Emotion. Language, Culture, and Body in Human Feeling*. Cambridge.

Kroesen, Riti 1985: Hvessir augu sem hildingar – The awe-inspiring eyes of the King. *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 100:41–58.

Kroesen, Riti 1993: Gísla saga Súrssonar. *Medieval Scandinavia. An Encyclopedia*, pp. 227–228. New York & London.

Laidoner, Triin 2012: The Flying *Noaidi* of the North – Sámi Tradition Reflected in the Figure Loki Laufeyjarson in Old Norse Mythology. *Scripta Islandica* 63:59–91.

Larrington, Carolyne 2001: The Psychology of Emotion and Study of the Medieval Period. *Early Medieval Europe* 10 (2):251–256.

Lassen, Annette 2000: Höðr's Blindness and the Pledging of Óðinn's Eye – A Study of the Symbolic Value of the Eyes of Höðr, Óðinn and Þórr. *Old Norse Myths, Literature and Society*, pp. 220–228. Proceedings of the 11th International Saga Conference 2–7 July 2000, University of Sydney. University of Sydney.

Lassen, Anette 2001. Øjets sprog. En undersøgelse af blikkets og blindhedens symbolværdi i den norrøne litteratur. *Maal og Minne*, pp. 113–134.

Lassen, Annette 2003: *Øjet og blindheden i norrøn litteratur og mytologi*. Copenhagen. (Universitets-Jubilæets Danske Samfunds skriftserie 13).

Lid, Nils 1921: Um finnskot og alvskot – Eit umråde av norsk sjukdomsmagi. *Maal og Minne*, pp. 37–66.

Lindow, John 1993: Ǫlkofra þáttr. *Medieval Scandinavia. An Encyclopedia*, pp. 743–744. New York & London.
Ljósvetninga saga 1940: *Ljósvetninga saga* […] ed. by Björn Sigfússon, pp. 3–106. Reykjavík. (Íslenzk Fornrit 10).
Lönnrot, Elias 1880: *Suomen kansan muinaisia loitsurunoja.* Helsinki.
Lönnroth, Lars 1965: Kroppen som själens spegel – ett motiv i de isländska sagorna. *Lychnos. Lärdomshistoriska samfundets årsbok 1963 –1964*, pp. 24–61. Stockholm.
Lönnroth, Lars 2002: Dreams in the Sagas. *Scandinavian Studies* 74 (4):455–464.
Lönnroth, Lars 2006. Sverrir's Dreams. *The Fantastic in Old Norse/Icelandic Literature. Sagas and the British Isles*, pp. 603–612. Preprint Papers of the 13th International Saga Conference, Durham and York, 6th–12th August 2006. Durham.
Magerøy, Hallvard 1993: Ljósvetninga saga. *Medieval Scandinavia. An Encyclopedia*, pp. 393–394. New York & London.
Marold, Edith 1998: Die Augen des Herrschers. *Beretning fra syttende tværfaglige vikingesymposium*, pp. 7–29. Højbjerg.
McCreesh, Bernadine 2005: Prophetic Dreams and Visions in the Sagas of the Early Icelandic Saints. *Verbal Encounters. Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse Studies for Roberta Frank*, pp. 247–268. Toronto.
Metzler, Irina 2006: *Disability in Medieval Europe: Thinking about Physical Impairment in the High Middle Ages, c.1100–c.1400*. London & New York.
Miller, William Ian 1992: Emotions and the Sagas. *From Sagas to Society. Comparative Approaches to Early Iceland*, pp. 89–110. Enfieldlock.
Miller, William Ian 1993: *Humiliation: And Other Essays on Honor, Social Discomfort, and Violence.* Ithaca & London.
Motz, Lotte 1998: Óðinn's Vision. *Maal og Minne*, pp. 11–19.
Mundal, Else 1974: *Fylgjemotiva i norrøn litteratur*. Oslo. (Skrifter fra instituttene for nordisk språk og litteratur ved universitetene i Bergen, Oslo, Trondheim og Tromsø).
Njáls saga: *Brennu-Njáls saga* 1954. Ed. by Einar Ól. Sveinsson. Reykjavík. (Íslenzk Fornrit 12).
O'Connor, Ralph 2002: *Icelandic Histories and Romances*. Gloucestershire.
Ǫlkofra saga: Ǫlkofra þáttr 1950. *Austfirðinga sǫgur* ed. by Jón Jóhannesson, pp. 83–94. Reykjavík. (Íslenzk Fornrit 11).
Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog – A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose. Available at <http://www.onp.hum.ku.dk/>.
Prose Edda 1931: *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar* ed. by Finnur Jónsson. Copenhagen.
Reddy, William M. 2001: *The Navigation of Feeling. A Framework for the History of Emotions*. Cambridge.
Reichborn-Kjennerud, Ingjald 1936: Vår eldste medisin til middelalderens slutt. *Medisinens historie i Norge*, pp. 1–97. Oslo.
Rosenwein, Barbara H. 2006: *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*. Ithaca & London.
Röstberg, Maria A. 2009: Hemdrupstaven – ett redskap för medicinsk magi. *Fornvännen* 104:208–210.
Schach, Paul 1971: Symbolic Dreams of Future Renown in Old Icelandic Literature. *Mosaic* 4 (4):51–73.
Schach, Paul 1993: Fóstbræðra saga. *Medieval Scandinavia. An Encyclopedia*, pp. 216–219. New York & London.
von Schnurbein, Stefanie 2000: The Function of Loki in Snorri Sturluson's "Edda". *History of Religions* 40 (2):109–124.

Selkollu þáttr: Jarteinabók Guðmundar byskups 1948. *Byskupa sögur II – Hólabyskupar* ed. by Guðni Jónsson, pp. 459–519. Reykjavík.
Simpson, Jacqueline 1966: Otherworld Adventures in an Icelandic Saga. *Folklore* 77:1–20.
Solomon, Robert C. 2004. Emotions, Thoughts and Feelings. Emotions as Engagements with the World. *Thinking about Feeling. Contemporary Philosophers on Emotions*, pp. 76–90. New York.
Stark, Laura 2006: *The Magical Self. Body, Society and the Supernatural in Early Modern Rural Finland*. Helsinki. (FF Communications 290).
Stearns, Justin K. 2011: *Infectious Ideas. Contagion in Premodern Islamic and Christian Thought in the Western Mediterranean*. Baltimore (Md.).
Strömbäck, Dag 1968: Some Remarks on Learned and Novelistic Elements in the Icelandic Sagas. *Nordica et Anglica. Studies in Honor of Stefán Einarsson*, pp. 140–147. The Hague.
Strömbäck, Dag 2000: *Sejd och andra studier i nordisk själsuppfattning*. Hedemora. (Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi 72).
Sturlunga saga 1878: *Sturlunga saga Including the Islendinga saga of Lawman Sturla Thordsson and Other Works*, 2 vols, ed. by Gudbrand Vigfusson. Oxford.
Sturlunga saga 1970: *Sturlunga saga I – The Saga of Hvamm-Sturla and The Saga of the Icelanders*. Transl. by Julia H. McGrew. New York.
Sveinbjörn Egilsson & Finnur Jónsson 1931: *Lexicon Poeticum antiguæ linguæ septentrionalis. Ordbog over det norsk-islandske skjaldesprog*. Copenhagen.
Taylor, Gabriele 1985: *Pride, Shame, and Guilt. Emotions of Self-assessment*. Oxford.
Tolley, Clive 1995: *Vorðr* and *gandr* – Helping Spirits in Norse Magic. *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 110:57–75.
Tulinius, Torfi H. 1999: Framliðnir feður – Um forneskju og frásagnarlist í Eyrbyggju, Eglu og Grettlu. *Heiðin minni. Greinar um fornar bókmenntir*, pp. 283–316. Reykjavík.
Tulinius, Torfi H. 2001: The Prosimetrum Form 2 – Verses as an Influence in Saga Composition and Interpretation. *Skaldsagas. Text, Vocation, and Desire in the Icelandic Sagas of Poets*, pp. 191–217. Berlin. (Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 27).
Turville-Petre, E. O. G. 1958: Dreams in Icelandic Literature. *Folklore* 69:93–111.
Turville-Petre, E. O. G. 1964: *Myth and Religion of the North. The Religion of Ancient Scandinavia.* London.
Turville-Petre, E. O. G. 1968: An Icelandic Version of the *Somniale Danielis*. *Nordica et Anglica. Studies in Honor of Stefán Einarsson*, pp. 19–36. The Hague.
Þórhallur Vilmundarson 1991. Formáli. *Harðar saga* […], ed. by Þórhallur Vilmundarson & Bjarni Vilhjálmsson, pp. v–ccxxviii. Reykjavík. (Íslenzk Fornrit 13).
Vatnsdæla saga: Vatnsdæla saga 1939: *Vatnsdæla saga* […] ed. by Einar Ól. Sveinsson, pp. 3–131. Reykjavík. (Íslenzk Fornrit 8).
Vésteinn Ólason 1993: Vatnsdæla saga. *Medieval Scandinavia. An Encyclopedia*, p. 689. New York & London.
Vésteinn Ólason 1998: *Dialogues with the Viking Age: Narration and Representation in the Sagas of the Icelanders*. Transl. by Andrew Wawn. Reykjavík.
Viðar Hreinsson (ed.) 1997: *The Complete Sagas of Icelanders including 49 tales*, 5 vols. Reykjavík.

[1] The contents of this article have been presented to an audience in the *International Medieval Congress* in Leeds, July 9–12, 2012, and in the conference *Passages from Antiquity to the Middle Ages V*: *Infirmitas – Social and Cultural Approaches to Cure, Caring and Health* in Tampere, 23–26 August 2012. I am really grateful for all the helpful comments and suggestions at the conferences, especially to Alaric Hall, Päivi Salmesvuori, Irina Metzler and Ewa Wahlberg Sandberg. The text has also benefited greatly from the comments presented in the seminar of Finnish Literature Society in Helsinki, especially those of Frog, Joonas Ahola, Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen, Irma-Riitta Järvinen and Kendra Willson. Many thanks also to Philip Line for correcting my English, Kendra Willson for helping with the English translations of the saga excerpts, and the Eino Jutikkala's Foundation for the grant that has enabled my work on this essay.

[2] *Fóstbræðra saga* dates back to about 1200, but survives in three fourteenth-century manuscripts. The earliest is in the so-called Hauksbók manuscript, (AM 544 4to) written by and for the lawman Haukr Erlendsson, who died in 1334. This version, however, lacks the beginning of the saga. Another version survives in the slightly later fourteenth-century Möðruvallabók manuscript (AM 132 fol) written sometime before 1350, and in Flateyjarbók (GkS 1005 fol), written for Jón Hákonarson, by the priests Jón Þórðarson and Magnús Þórhallsson sometime between 1387 and 1390. See e.g. Schach 1993. The eye pain episode is found in all the versions of the saga.

[3] […] þa dreymði Þormoð eina nott er hann var a Lavgaboli at Þorbiorg kom at hanvm ok spvrði hvart hann vekti eða svæfi. hann sagþiz vaka. hon svarar þv sefr en þat er fyri þig berr man sva eftir ganga sem þv vakir eða hefir þv gefit lofkvæðit þat er þv ortir vm mik anari konv. Þormoðr s(egir) eigi er þat satt. Þorbiorg mællti satt er þat vist þv hefir mitt lofkvæði gefit Þordisi Grimv dottvr ok snvið til hennar ollvm þeim visvm er merst heyrðv mer til. Nv mvn ek lavna þer lavsyrði þína ok lygi sva at þv mvndt taka avgna verk þan er bæði þin avgv skvlv vt springa nema þv lysir þvi fyri alþyðv at þat er mítt kvæði ok kaller þat sva iamnan siþan. hanvm syndiz hon miok reiðvleg ok þickir hann sia svip hennar er hon geck brott. hann vaknar við þat at hann hafþi sva mikin avgna verk at hann fær valla þolað væpandi. hann la lengi vm morgonin. En er allir menn erv klæddir þa vndrar Bersi er Þormoðr ligr sva lengi ok gengr til Þormoðs ok spvr ef hann væri sivkr. Þormoðr segir at hanvm var illt i avgvm. Bersi mællti eigi er sa heill er i avgvn verkir. Hauksbók 1892–1896:370–371. Unless otherwise indicated, the translations are my own.

[4] Flateyjarbók 1862:155, states "[A]t ønnur spreinge øgu ór høfdi þer."

[5] See also *Bárðar saga*: 169–170; *Selkollu þáttr*: 496.

[6] On dreams in *Íslendingasögur*, see e.g. Turville-Petre 1958; Strömbäck 1968; Turville-Petre 1968; Schach 1971; Bitel 1991:45; Lönnroth 2002; McCreesh 2005. For dreams in other genres, see e.g. Lönnroth 2006.

[7] I will not, however, try to diagnose the eye ailment retrospectively. At this point, it may well suffice to note that some illnesses, such as hydrocephalus, glaucoma and cataract, have been ascribed such symptoms as pressure in the eyes. I thank Dr Irina Metzler and Ewa Wahlberg Sandberg for the information concerning the matter. These symptoms may be similar to symptoms of eye pain in sagas where eyes' bursting out of the head is mentioned as one of the consequences of eye pain. Thus the eye pain in sagas could also be diagnosed accordingly by medical historians. Here, however, I am concerned with the way in which medieval Icelanders interpreted the condition.

[8] On similar Anglo-Saxon views, see Godden 1985; Kiricsi 2007.

[9] Earlier studies have depicted the eyes as the mirrors of the soul and the inner state of man (Marold 1998; Kroesen 1985; Lassen 2001:114–117). However, the eyes would reflect the nature and "personality" of a person that is *permanent* and *unchanging*, rather than the inner state that *changes* which was essential for emotions, as the word for emotion, *hugarhræring*, literally "movement of the mind", implied. See also Kanerva forthcoming. For this reason, it is pre-

cisely the context, causes and consequences of eye *pain* that in itself also contains an aspect of change that will be studied here.

[10] On the concepts "body scheme" and "body image", see Stark 2006:152–162.

[11] This follows the example of Tulinius 2001.

[12] On retrospective methods, see e.g. Heide 2009 and the issues (2010–2013) of the electronic journal *RMN Newsletter*. Available through: University of Helsinki, Folklore Studies <http://www.helsinki.fi/folkloristiikka/English/RMN/archive.htm>.

[13] Because of lack of space, I have left out of my intertextual analysis the vernacular sources with an explicitly Christian perspective, such as sagas of the bishops (*biskupasögur*) and sagas of Christian kings in which the motif of eye pain appears as the object of saintly intervention, that is the sufferer of eye pain remains mostly anonymous and serves as a token of the saint's power to heal. In the sources discussed here, however, the sufferer of eye pain is in the main role and saintly intervention is lacking.

[14] The saga dates presumably from the early fourteenth century. *Bárðar saga* has been connected to Haukr Erlendsson, the writer and owner of the above-mentioned Hauksbók manuscript containing *Fóstbræðra saga*, and his sons, but use of the Sturlubók version of *Landnámabók* instead of the Hauksbók version for the genealogical information given at the beginning of *Bárðar saga* suggests a link to Sturla Þórðarson. The saga may have been written in the Helgafell monastery in western Iceland, a library the author was presumably acquainted with. Þórhallur Vilmundarson 1991: xcviii–cvii.

[15] *Bjarnar saga* has been regarded as one of the earliest *Íslendingasögur*. The saga was presumably written before 1230. The author has been connected to the Þingeyrar monastery, and the saga shows traces of hagiographical learning. The saga has survived in incomplete paper copies, the best of which is a seventeenth-century copy of a fourteenth-century vellum fragment. Finlay 1993.

[16] It has been assumed that *Ljósvetninga saga* was written around 1260, but the surviving manuscripts are somewhat later. The A-version of the saga is almost complete, available in vellum AM 561 4to (ca. 1400). The C-version of the saga is not complete, but is slightly more extensive. It is found in a vellum codex AM 162 c fol, later transmitted in over thirty paper copies. The C-version contains several shorter tales that have been estimated to be later additions. Magerøy 1993.

[17] See e.g. Metzler 2006:38–48, where she, however, also points to the ambiguousness of medieval attitudes to ill-health.

[18] Illa réðk þvís allar / eydraupnis gafk meyju, / mér barsk dóms í drauma / dís, Kolbrúnar vísur; / Þá tókk þorna Freyju, / Þrúðr kann mart en prúða; / líknumk heldr við Hildi / hvítings, á mér víti. *Fóstbræðra saga*, 175–176. Transl. by Martin S. Regal in Viðar Hreinsson 1997, 2:355–356.

[19] See an analysis on this episode in Kanerva 2012:8–9. On the modern definitions of guilt, see also Taylor 1985:89–93.

[20] On guilt as one of the connotations of the concept of *ógæfa* (misfortune), see Kanerva 2012. There existed, however, a word for guilt as a state of affairs, *sekr*.

[21] Ina næstu nótt eptir er Gestr var skírðr, dreymdi hann, at Bárðr, faðir sinn, kæmi til hans ok mælti: "Illa hefir þú gert, er þú hefir látit trú þína, þá er langfeðgar þínir hafa haft, ok látit kúga þik til siðaskiptis sakir lítilmennsku, ok fyrir þat skaltu missa bæði augu þín." Tók hann þá at augum hans heldr óþyrmiliga ok hvarf síðan. Eptir þetta, er Gestr vaknaði, hefir hann tekit augnaverk svá strangan, at inn sama dag sprungu þau út bæði. Síðan andaðist Gestr í hvítaváðum. *Bárðar saga*: 169–170.Transl. by Ralph O'Connor in O'Connor 2002:137.

[22] See also Lassen 2001:128–129. Lassen interprets Gestr's deed as a kind of *níðingsverk*, reminiscent of similar saga scenes with people turning away from their old faith or being reluctant and refusing to accept a new faith, and receiving eye pain and blinding. I agree with her on this point, but explore the meanings further as I discuss the issue in the light of *Bjarnar saga Hítdælakappa* and *Ljósvetninga saga*, sources which Lassen has not utilized in her study.

[23] Þormóði batnaði þá skjótt augnaverkjarins, ok verðr hann þá alheill þess meins. *Fóstbræðra saga*: 177. Other versions read somewhat more simply: en Þormoði batnaði þegar avgna verks ok varð alheill. Hauksbók 1892–1896:372. Þormodr uerdr þa bratt heill þess mæins. *Flateyjarbók* 1862:155.

[24] […] því at allir vinir hans kölluðu á hann, ef í nökkurum nauðum váru staddir. *Bárðar saga*: 129. Transl. by Ralph O'Connor in O'Connor 2002:119.

[25] The king is not with Gestr on his trip up north, "in the wastes of Slabland" (O'Connor 2002: 133), where the mound exists.

[26] On Óðinn's eye, see e.g. Motz 1998:16; Lassen 2003:95–106.

[27] Hann var vitr maðr ok stilltr vel ok nǫkkut aldraðr. *Ljósvetninga saga*, 62.

[28] Langt er nú øxanna várra í milli ok þeira Mǫðrvellinga. Ok þat vilja þeir enn, at þær takisk til, ef ek kem til Íslands. Ok verði nú sem Pétr postoli vill. Ætla ek þó, at betra væri, at ek kœma eigi út aptr. *Ljósvetninga saga,* 103.Transl. by Theodore M. Andersson and Willian Ian Miller in Viðar Hreinsson 1997, 4:253.

[29] […] hann missti auga síns af verk, en andaðisk síðan. *Ljósvetninga saga,* 103.

[30] *Ljósvetninga saga*, 62.

[31] [O]k vil ek þat um mæla, at hvárr okkar taki eindœmi eptir annan eða sekðir ok fébœtr, þótt eigi sé manndráp, ok *sómir þat betr kristnum mǫnnum*. [My italics]. *Bjarnar saga*, 191.Transl. by Alison Finlay in Viðar Hreinsson 1997, 1:294.

[32] Similar conflict was also one of the fundamental elements of the experience of those labelled as men of misfortune. Kanerva 2012.

[33] However, Þorvarðr's deed as *níðingsverk* is emphasized by the notion that vengeance was something that could be considered justified in sagas also when regarded from the perspective of the (possibly Christian) author. This becomes apparent in *Njáls saga,* where a young man, big and strong, but blind since birth, gets a chance to avenge his father when he encounters the killer at a *þing*-meeting and momentarily regains his sight. When the wise Njáll becomes aware of this he indicates that Ámundi cannot be blamed for his deed since it was all predestined, and the actual recovery of sight is represented in the saga as an expression of God's wish that Ámundi's father should be avenged, as Ámundi recites when he realizes he can see: "May the Lord be praised! I can see now what he wants" (Lofaðr sé guð, dróttinn minn! Sér nú, hvat hann vill). *Njáls saga*: 272–274. For blindness as an inability to avenge and a conflicting view on the Ámundi episode, see Lassen 2001:127–129. All in all, violence as such was an ambiguous theme also for the medieval ecclesiastical thinkers. For the justification of violence in the ideology of the crusades, for instance, see e.g. Kangas 2007.

[34] Lassen 2000. See also Tulinius 1999:306 (and 299–307) on symbolic castration in *Grettis saga*. On eyes as symbols of masculinity, see Lassen 2003:103 –106. On blinding and castration as punishments in sagas and law (e.g. Grágás), see Lassen 2001:123–129. Moreover, another condition that was sometimes connected with ocular distress, blindness, denoted "lack of insight and judgement" and could refer to the weakness and inferiority of the character, suggesting that Þorvarðr and Gestr were made weak by the bursting out of their eyes which makes them blind, but also that they were in the end considered to be of inferior character as they betrayed their relatives. See also Lassen 2000:220–221.

[35] Þorbjǫrg var kurteis kona ok eigi einkar væn, svart hár ok brýnn, – því var hún kǫlluð Kolbrún, – vitrlig í ásjánu ok vel litkuð, limuð vel ok grannvaxin ok útfœtt, en eigi alllág. *Fóstbræðra saga*, 170.

[36] See also Stark 2006:265, on how, in later Finnic folklore, it was usually only women with a hard *luonto*, i.e. "nature", that were ascribed magical skills. According to Stark, such women sometimes also "displayed male secondary sexual characteristics such as a beard or moustache." See also the figure of Þórgunna in *Eyrbyggja saga*: 139–140, whose tall stature and great effort in the outdoor tasks on the farm of Fróða is emphasized in the saga.

[37] Síðan vandi Dofri hann á alls kyns íþróttir ok ættvísi ok vígfimi, ok eigi var traust, at hann næmi eigi galdra ok forneskju, svá at bæði var hann forspár ok margvíss, því at Dofri var við

þetta slunginn; váru þetta allt saman kallaðar listir í þann tíma af þeim mönnum, sem miklir váru <ok> burðugir, því at menn vissu þá engi dæmi at segja af sönnum guði norðr hingat í hálfuna. *Bárðar saga*, 103. Transl. by Ralph O'Connor in O'Connor 2002:110.

[38] On the power of the posthumously restless dead to cause various kinds of harm, including bodily and mental illness as well as loss of wit, and this as a sign of the person's "strong mind", see also Kanerva 2013; Kanerva forthcoming.

[39] Hall 2005 concentrates on elf-shot in the early modern Scottish tradition.

[40] Lid has argued that casting the knife suggests that it was precisely the restless dead who would have caused the *skot*, but in my opinion his argumentation is inadequate here.

[41] See also Hall 2005 on early modern Scottish tradition, in which the victims of illnesses similar to elf-shots searched for holes which would have been signs of the "shots".

[42] See also on another cause of illness called *pistos*, literally "sting" in Lönnrot 1880:301–303.

[43] For comparison, on similar (i.e. transmittance through air) medieval ideas of aetiology see also e.g. Stearns 2011:41–45 on Isidore of Seville.

[44] See, however, also Mundal 1974:41–43.

[45] See also Strömbäck 2000:175–177. See, for instance, on the wind raised by the heathen god Þórr, which causes the ship of the missionary Þangbrandr to be wrecked, in *Njáls saga*: 265–266; Heide 2004:62; and on a wind raised by a woman skilled in witchcraft in *Eyrbyggja saga*: 109 –111. On metaphors as reflections of experiences and contributors to constituting abstract concepts, see e.g. Kövecses 2000.

[46] Fritzner 1896:952 glosses the word *vindæðar* as "pores in the skin" (*Porerne i Huden*), with reference to the excerpt in *Alexanders saga*.

[47] […] lettir sorgum oc harmsamlegum andvorpum syner blitt anndlit grannum sinum abaðar hænndr oc biðr þa væra glaða mæð ser ísinum fagnaðe. oc letta vætrligom sorgum. *Konungs skuggsjá* 1983:7. Transl. by Laurence Marcellus Larsen in *The King's Mirror* 1917:87–88. On *Konungs skuggjá*, see Holm-Olsen 1993.

[48] See also Heide 2006b; Kern Paster 2004:1–24.

[49] See also Heide 2006b:350–351 and Heide 2009:366, for associations between spirit, breath and wind in Old Norse culture.

[50] On the writer, dating and manuscripts of the saga, see Einar Ól. Sveinsson 1939: li–lvi; Vésteinn Ólason 1993.

[51] [Ó]fagrligt var hennar augnabragð, hversu hon gat þeim trollsliga skotit. *Vatnsdæla saga*: 70.

[52] On the evil eye, see Lassen 2003:31–39.

[53] This idea is likewise known in the "sharp glance" in modern English.

[54] [Þ]ó er þat reynt, ef vér spyrjum um fǫr Þorvarðs. *Ljósvetninga saga*, 101. Transl. by Theodore M. Andersson and William Ian Miller in Viðar Hreinsson 1997, 4:252.

[55] Moreover, *Vatnsdæla saga* suggests that *fylgjur* could indeed cause illness. In this saga, Þorsteinn is warned by the family fetch in dream. The fetch does not want him to attend a certain feast and, according to the saga, this *fylgja* then touches his eyes. Presumably because of this Þorsteinn falls ill and cannot attend the feast. It has been speculated that the illness from which Þorsteinn suffers and that is caused by the fetch was actually eye pain. *Vatnsdæla saga*: 95–96 and footnote 3.

[56] On the cognitive element in modern theories of emotion, see e.g. Solomon 2004.

[57] It could of course be questioned whether in the first place the "love poem" had been considered a *mansǫngr*, a poem signifying sexual aggression, which was prohibited in the law and could be punished with outlawry, rather than romantic love. On *mansǫngr* see e.g. Jochens 1992.

[58] The element of recognition in the eye pain episodes may imply Christian influence, i.e. recognition of one's sins, though two opposing morals in conflict appear to be at the core of the meaning of eye pain.

[59] Interestingly, physical eye pain as guilt also resembles the medieval Icelandic view of Christian repentance, *iðran*, depicted in sagas as an illness-like state, with physical and emotional

symptoms such as sadness, fatigue and lack of appetite (e.g. *Dámusta saga*, 89–91). Additionally, the word *iðrar* denoted bowels and entrails, giving grounds for speculation that repenting one's wicked deeds was thought to occur or be felt in the internal organs. Repentance may thus have been considered a partially physical experience, instead of merely an intellectual one, and thus reminiscent of the experience of eye pain motivated by guilt in sagas.

[60] Litlu síðar tók Bjǫrn augnaverk, ok helzk hann um hríð, ok varð honum at því mein, en þó batnaði, er á leið, ok drap þó heldr fyrir honum, því at hann var síðan þungeygr nǫkkut ok eigi jafnskyggn sem áðr. *Bjarnar saga*: 191–192. Trans. by Alison Finlay in Viðar Hreinsson 1997, 1:294.

[61] On *Ǫlkofra saga*, see Lindow 1993.

[62] Honum váru augu þung. *Ǫlkofra saga*: 84.

[63] Stóð hann þar ok grét aumliga. Þessi maðr bað hann ganga inn í búðina ok taka af sér ópit, – "ok eigi skaltu snǫkta, er þú kemr til Þorsteins." Ǫlkofri varð grátfeginn ok gerði svá. *Ǫlkofra saga*: 86.

[64] For intercultural comparison, see also the modern Finnish concept *raskasmielisyys*, literally "heavy mindedness" which is used to indicate (an often long-term) melancholic state.

[65] Swelling of sorrow might also apply to the condition of Þorvarðr in *Ljósvetningasaga*.

[66] This has some interesting parallels in humoral theory. According to the fourteenth-century Hauksbók, which contains a brief description of the four bodily humours and temperaments, black bile exited from the eyes. Moreover, also according to Hauksbók, "if there is mostly black blood [= bile] he is then [feeling] heavy and [being] silent, stingy and sleepy, sullen and deceitful, jealous and of cold and dry nature" (ef suarta bloð er mest þa er hann þungr ok þǫgull. sínkr ok svefnvgr. styggr. ok prettugr. aúfund siukr ok af kalldri nátturu ok þurri). Hauksbók 1892–1896:181. The symptoms of the victims of eye pain thus appear to correspond to melancholic traits and symptoms, particularly as the assumed swelling exits from the eyes. Moreover, Þormóðr and Gestr are both deceitful, since Þormóðr steals the poem of Þorbjörg and Gestr betrays his father by accepting baptism, and Þorvarðr has similarly abandoned the old heathen ways and follows the new Christian ones. The case is not clear with Bjǫrn, but he is apparently "heavy", at least in his eyes, and the expression of his eyebrows on the last morning of his life before he is killed suggests that he might be sullen: "His eyebrows were quite frowned" (ok var hann nǫkkut brúnvǫlr). *Bjarnar saga*: 196. Furthermore, Þormóðr is depicted as sleepy when he stays in bed after others have already got up. It can thus be speculated whether the victims of eye pain were understood to express symptoms of *melancholia*.

[67] […] ok dreymði hann hverja nóttina þat, er honum þótti um vert. *Bjarnar saga*: 178.

[68] However, *Vatnsdœla saga*: 95–96, discussed above in footnote 55, implies that *fylgjur* (which may cause the eye ailment in Ljósvetninga *saga*) inflicted eye pain in dreams.

[69] On the saga, see e.g. Kroesen 1993.

[70] Mér bar hljóm í heimi, / hǫr-Bil, þás vit skilðumk, / skekkik dverga drykkju, / dreyra sals fyr eyru. / Ok hjǫrraddar hlýddi / heggr rjúpkera tveggja, / koma mun dals á drengi /dǫgg, læmingja hǫggvi. *Gísla saga*: 110. Transl. by Martin S. Regal in Viðar Hreinsson 1997, 2:45.

[71] The word *dreyri* denotes "blood". In *Lexicon Poeticum*, the kenning *heimr sals dreyra* is translated as "valley", also pointing out that in some cases *dreyri* denotes "water" as well, and *dreyri sals* a "river". Sveinbjörn Egilsson & Finnur Jónsson 1931:86. It seems more logical, however, that the blood-hall would actually be the heart, and the home of the heart the breast, especially as *salr* refers to an enclosed space – a characteristics connected to a heart but not usually to a river.

[72] This idea does not exclude dreams that bring knowledge of the future; such dreams were not considered to spring up from within but could also come outside the body of the dreamer and enter his or her "consciousness" (according to Gísli's dream: the mind) in a dream state.

[73] On *Íslendinga saga*, see Hallberg 1993.

[74] Enn man ek böl þat er brunnu bauga-hlín ok mínir / (skaði kennir mér minni) mínn þrír synir

inni: Glaðr muna Göndlar röðla gný-skerðandi verða / (brjótr lifir sjá við sútir sverðz) nema hefndir verði. *Sturlunga saga* 1878, 2:170.

[75] Gizurr Þorvaldzson sat í Ási um vetrinn, sem fyrr var ritað; ok bar vel af sér sína harma, ok var kátr um vetrinn við menn sína ok vini er til hans kómu. Hann var mikill borði, ok lét lítt á sér finna þat er at höndum hafði borit. Ok aldri bar hónum þá hluti til handa, í ófriði eðr öðrum mann-raunum, at hónum stæði þat nokkut fyrir mál-snilli eðr *mál-svefni*. [My italics]. *Sturlunga saga* 1878, 2:171. Transl. by Julia H. McGrew in Sturlunga saga 1970, 1:406.

Three Aetiological Tales about Birds

The Swallow, the Diver and the Hazelhen*

Bengt af Klintberg

In this article I want to examine three aetiological tales which have several traits in common. First, they all deal with birds and explain how they acquired certain conspicuous traits in their shape or behaviour. They also share a geographic distribution which is on the whole limited to the Nordic countries. There they belong to the most frequently recorded aetiological tales. A third trait that unites them is that all three have a Christian legend character and that a central Christian divinity holds the role as creator of the bird. In the first tale about the swallow it is the Virgin Mary, in the second about the diver it is Our Lord and his adversary the Devil, and in the third about the hazelhen one encounters both God and Jesus. A question I will try to answer is whether these divinities, the Virgin Mary, God and Jesus, were already there in the earliest known forms of the tales or if they entered the plot at a later stage. In other words: do they constitute a primary or a secondary element in the tales?

How the Swallow Came into Being

The tale about the origin of the swallow is the most widespread of the three. Here one should know that the species in question is the common black and white *Hirundo rustica*, sometimes also called the barn swallow, which has a red spot on its breast. The tale has been recorded in a great number of variants in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland and Estonia. In Sweden alone one can find more than a hundred records from all parts of the country, most of them however from southern and central areas (e.g. Wigström 1898–1914:34; Olofsson 1931:222; Götlind 1926:69; Sahlström 1915:33; Grip 1917:234; Modin 1938:316). It is in no way extinct in present-day Sweden. The words interpreting the song of the swallow often make up a major part of the texts, and in Finland and Estonia these are therefore more often categorized as imitative rhymes than as tales proper (Aarne 1912b; Laugaste 1931).

A representative example of the Swedish tradition was recorded in the middle of the nineteenth century by Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius:

Jungfru Maria hade en tjufaktig kammartärna. Så stal tärnan ett rödt silke-nystan och en sax ur jungfru Marie sykorg; men nystanet gömde hon i barmen, och när jungfrun frågade henne till, så nekade hon. Då slog jungfru Maria till henne, och med detsamma förvandlades tärnan till en *svala*. Men svalan bär ännu det stulna silkenystanet framman på bröstet, och saxen bär hon i stjerten, och hon är förbannad, så att hon aldrig kommer på grön qvist. Och när hon så flyger mellan himmel och jord, sjunger hon:

Jungfru Maria skyllde mig,
att jag stal en sax och ett silke-nysta.
Jag svor om Gud, jag tog'et inte;
jag tog'et väl ilell (= likväl),
jag tog'et väl ile–ll.

(Hyltén-Cavallius 1863:344)

(The Virgin Mary had a thievish lady's-maid. This maid stole a red ball of silken yarn and a pair of scissors from the Virgin Mary's work-basket. She hid the ball in her bosom, and when the Virgin questioned her, she denied it. Then the Virgin Mary slapped her, and at once the maid was transformed into a *swallow*. And the swallow still has the stolen ball of silk on her breast, and she carries the scissors in her tail, and her curse is that she can never sit on a green twig. And when she flies between heaven and earth, she sings:

The Virgin Mary blamed me
for stealing a pair of scissors and a silk ball.
I swore to God, I didn't take it;
I took it all the same,
I took it all the same.)

After this account Hyltén-Cavallius adds another rhyme from his home province interpreting the song of the swallow. It begins with the mysterious words "I was Virgin Mary's key-maid", a statement which I will soon come back to.

A widespread folk belief in Sweden, as well as in other parts of Europe, has been that the swallow hibernates on the bottom of lakes. This belief has entered some of the rhymes imitating the chirping of the swallow. The bird says that it will sink to the bottom of the lake if it doesn't tell the truth (e.g. Säve 1959–61:533; af Klintberg & Zetterholm 1971:267). Through this addition one more detail is added to the aetiology of the swallow.

In an article published in 1910 in the yearbook *Finnisch-ugrische Forschungen* under the concise title "Die Schwalbe", the Norwegian folklorist Reidar Th. Christiansen takes the view that the Virgin Mary is a primary actor in the tale (Christiansen 1910:150). To understand how he reached this conclusion one has to know that, when the article was published, he was 24 years old and had recently mastered the Finnish language. He therefore focuses on the Finnish material, which had been made avail-

able to him by Kaarle Krohn. His survey of the Scandinavian texts is much less thorough than his analysis of the Finnish records. Here he draws the correct conclusion that the Finnish rhymes imitating the song of the swallow are secondary in relation to the Swedish ones. One observation among many is that the resemblance between the Finnish word for scissors, *saksi*, and for Germany, *Saksa*, has resulted in the emergence of a new motif, namely that the swallow has travelled from Germany (ibid. 143).

A close look at the Scandinavian variants reveals, however, that not all records of the tale are about the Virgin Mary. In a record made by Leonhard Fredrik Rääf at the beginning of the nineteenth century, probably the earliest in Sweden of this tale, one reads:

> Svalorna hafva varit tärnor eller hoffröknar hos en Prinsessa från hvilken de snattat silke och sax; de hafva till straff derföre blifvit förvandlade och fått silkesnystanet under halsen och saxen i stjerten. (Rääf 1957:352)
>
> (The swallows have been maids or ladies-in-waiting to a princess, from whom they snatched silk and scissors: as a punishment for this they have been transformed, with the silk ball under their throats and the scissors in their tails.)

In the Danish material Mary is mentioned in just a small minority of the records. Evald Tang Kristensen's *Danske sagn* contains seven versions of the tale, and of these only one mentions the Virgin Mary (Kristensen 1893: 264f). Most variants tell that the perpetrator is a maid who steals from an anonymous mistress and is transformed into a swallow, as in the following text:

> Svalen var en pige, der stjal en rød klud og en guldsaks, men vilde ikke tilstå tyveriet, hvorfor hon blev forvandlet till en fugl med halen som en oplukket saks og al tid synger: En rød klud og en saks, det véd-e Gud, det véd-e Gud, dem så jeg aldrig. (ibid., no. 58)
>
> (The swallow was a girl who stole a red cloth and a pair of golden scissors, but was not willing to confess her thieving, for which reason she was transformed into a bird with a tail like an opened pair of scissors, singing all the time: A red cloth and a pair of scissors, God knows it, God knows it, I never saw them.)

In several Danish records the tale is told about a different bird than the swallow, namely the lapwing. One of these is to be found in Just Matthias Thiele's *Danmarks folkesagn* from 1843. A maid steals a pair of golden scissors from her master and mistress, and when they accuse her of the theft she says that she will become a bird if she has taken it. She is transformed into a lapwing with a tail formed like a scissors and a cry that sounds like "Thief! Thief!" (Thiele 1968:243f).

Thiele observes in a note that the same tale is also told about the swallow in spite of the fact that it contradicts a widespread positive view of the swallow, which is thought to bring luck when it settles in people's houses. This positive view seems to exist all over Europe; several European legends de-

scribe it as the bird of the Virgin Mary (Dähnhart II; 7, 53, 70). A tale in which the Virgin Mary punishes a maid by transforming her into a swallow obviously does not conform with this background.

My own interpretation is that the Danish version about a lapwing probably represents the earliest form of the tale. The main reason why the lapwing was replaced by a swallow is that the visual power of the scissor motif increases considerably when it is applied to the swallow, a bird much better known to most people than the lapwing.

The country where an anonymous robbed mistress was replaced by the Virgin Mary seems to be Sweden. One possible reason why the version about the Virgin Mary and her maid became so popular here may be that the Swedes were already familiar with the idea of a maid of Mary's in animal shape. I am thinking of the ladybird, the little red beetle with seven black spots that Linnaeus gave the Latin name *Coccinella septempunctata*. Its popular name in Sweden is the Virgin Mary's key-maid. The oldest instances of this name, today used by everyone in Sweden, are as late as from the eighteenth century, but it is most likely that it had already developed when Sweden was Catholic (Backman 1947:183). This interpretation is supported by the fact that a number of Swedish versions of the tale mention "the Virgin Mary's key-maid". One example, documented by Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius, has already been quoted; another can be found in a collection of folktales from Swedish-speaking Finland, where the song of the swallow goes as follows (Åberg 1887:221; cf. Allardt 1889:95; Landtman 1919:73):

> Jungfru Marias nyckelpiga
> säger, att jag stulit af henne
> ett silkesnystan och en silfversax,
> men det har jag ej gjort.
>
> (Virgin Mary's key-maid
> says that I have stolen from her
> a silken ball and a pair of silver scissors,
> but I have not.)

The Swedish version has become the most widespread one in the Nordic area, where it has reached both Norway in the west and Finland and Estonia in the east. It might be added that Dähnhart in his *Natursage*n calls the presence of the Virgin Mary in this tale "Willkürlich", that is gratuitous (Dähnhart II, 250). He too seems to perceive Mary as a secondary *dramatis persona*.

The Diver's Legs

This tale, which describes how the diver was created, concentrates on its legs and feet, which are placed so far back under its body that the diver, unlike many other lake birds, cannot walk on land but only uses them for swimming. The Swedish variants come from all parts of the country; a representative example is the following text from western Sweden:

När Vår Herre höll på att skapa fåglarne, kom Skam fram och bad att få hjälpa till. Ja, det skulle han få. Och så skapte han då lommen. Så snart lommen kände, han fått vingar, så flög han – innan han var färdig; ty ännu hade han inga ben. Skam tog benen och slängde efter honom. De fastnade visserligen men råkade bli sittande bra långt bakåt – vilket vi ju se, då lommen flyger. (Olofsson 1931:221)

(When Our Lord was busy creating the birds, Old Nick came up and asked if he could help. Yes, he sure could. And so he created the diver. As soon as the diver felt that he had wings, he flew – before he was finished; he had not yet gotten his legs. Old Nick took the legs and threw them after him. They got stuck, to be sure, but happened to end up pretty far back – which we can see when the diver flies.)

This tale belongs to a group of aetiological tales with God and the Devil as mutual creators which have been treated by Hannjost Lixfeld in his dissertation from 1971, *Gott und Teufel als Weltschöpfer*. One could easily get the impression that this category is of great age, but the oldest instance found by Lixfeld is a jocular tale by the German mastersinger and writer Hans Sachs, published in 1556, and all folklore sources are from the two last centuries. Lixfeld has not found the tale about the diver's legs outside Sweden and Finland; he lists eighteen Swedish variants and only one Finnish (Lixfeld 1971:25). The total number is, however, higher in both countries; several printed versions could be added to the list (e.g. Söderbäck 1921:145; Balzamo 2006, no. 99).

In two versions from the province of Småland, related by Hyltén-Cavallius in his *Wärend och wirdarne*, the main figures are not God and the Devil but Our Lord and Saint Peter. This might be explained by the fact that religious tales about the wanderings on Earth of Our Lord (= Jesus) and Saint Peter have been popular in Swedish tradition. The first version has the same plot as when God and the Devil are the creators; the only difference is that it is not the Devil but Saint Peter who creates the diver and forgets to give it legs. God notices this, and he throws the legs after the diver (Hyltén-Cavallius 1863:308). The second version lacks the dramatic effect which one finds in the tales about two contrasting creators. Here the story goes that Our Lord and Peter were busy creating various birds, but they did not give them legs until everything else was completed. The diver became worried that there would not be enough legs and hid a pair under his wings. That is why his legs are placed so far back, partly hidden under his wings (Hyltén-Cavallius 1868:xix).

In Finland (Aarne 1912a, no. 103; Dähnhart 1910:46) as well as in Norway (Storaker 1918:224) and among the Swedish Sami we find a simpler form than the ones related above. Here it is God alone who creates the diver. When He has given it wings, the diver becomes so eager to use them that it flies away without any legs. God has to throw the legs after it, and that is why they are placed so far back on its body. In the Sami version the diver gets angry when God does not give it red legs like the goose and flies away, and God has to throw a pair of black legs after it to finish his work (Demant Hatt 1922:34). Since this version with God as the only creator has been documented west, north and east of the Swedish distribution area, it is very likely that it is older than the versions in which God and the Devil or Our Lord and Saint Peter appear. There is no doubt, however, that all versions of the tale have their origin in the Nordic area and that their Christian legend character is an original trait.

The Diminishing Stature of the Hazelhen

The third aetiological tale to be examined is known under the name "Das Kleinerwerden des Haselhuhns" or, in English, "The diminishing stature of the hazelhen" (Aarne 1912a, no. 97). Its distribution is further north than the other two tales; no records have been made from southern Scandinavia. It is especially well-known in the northernmost districts of Sweden, where it has been told by both settlers (e.g. Pettersson 1945:51; Waltman 1939, no. 315) and the Sami. It has also been documented in Finnish and Russian tradition and from the Baltic area. Its northern distribution area might be explained by the fact that hunting this forest bird has been more economically important in the forested northern areas of Scandinavia than further south.

A representative example is the following account from Vittangi on the Swedish side of the border with Finland:

Legenden berättar, att järpen i begynnelsen var den största fågeln på jorden. Dundrande och övermodigt for den fram genom skogarna. En gång, då Jesus var på vandring genom en skog, flög en järpe upp i hans närhet. Det uppstod ett sådant buller, att Jesus vart förskräckt. Detta förtörnade Gud, så att han beslöt dela på denna fågel och göra den mindre. På domedag ska järpen vara den minsta fågel på jorden.

Detta är förklaringen till att man i bröstet på alla fåglar finner ett stycke vitt kött, som också kallas järpkött, från vad fågel det än är taget. Till och med hos fiskarna finner man ovan deras ögon en bit sådant vitt kött, som kommit från den för sitt övermod straffade järpen.

Sin bullrande flykt behåller dock järpen i alla tider. (Bergfors & Neander 1928: 356)

(There is a legend that the hazelhen was from the very beginning the biggest bird on Earth. Thundering and presumptuous it came flying through the forests. Once, when Jesus was wandering through a forest, a hazelhen took off into the air quite near him.

There was such a rumbling that Jesus was frightened. This aroused the anger of God and made Him decide that this bird should be broken up and made smaller. On doomsday the hazelhen will be the smallest bird on earth.

This explains why one will find a piece of white meat in the breasts of all birds, which is called hazelhen meat, no matter which bird it is taken from. Even over the eyes of fish one will find a piece of this white meat, deriving from the time when the presumption of the hazelhen was punished.)

The tale demonstrates good knowledge of the look and qualities of the hazelhen. The incentive for the tale seems to be the clattering sound the bird makes when it takes off, which has been conceived as coming from a bigger forest bird than the hazelhen, for example the capercaillie or the black grouse. It must be this fact, that the hazelhen is surprisingly small in relation to the sound it produces, that has fostered the idea that previously it was much bigger but suffered the punishment of becoming smaller and smaller. In Finland the tale has given rise to a saying: "It shrinks like the hazelhen towards doomsday." It has also been said that the hazelhen will be so small on doomsday that it can fly through a wedding ring, but it will still produce the same clattering sound when it takes off (Dähnhart III, 2; Wessman 1952: 708). The motif of its clattering flight is with all certainty original in the tale, but it has been dropped in some variants and replaced with the explanation that the hazelhen is getting smaller because it was presumptuous and plumed itself before Our Lord (Hyltén-Cavallius 1868:xix; Pettersson 1945: 51).

The tale has been so well-known in northern Scandinavia that "hazelhen meat" has become a standard expression for body parts in other birds with white meat. Among the Swedish Sami it was said that the "hazelhen meat" is to be found in the breast of other birds and also in the cheeks of fish and reindeer (Drake 1918:305; Demant Hatt 1922:34).

The Christian legend character is a general feature in the Nordic variants of the tale, but there is no agreement as to which holy deity is behind the transformation of the hazelhen. The most widespread is that it is Our Lord himself, he who once created the hazelhen to be the largest of all birds. When on one occasion He hears the hazelhen taking off and reacts with a sudden movement, He decides to punish the bird by distributing its meat to the other animals. But it can also, as in the text quoted, be Jesus who is startled. In one variant he rides on a donkey that is so frightened by the hazelhen that it throws Jesus off (Balzamo 2006, no. 118). In another variant it scares the horses of the Virgin Mary into running away (Sahlström 1915: 33).

Is this an originally Christian tale, which like many other Christian aetiological tales is supposed to exemplify the activities of God, Jesus and the Virgin Mary as creators of the animals around us? The most likely answer is no. The plot has no connection with Christian legend tradition further south in Europe. It contains, however, a motif which can be encountered in

archaic hunting cultures: that a certain game animal has previously been a larger. In Dähnhart's *Natursagen* one finds, for example, a North American Indian myth about the squirrel. It was from the beginning bigger than a bear but has gradually become smaller (Dähnhart 1910:2).

Dähnhart also relates a version of the tale about the hazelhen that has preserved pre-Christian traits. It was recorded in the nineteenth century in the Livonian language in the Baltic area, a language which is today almost extinct. In the folklore of the Livonians one finds myths of an undisputable great age. One of these is about the hazelhen and says that the bird was once much larger than today, the heart alone was as big as the whole hazelhen now. The sound when it took to the air was like thunder. However, once the thunder god Péhrkoes (cf. its Russian equivalent Perún) came riding through a forest, and his horse was frightened by the sound of hazelhens taking off. The thunder god became so furious that he grabbed the hazelhens and pressed them together in his fist so that they became as small as their hearts had previously been (Dähnhart 1910:2).

If this narrative represents the oldest form of the tale of the diminishing stature of the hazelhen, then the Christian version must consequently be secondary, here as in the tale about the swallow that stole the scissors of its mistress.

Summing Up

None of the records of the three tales examined in this article is older than the nineteenth century. However, there can be no doubt that the genre itself, aetiological tales in which God, Jesus, the Virgin Mary and Saint Peter act is of medieval origin. This does not necessarily mean that the three tales are medieval. As long as no older instances are known, the safest judgement is to assume that they originated after the conversion in Sweden from Catholicism to Protestantism.

After this conversion had taken place in the 16th century, the official cult of the Virgin Mary and the saints was forbidden. In the tale of the origin of the swallow we meet the Virgin Mary, and in some variants of the tale of the diver's legs Saint Peter appears. If the origin of the tales is not medieval, how can we understand the appearance of these Catholic divinities?

The answer is that narratives, beliefs and customs attached to the Virgin Mary lived on in popular tradition for centuries after the conversion (Holbek 1966). In Swedish almanacs, for instance, until 1901 there were no less than six days commemorating the Holy Virgin; in addition to the Annunciation there were days of her conception, birth and ascension (af Klintberg & Wesslén 2000:46). Episodes in the life of Saint Peter were commemorated on two days of the year (ibid.: 46f). In Swedish folktale collections one often finds tales about Saint Peter; one example is *Folksagor från Södermanland*,

compiled during the second half of the nineteenth century by Gustaf Ericsson, which contains five such tales (Ericsson 2011, nos. 36, 198, 216, 217, 218).

The dominant matrix for aetiological narratives in Europe has been the Christian framework with Our Lord, Jesus and the Virgin Mary as creators. This matrix seems to have still been productive in Sweden during Protestantism. As a result, a great number of stories of various origin have been adapted to this framework, among them the Nordic tales about the swallow and the hazelhen. What all three tales presented here have in common is that they reflect powers of observation and a thorough knowledge of the birds in question.

Bengt af Klintberg fil.dr, professor
Vendevägen 13
SE-181 31 Lidingö
Sweden
email: bengt.afklintberg@telia.com

References

Aarne, Antti, 1912a: *Verzeichnis der finnischen Ursprungssagen und ihrer Varianten*. (FF Communications 8.) Helsinki.

Aarne, Antti, 1912b: *Variantenverzeichnis der finnischen Deutungen von Tierstimmen und anderen Naturlauten*. (FF Communications 9.) Helsinki.

Åberg, G. A., 1887: *Nyländska folksagor*. (Nyland II.) Helsingfors.

Allardt, Anders, 1889: *Nyländska folkseder och bruk, vidskepelse m.m*. (Nyland IV.) Helsingfors.

Backman, E. Louis, 1947: *Jungfru Maria nyckelpiga*. Stockholm.

Balzamo, Elena, 2006: *När vår Herre målade fåglarna. Svenska ursprungssagor*. Stockholm.

Bergfors, Georg & Albin Neander, 1928: *Norrbotten* 1. Uppsala.

Christiansen, Reidar Th., 1908: Die Schwalbe. *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen* X, 128–151.

Dähnhart, Oskar, 1909: *Natursagen* II. Berlin & Leipzig.

Dähnhart, Oskar, 1910: *Natursagen* III. Berlin & Leipzig.

Demant Hatt, Emilie, 1922: *Ved ilden. Eventyr og historier fra Lapland*. København & Stockholm.

Drake, Sigrid, 1918: *Västerbottenslapparna under förra hälften av 1800-talet*. Stockholm [facsimile ed. Umeå 1979].

Ericsson, Gustaf, 2011: *Folksagor från Södermanland*. (Svenska sagor och sägner 7.) Uppsala.

Götlind, Johan, 1926: *Saga, sägen och folkliv i Västergötland*. Uppsala.

Grip, Elias, 1917: *Några bidrag till kännedom om svenskt allmogeliv*. Stockholm.

Holbek, Bengt, 1966: Maria i folketraditionen. *Kulturhistoriskt lexikon för nordisk medeltid* XI:367–373. Malmö.

Hyltén-Cavallius, Gunnar Olof, 1863: *Wärend och wirdarne* I. Stockholm [facsimile ed. Lund 1972].

Hyltén-Cavallius, Gunnar Olof, 1868: *Wärend och wirdarne* II. Stockholm [facsimile ed. Lund 1972].
af Klintberg, Bengt & Lotten Wesslén, 2000: Namnlängden, kyrkan och folktraditionen. Eva Brylla, ed., *Namnlängdsboken*, 43–72. Stockholm.
af Klintberg, Bengt & Finn Zetterholm, 1971: *Svensk folkpoesi*. Stockholm.
Kristensen, Evald Tang, 1893: *Danske sagn* II. Århus [facsimile ed. København 1980.]
Landtman, Gunnar, 1919: *Folktro och trolldom. Övernaturliga väsen*. (Finlands svenska folkdiktning VII:1.) Helsingfors.
Laugaste(-Treu), Eduard, 1931: *Die estnische Vogelstimmendeutungen*. (FF Communications 97.) Helsinki.
Lixfeld, Hannjost, 1971: *Gott und Teufel als Weltschöpfer. Eine Untersuchung über die dualistische Tiererschaffung in der europäischen und aussereuropäischen Volksüberlieferung*. München.
Modin, Erik, 1938: *Gamla Tåsjö*. 2nd ed. Sollefteå.
Olofsson, Klas, 1931: *Folkliv och folkminne i Ås, Vedens och Gäsene härader i Västergötland* II. Borås.
Pettersson, Olof Petter, 1945: *Sagor från Åsele lappmark*. (Svenska sagor och sägner 9.) Stockholm.
Rääf, Leonhard Fredrik, 1957: *Svenska skrock och signerier*. Stockholm.
Sahlström, E. G., 1915: Fryksdalsmål. *Svenska landsmål och svenskt folkliv* B 14.
Säve, Per Arvid, 1959–61: *Gotländska sägner* I:1–2, II:1. (Svenska sagor och sägner 12.) Uppsala & København.
Söderbäck, Per, 1921: *Skrock, sed och sägen i en smålandssocken*. Stockholm.
Storaker, Joh. Th., 1928: *Naturrigerne i den norske folketro*. (Norsk folkeminnelag 18.) Oslo.
Thiele, Just Mathias, 1968 [1843]: *Danmarks folkesagn* II. København.
Waltman, K. H., 1939: Lidmål. Ny samling. *Svenska landsmål och svenskt folkliv* B 39.
Wessman, V. E. V., 1952: *Folktro och trolldom. Människan och djuren*. (Finlands svenska folkdiktning VII:3.). Helsingfors.
Wigström, Eva, 1898–1914: Folktro ock sägner från skilda landskap. *Svenska landsmål och svenskt folkliv* VIII:3.

---

* A French version of this article, "Trois contes étiologiques sur des oiseaux: l'hirondelle, le plongeon et la gélinotte des bois", has been published in Galina Kabakova, ed., *Contes et légendes étiologiques dans l'espace Européen*, Paris 2013.

A Scandinavian Link to *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*?

Magnús Fjalldal

Sir Gawain and the Green Knight is a long Middle English poem written in alliterative stanzas. It is a so-called Arthurian romance, believed to have been composed during the 14th century in the North-West of England by an unknown author. The poem relates how Sir Gawain – one of the foremost knights of the Round Table – accepts a challenge to play a beheading game with a huge and mysterious Green Knight who enters King Arthur's court at Camelot at Christmas unannounced and uninvited. Gawain duly cuts off the Green Knight's head, but to everyone's amazement he picks it up and announces that Gawain is to meet him a year later for the return blow. At the appointed time Gawain prepares to do so but is full of anxiety as he does not know where the Green Knight resides and understandably expects to lose his life. During his journey Gawain comes across a mysterious castle in the middle of a wilderness where he is invited to spend Christmas. At this castle he is shown great hospitality. The lord of the castle proposes to Gawain that they play a Christmas game, which involves that each of them is to give the other whatever he has gained at the end of each day during his stay. On three successive days the lady of the castle tries to seduce Gawain while her husband is out hunting. Gawain accepts her kisses and promptly gives them to his host but otherwise resists her. On the third day, however, he agrees to accept a green girdle – which supposedly has the power to prevent him from being killed by any weapon – and promises not to tell the lord of the castle about it.

On the appointed day Gawain goes to seek out the Green Knight and finds him at a place called the Green Chapel wielding a huge axe. Twice the Green Knight pretends to cut Gawain's head off and with the third blow nicks him slightly on the neck. The Green Knight then reveals his identity as Bertilak de Hautdesert, the lord of the castle where Gawain had spent Christmas, and explains that the beheading match at Camelot was arranged by King Arthur's evil half-sister, the sorceress Morgan le Fay, who intended it to frighten Arthur's wife, Queen Guinevere, to death. The two fake blows, he

tells Gawain, were rewards for resisting the advances of his wife during the first two days of their bartering game and the final nick his punishment for accepting the green girdle but keeping it a secret. But accepting the girdle, the Green Knight explains, was fully understandable as Gawain was only trying to save his life.

Gawain, however, is overcome by shame and guilt at having betrayed his code of honour as a knight. He accepts the Green Knight's offer to keep the green girdle and vows to wear it for the rest of his life as a token of his cowardice and lack of truthfulness. Full of remorse and shame he returns to Camelot and reveals his adventures and misfortune to Arthur's court. But there he is just laughed at, and it is decided that all the knights of the Round Table shall wear a similar baldric as a mark of distinction.[1]

As is evident from this summary of the poem, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* is very aristocratic in its subject matter and tone, and most scholars have concluded that the author must have been thoroughly familiar with courtly customs. At the heart of the poem is the subject of knightly chivalry. Is it an aristocratic virtue or something so unnatural that it would prevent a man from trying to save his own life? As a rule, medieval romances have a happy ending, but critics have sharply disagreed over the ending of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* as Gawain grieves over his misfortune while King Arthur's court laughs at it. Is Gawain overreacting concerning his failure to uphold chivalric perfection – and the poem thus basically a festive one – or is the end of the poem meant to be taken as a criticism of King Arthur's court and – possibly – of the chivalric code itself? If that were the case, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* would be unique in the entire medieval romance tradition.

Ever since G. L. Kittredge published his *Study of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* in 1916, discussion has in the main tended to focus on the beheading and temptation themes, which he saw as the chief narrative elements of the poem. In addition, attention has been paid to the greenness of Gawain's adversary and the significance of the number three in the poem.[2] However, as far as I know, the Christmas season – the time when Gawain has to accept the seemingly fatal beheading challenge and suffer the equally dangerous temptation by the lady of Bertilak's castle – has not attracted any particular attention. Still, if the possibility of a Scandinavian influence on the poem is considered, there is every reason to think that it might not be a coincidence that Gawain faces these potentially harmful experiences at Christmas.

In the Old Norse-Icelandic literary tradition and in that of the other Nordic countries in addition to the Faroe Islands and the Orkneys a motif which might be called "evil at Christmas" (or "evil at yuletide," if it occurs in pre-Christian times) emerges very clearly and has long been familiar to Scandinavian folklorists. It was for instance discussed by the Swedish folk-

lorist Hilding Celander nearly 60 years ago (1955: 65-66 and 89-90) who observed that the Christmas season is the time when the dead arise and are on the move. Ever since Celander published his *Förkristen jul: enligt norröna källor* (*Pre-Christian Yule According to Scandinavian Sources*) the different versions of the "evil at Christmas" motif have attracted the attention of folklorists.

For some reason, however, this motif – of which there are at least 20 examples in 17 different texts in the Icelandic saga literature alone – has not found its way into handbooks on folklore motifs outside the Nordic countries, and even within Scandinavia, it is poorly represented in such works.[3] It is only recently that articles began to appear in English that explore this motif and its dimensions,[4] and it is therefore hardly a surprise that the English-speaking world has known nothing of the existence of this folklore motif and its possible influence on English literature. In the essay that follows I want to explore the possibility that this Scandinavian motif may have influenced *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, although it should be admitted before I go any further that any such influence would have been of a general nature as no Scandinavian literary work can be said to resemble the Middle English poem.

"Evil at Christmas" is found in the Icelandic family sagas, the kings' sagas (*Heimskringla*[5]), the shorter *þættir* and *fornaldarsǫgur* (the legendary sagas). The kind of evil that we find in the sagas is quite varied. It can be an unwanted challenge to fight a duel (usually over a woman), the kidnapping of men and women, hauntings by supernatural beings, such as animated corpses (*draugar*) or battles against trolls or other harmful beings. In later Icelandic folktales the emphasis changes to the threat posed by supernatural intruders invading farm houses at Christmas – a variant of the "evil at Christmas" motif that also has ancient roots according to Terry Gunnell.[6] The evil in question thus usually falls into an easily recognized category. What these events have in common is that they are as a rule unexpected, and they all occur during the Christmas season. In that sense they match perfectly well the sudden, unannounced and unexpected appearance of the Green Knight at Camelot, and the role that he is given to play in the poem.

Although the Green Knight explains to King Arthur that all he wants is a Christmas game ("a Crystemas gomen," l. 283), he means evil, as we find out towards the end of the poem when Bertilak explains to Gawain that the real purpose of the beheading episode at Camelot was to frighten Queen Guinevere to death (ll. 2456-2462). That, as it happens, does not come to pass, and the poem leaves it to the reader's imagination to decide what effect the gruesome beheading spectacle has on the queen. King Arthur, however, is not completely insensitive about his wife's feelings, for after the beheading episode is over and the Green Knight has left – head in hand – he does turn to her (ll. 470-471) and offers these rather strange words of comfort:

"Dere dame, to-day demay yow neuer: / Wel bycommes such craft vpon Cristmasse." ("Dear lady, do not be dismayed over what has happened today / Such business is suitable for Christmas.")

But let us now look at some examples of Old Norse narratives that fall into the category of "Christmas evil" and display features that we also find in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. My first example comes from a *fornaldarsaga*, *Helga þáttr Þórissonar*,[7] chapter 2. Helgi has slept with Ingibjörg, the daughter of King Guðmundr of Glæsivellir and been given a splendid treasure by her. At Christmas a great storm breaks out, and when Helgi and his brother go to make sure that their ship is undamaged, Helgi is mysteriously kidnapped and brought to the court of King Guðmundr. King Óláfr Tryggvason is asked to intercede but cannot do anything.

The next Christmas messengers from Guðmundr arrive at King Óláfr's court and bring him two splendid drinking horns. They also bring Helgi with them. When the king has his bishop bless the horns, the messengers leave in a huff killing three of Óláfr's courtiers as they go and taking Helgi back with them. During the third successive Christmas, Helgi finally returns for good. He is now blind, as Ingibjörg has put his eyes out to prevent him from enjoying the sight of other women.

Here it is the number three and its unmistakable association with evil occurring at Christmas that is of particular interest. In *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* the number three marks the three successive days during which the lady of the castle tempts Gawain and the three (two faint and one "real") blows that Gawain receives from the Green Knight as he supposedly delivers the return blow of the beheading game at the Green Chapel. In reality, as I noted earlier, Bertilak – with the nick that he gives Gawain on his neck with his axe – is only punishing him for his deception over accepting and hiding the green girdle.

My next example comes from *Grettis saga*[8] (chs. 64-66) and also shows clearly how the Christmas season and the number three are inseparable from the evil event that is being described. On Christmas night, first the farmer at Sandhaugar disappears, and then at Christmas the following year, one of the farm hands. A year later Grettir offers to guard the farm. He is attacked by a huge man-eating troll-woman whom he only barely manages to defeat. Later he discovers and kills a giant in a cave behind a waterfall where he discovers the bones of the two missing men.

Let us now consider some of the other categories that emerge within the framework of evil Christmas events. Among the most common (there are at least five examples) is an unwanted challenge to a duel – which in a way is also what the invitation to a beheading match in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* can be considered to be. An example of an unwanted duel may be taken from a *fornaldarsaga*, *Sturlaugs saga starfsama*[9] to illustrate the form that this kind of evil can take in the Norse tradition.

King Haraldr *gullmuðr* ("gold mouth") of Trondheim in Norway is getting old. When his queen dies, he approaches one of his earls called Hringr who has a beautiful daughter, Ása, and gives him a choice between being killed or marrying him his daughter. Hringr reluctantly agrees to the marriage which is to take place after a year and a half. Previously, Sturlaugr had asked for Ása's hand but been turned down for lack of accomplishments.

Hringr is now approached by a vicious fighter called Kolr *krappi* ("the crafty") and given a choice between breaking off Ása's engagement to the king or being killed. He chooses to save his life. With that Kolr issues a challenge to a duel to King Haraldr in which the winner is to have Ása as his wife. At Christmas (ch. 7) King Haraldr invites one Hemingr, who had been a great fighter in his day but is now getting on in years, to spend the holidays with him, and Hemingr reluctantly accepts. No sooner has he arrived than the king insists that Hemingr take his place in fighting Kolr. He does so and is killed.

Next Christmas (ch. 8), the same kind of invitation is extended to Sturlaugr and his father, and like Hemingr they go without much enthusiasm. The king now issues the same demand to Sturlaugr as he had previously done to Hemingr, and Sturlaugr accepts on the condition that the king relinquish any claims to Ása as his bride. Haraldr agrees to this condition much against his will. Sturlaugr is now married to Ása and fights Kolr. Using the same sword replacement trick as Gunnlaugr *ormstunga* ("serpent tongue") when he fought the berserker Þórormr in London (*Gunnlaugs saga,*[10] ch. 7) Sturlaugr kills Kolr *krappi* against all odds.[11]

Similar examples include an episode from *Svarfdæla saga*[12] (ch. 7) where an evil berserker called Moldi – immune to ordinary weapons like Kolr *krappi* – calls on an aging Swedish earl named Herröðr at Christmas to demand the hand of his daughter in marriage or else that he face him in a duel. Earl Herröðr, however, has the good fortune of Þorsteinn, one of the heroes of the saga, offering to take his place, and Þorsteinn (using the same sword replacement trick as Gunnlaugr and Sturlaugr) kills Moldi. Finally there is the story of King Hrólfr's 12 berserkers in *Hrólfs saga kraka ok kappa hans*[13] (ch. 37). These berserkers turn up at Hrólfr's court every Christmas to ask each of his retainers whether he thinks that he is a match for them – i. e. prepared to fight them – until Böðvarr *bjarki* (= war-like little bear) and his companion Hjalti accept the challenge and humiliate the berserkers.

In two family sagas, *Eyrbyggja saga* and *Flóamanna saga,*[14] Christmas is associated with the appearance of evil supernatural beings in the form of animated corpses (*draugar*), and *Eyrbyggja saga* adds other chthonic beings as well. Although these creatures are far removed from the Green Knight, it is their supernatural nature, and the fact that they appear at Christmas to cause mischief that makes it tempting to see a connection. It is around Christmas that the Fróðá farm hauntings – the most spectacular of its kind

in all the family sagas – begin in *Eyrbyggja saga*. They involve (chs. 53-54) dead and buried people rising as the living dead (*draugar*) from their graves, the head of a seal appearing out of a fireplace and a long, mysterious tail sticking out of a pile of stockfish – which is rapidly being depleted – in the larder. It is also during this same Christmas that Þóroddr, the master of the farm, drowns with his crew. Þóroddr and his men now take to returning to Fróðá as *draugar*. Every night they come to the farm dripping wet and warm themselves by the fire, and before long, they are joined by farm hands, who had mysteriously died just before Christmas, and now return to shake loose earth from their clothes at Þóroddr and his men. Eventually, a priest is brought in, and means are found to stop the hauntings.[15]

In *Flóamanna saga* the newly converted Þorgils (previously a special friend of Þórr's, who is now very angry with him) is shipwrecked in Greenland with his companion Jósteinn. At Christmas (ch. 22), two of Jósteinn's men respond to a knock on the door of their hall only to go mad and die as a result. Then Jósteinn and six of his men die of some mysterious cause and subsequently the rest of his crew as well, and all return as *draugar*. It is not until Þorgils manages to burn all the animated corpses that the hauntings stop.

But it is *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss*[16] (Gests þáttr) that provides the most interesting comparison with the Green Knight's appearance at Camelot at Christmas. Gestr Bárðarson is staying at the court of King Óláfr Tryggvason. On Christmas Eve (ch. 18), all of a sudden, an evil-looking and fully armed man marches into the hall and walks straight towards the king's throne without introducing himself or greeting anyone. He is wearing a splendid golden necklace and has a golden ring on his arm. After a while he addresses King Óláfr. No one, he says, has offered him anything in this place, but he will show his generosity by giving his war gear and jewelry to anyone who dares to visit him at home and claim it. But, he adds, no one at the king's court will have the courage to do that. He then leaves, and as he goes a foul stench permeates the hall. The king's retainers are terrified, and the bad smell kills dogs and makes several people ill.

The king now turns to Gestr and asks him who he thinks the visitor might have been. Gestr replies that he believes it to have been one King Raknarr of Helluland who was notorious for having murdered his parents and a host of other people. In the end he had had a huge barrow built which he entered while still alive taking with him his longboat and 500 of his men. They had then as barrow dwellers become animated corpses (*haugbúar*). The king asks Gestr to fetch the pieces which the visitor had offered. He agrees and sets out on a long journey to find Raknarr's barrow whose location is unknown. During his journey all kinds of magic beings attempt to spoil Gestr's quest, and it is clear that Raknarr with his magic powers does not want him and his men to reach their destination. Eventu-

ally Gestr finds Raknarr's barrow and breaks into it only to meet with a very hostile reception.

Some aspects of the court scene above are curiously reminiscent of the Green Knight's entry into Camelot at Christmas in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight,* although there are too many differences in the two accounts to call them analogous. But in both the saga and the poem Christmas is being celebrated at the court of a powerful king when a mysterious man suddenly appears, unexpected, uninvited and unannounced. This stranger is rude and greets no one and will neither say who he is nor where he lives. The visitor is adorned with golden jewellery. This mysterious creature evidently possesses magical powers, and the king's retainers are afraid of him. He challenges someone at court to seek him out in his home to receive presents, but at the same time accuses the king's men of being too cowardly to do that.

But let us now pause to look at the Norwegian variant of "evil at Christmas" as the folklorist Reidar Th. Christiansen (1958: 144-145) classified it in his *Migratory Legends*. Christiansen lists it as *6015 The Christmas Visitors* and defines it as follows:[17]

> To a certain farm, on Christmas eve, a wayfarer came, asking for a night's lodging. The owner of the house answered that they could not take in anyone since they themselves had to vacate the house, having prepared food and drink for the fairies (trolls) who used to occupy the house. The wayfarer, however, in spite of the owner's warning said that he would stay and did so, having for company a bear or a dog and his gun. He then hid in a corner behind the fireplace and saw the visitors arrive, commenting upon the smell of human beings, and led by an old man who presided at the table. During the meal they offered him gifts or drank to his health saying that this was his gift to the leader. One of the visitors offered the bear some of their food. After a while the man in hiding joined in, firing his gun at the leader, or saying that this was his gift. The enraged bear chased the visitors away, or the man lashed at them with a split stick, thus making it impossible for them «to count off» the blows. Finally the visitors fled in confusion exclaiming …, and carrying the dead leader away. Next morning the owner returned with his family, gave thanks to the one who had stayed, and in the future he never again needed to vacate his house. On the next Christmas Eve, someone shouted from the hill, asking the farmer if he still had the big white cat, and when he said that he had – – with some even fiercer kittens – – the visitors never dared return.

This variant of the "evil at Christmas" motif involving an unwelcome intrusion by evil spirits at Christmas is basically the same as Terry Gunnell (2002 and 2004) finds characteristic of later Icelandic folktales involving this motif.

But now to "evil at Christmas" as folklorists explain the motif. It may seem strange to associate evil events like the ones that we have been considering with Christmas, but in view of what folklorists have to say about the nature of yuletide or Christmas in Northern Europe, the connection between this season and the presence of evil creatures performing harmful deeds should come as no surprise. It is not known what the Old Norse term for Christmas (*jól*) originally meant, but the time around Christmas is of a

curiously Janus-like nature. On the one hand, it is of course a festive season, a time to make merry, and as such a time when we would least expect something evil to happen to us. In pagan times what was being celebrated at yuletide was winter solstice, a festival that in Christian times merged with what the Church decided was also the time of the birth of Christ.

On the other hand, the Christmas season (particularly in Northern Europe) also brings the shortest and the darkest days of the year, and it is under the cover of darkness that *draugar* and other evil supernatural creatures thrive best. The greater the darkness, the more evil the creatures as Feilberg (1904: 96-97) and Björnsson (2000: 315-338) have both pointed out. In Iceland the best known ogre associated with Christmas is *Grýla* (= menace, horror), an ugly troll-woman who stuffs naughty children into her bag to take them home to her cave and eat them. *Grýla* first appears in the list of names of troll women appended to Snorri Sturluson's *Edda* during the 13th century (Sturluson 1954: 308). With this in mind it is not surprising that within folkloristics it has been argued that domestic Christmas celebrations, such as a fire blazing in the hearth and candles lit all over the house, were among other things meant to woo friendly powers of light and exorcise away *draugar* and other evil beings associated with darkness as Björnsson (2000: 319) has observed.

The importance that folklorists like Reidar Th. Christiansen, Árni Björnsson and Terry Gunnell place on the presence of evil supernatural beings at Christmas would seem to suggest the possibility that the motif of "evil at Christmas" underwent a certain development. It might thus be tempting to assume that the motif at first only involved evil creatures like King Raknarr of *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss*, the cannibalistic trolls of *Grettis saga* or the mysterious and cruel Ingibjörg of *Helga þáttr Þórissonar* and then gradually expanded to include more mundane evils, as for instance unwelcome challenges to fight duels. However, considering the texts, there is nothing to indicate that such a development ever took place.

As for *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, it is important to realize that it is not a coincidence that the three evils that befall Gawain – the first beheading match in Camelot, a year later the temptation by the lady of the castle and finally the second "beheading" episode – should all take place at Christmas. After all they do so in that season for two years in a row. Yet the presence of nasty supernatural beings or evil events that take place during the Christmas season is almost completely alien to the English tradition where Christmas time is primarily a festive season. Walter S. Phelan (1992) investigated the English Christmas tradition in literature – romances in particular – in detail and found nothing sinister about the season at all. Similarly, Jacqueline Simpson and Steve Roud (2003: 61-63) survey English Christmas traditions in their *Dictionary of English Folklore* and conclude that they almost exclusively testify to festive spirits, joviality and hospitality. The only

complaint that they could find concerned too much consumption of alcohol. The only exception to this general pattern is offered by Elizabeth Brewer (1993:14-15) who mentions a story in *Morte Arthure*[18] where Arthur is keeping Christmas at Carlisle, and an unexpected visitor arrives with an unwelcome demand from the Emperor of Rome who insists that Arthur become his vassal as he, the emperor, is still the legitimate ruler of England.

In light of these general findings concerning English Christmas traditions it is therefore tempting to wonder whether the author of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* might have borrowed the motif of "evil at Christmas," as it affects Sir Gawain's adventures, from a Scandinavian source with which he happened to be familiar and decided to incorporate it into his poem. What is almost entirely certain is that in this instance he was not drawing on a native English tradition.

Middle English literature has always been considered as a source on which Iceland and other Scandinavian countries drew as they borrowed both fairy tales and romances, which were translated from early on. On the other hand, the possibility that the Scandinavian countries might have contributed literary or folkloristic elements to Middle English literature – particularly to literature composed in the North and North-West of England[19] – has never, to the best of my knowledge, been seriously explored. If I am right in respect to Scandinavian elements of folklore having been borrowed by the author of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, it would suggest that a further search for Scandinavian features – both literary and folkloristic – in Middle English literature might well be a worth the effort.

Magnús Fjalldal
Professor of English
Department of English
University of Iceland
P. O. Box 100, Gimli, University of Iceland
101 Reykjavík
email: mafja@hi.is

References

Aarne, Antti and Stith Thompson 1961: *The Types of the Folktale – A Classsification and Bibliography*, 2nd ed. Helsinki.

Andersson, Theodore M. 1994: The Politics of Snorri Sturluson. *JEGP* 77.

Bagge, Sverre 1991: *Society and Politics in Snorri Sturluson's Heimskringla*. Berkeley, CA.

Benson, Larry D. (ed.) 1986: *King Arthur's Death: The Middle English Stanzaic Morte Arthure*. Exeter, England.

Björnsson, Árni 2000: *Saga daganna*. Reykjavík.

Boberg, Inger M. 1966: *Motif-Index of Early Icelandic Literature*, Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana 27. Copenhagen.

Brewer, Elizabeth 1992: *Gawain and the Green Knight: Sources and Analogues*, Arthurian Studies 27. Cambridge.
Celander, Hilding 1955: *Förkristen jul: enligt norröna källor.* Stockholm.
Christiansen, Reidar Th. 1958: *The Migratory Legends – A Proposed List of Types with a Systematic Catalogue of the Norwegian Variants*. Helsinki.
Feilberg, H. F. 1904: *Jul – Allesjælestiden hedensk, kristen julefest*, vol. 1. Copenhagen.
Ghosh, Shami 2011: *Kings' Sagas and Norwegian History – Problems and Perspectives*. Leiden.
Gunnell, Terry 2002: Komi þeir sem koma vilja … Sagnir um innrás óvætta á jólum til forna á íslenska sveitabæi. In Baldur Hafstað and Haraldur Bessason (eds.), *Úr manna minnum – Greinar um íslenskar þjóðsögur*. Reykjavík. 191– 209.
Gunnell, Terry 2004: The Coming of the Christmas Visitors … Folk legends concerning the attacks on Icelandic farmhouses made by spirits at Christmas. *Northern Studies* 38.
Jónsson, Guðni (ed.) 1936: *Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar*, *Íslenzk fornrit* 7. Reykjavík.
Jónsson, Guðni and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson (eds.) 1943–1944: *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, vols. 1–3. Reykjavík.
Kittredge, George Lyman 1916: *A Study of Gawain and the Green Knight*. Cambridge, MA.
Kristjánsson, Jónas (ed.) 1956: *Eyfirðingasögur: Víga-Glúms saga ... Svarfdæla saga ..., Íslenzk fornrit* 9. Reykjavík.
Luttrell, Claude 1980: The Folk-Tale Element in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. *Studies in Philology* 77.
Nordal, Sigurður (ed.) 1944–1945: *Flateyjarbók*, vols. 1–4. Akranes.
Nordal, Sigurður and Guðni Jónsson (eds.) 1938: *Borgfirðingasögur: Hænsa-Þóris saga, Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu ..., Íslenzk fornrit* 3, Reykjavík.
Phelan, Walter S. 1992: *The Christmas Hero and Yuletide Tradition in Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Lewiston, New York.
Silverstein, Theodore (ed.) 1984: *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight – A New Critical Edition.* Chicago.
Simpson, Jacqueline and Steve Roud 2003: *A Dictionary of English Folklore*. Oxford.
Sturluson, Snorri 1941–1951: *Heimskringla*, vols. 1–3, *Íslenzk fornrit* 26–28, ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson. Reykjavík.
Sturluson, Snorri 1954: Edda *Snorra Sturlusonar – Nafnaþulur og skáldatal*, ed. Guðni Jónsson. Reykjavík.
Sveinsson, Einar Ólafur and Matthías Þórðarson (eds.) 1935: *Eyrbyggja saga, Grœnlendinga sögur ...*, *Íslenzk fornrit* 4. Reykjavík.
Thompson, Stith 1951: *The Folktale*. New York.
Thompson, Stith 1975–1976: *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, vols. 1–6. Bloomington, Indiana.
Tolkien, J. R. R. and E. V. Gordon (eds.) 1967: *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Oxford.
Uther, Hans-Jörg 2004: *The Types of International Folktales: a Classification and Bibliography,* vols. 1–3. Helsinki.
Vilmundarson, Þórhallur and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson (eds.) 1991: *Harðar saga, Bárðar saga, Þorskfirðinga saga, Flóamanna saga ...*, *Íslenzk fornrit* 13. Reykjavík.
Whaley, Diana 1991: *Heimskringla – An Introduction*. London.

[1] The best-known edition of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* is that by J. R. R. Tolkien and E. V. Gordon (Oxford University Press, 1967).

[2] For further discussion see e. g. Luttrell, Claude 1980: The Folk-Tale Element in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, *Studies in Philology* 77. Unfortunately there is not scope in this essay to deal any further with the research history of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, but those interested should turn to the Internet and look up a website by the same name as the poem on *Wikipedia* where all major interpretations that have so far been suggested are summed up.

[3] For example Stith Thompson has only a marginal reference to it in his study *The Folktale* (1951: 205). In his and Antti Aarne´s *The Types of the Folktale – A Classsification and Bibliography* (1961) there is no reference and neither is there in Thompson's six-volume *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (1975-1976). Hans-Jörg Uther's comprehensive three volume work *The Types of International Folktales: a Classification and Bibliography* (2004) does not mention it either. The same is true of Inger M. Boberg's *Motif-Index of Early Icelandic Literature* (1966), although it should be noted that Boberg did not live to finish her work. The motif of "evil at Christmas" was, however, recognized by Reidar Th. Christiansen (*The Migratory Legends*, 1958) as a folktale type which he called *The Christmas Visitors*.

[4] Here I am mainly referring to the recent work of Terry Gunnell (2004).

[5] Snorri Sturluson's great history of Norwegian kings from Hálfdan *svarti* ("the black") to Magnús Erlingsson hardly needs an introduction. Recent discussion of Snorri's work has mostly focused on the question of how "historical" it actually is and his political motivation in writing it. For further discussion see e. g. Bagge 1991, Whaley 1991, Andersson 1994 and Ghosh 2011.

[6] For further discussion of this variant of the "evil at Christmas" motif see Terry Gunnell (2002: 191). It might be added, as Gunnell notes in his discussion (2002: 203), that there has been speculation that the story of Grendel's raid on Heorot and Beowulf's battle with him may originate in the supernatural Christmas intruders version of the above-mentioned motif.

[7] *Helga þáttr Þórissonar* is a short legendary saga (*fornaldarsaga*) by an unknown author found within the *Saga of Óláfr Tryggvason* in the late 14th century anthology of kings' sagas, family sagas and legendary sagas known as *Flateyjarbók*. Like many other legendary sagas and *þættir*, the story should be seen in the context of the European ballad and romance tradition. It has also been classified as a conversion *þáttr*; one of those dealing with either the conversion of Scandinavia to Christianity or with the contrast between Christian and heathen times. Guðmundr, who varies in characterization in different Old Norse works, is here presented as an enemy of the virtuous Christian King Óláfr.

Helga þáttr Þórissonar is both to be found in the latest edition of *Flateyjarbók* (Nordal, 1944-1945) and Jónsson's and Vilhjálmsson's 1943-1944 edition of *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*.

[8] *Grettis saga* relates the life of Grettir Ásmundarson who spends 19 years of his life as an outlaw haunted by bad luck before he is finally killed. *Grettis saga* is one of the latest family sagas, composed by an unknown author during the 14th century. In the saga Grettir emerges as the strongest man of his generation and performs incredible feats. The saga is also a tragedy because in spite of his many talents Grettir refuses to accept the social norms of his day and aspires to the kind of life that heroes of old used to lead. For that ambition he ultimately pays with his life. The standard edition of *Grettis saga* is the one in the *Íslenzk fornrit* series (7) edited by Guðni Jónsson (1936).

[9] *Sturlaugs saga starfsama* ("the industrious") is a legendary saga from the 14th century by an unknown author about Sturlaugr, the son of a Norwegian chieftain. Sturlaugr marries Ása *fagra* ("the fair"), kills one competing suitor and chases another one away. Ása's old foster-mother helps Sturlaugr with advice and predictions. Sturlaugr has to undertake a dangerous journey to find the horn of an aurochs and enquire about its origin, which turns out to be even more dangerous. Eventually, Sturlaugr becomes a high chieftain in the Swedish army. His son was

Göngu-Hrólfr (Rollo) the Viking leader who conquered the region in France which later became known as Normandy. Essentially, this saga pays tribute to the virtues of tenacity and courage which make Sturlaugr what he is. As with other legendary sagas the standard edition is that of Jónsson and Vilhjálmsson (1943-1944).

[10] *Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu* is another late family saga, composed during the 14th century by an unknown author. The saga relates the adventures of two Icelandic poets Gunnlaugr *ormstunga* ("serpent tongue") and Hrafn Önundarson. These two heroes compete for the love of Helga *fagra* ("the beautiful") and fight duels over her both in Iceland and abroad. In their last duel they kill each other.

Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu is thus a highly dramatic love story with an emphasis on the heroic ideals of the past such as being true to oneself, never losing one's composure and being prepared to meet one's fate. The standard edition of *Gunnlaugs saga* is that of *Íslenzk fornrit* (3) edited by Sigurður Nordal and Guðni Jónsson (1938).

[11] Like the berserker Þórormr, Kolr *krappi* is immune to ordinary weapons and can only be killed with a magic sword like the one that Sturlaugr – on the advice of his wife – borrows from her old foster-mother before he fights his duel with Kolr.

[12] *Svarfdæla saga* is a family saga written by an unknown author. It begins in Norway and then relates the early settlement of Svarfaðardalur in the north of Iceland during the 10th century. The settlement leads to feuds and killings that mar life in the region for a long time until peace is finally made.

In its extant form *Svarfdæla saga* dates back to the first half of the 14th century (an earlier version is now lost). The standard edition of the saga is that of *Íslenzk fornrit* (9, *Eyfirðinga sögur*) edited by Jónas Kristjánsson (1956).

[13] *Hrólfs saga kraka* (The *Saga of King Hrólfr kraki* [= pole ladder]) is a late legendary saga about the adventures of Hrólfr *kraki* and his clan, the Skjöldungs. The events that the saga relates date back to the late 5th and the early 6th centuries. The saga in the form that has survived is composed around 1400 by an unknown author. *Hrólfs saga kraka* is mainly a story about heroic ventures and battles between the forces of good (e. g. Hrólfr and Böðvarr *bjarki*) and evil (e. g. King Aðils of Sweden and Hrólfr's half-sister, the sorceress Skuld) where the forces of good eventually emerge victorious. As with other legendary sagas the standard edition of *Hrólfs saga kraka* is that of Jónsson and Vilhjálmsson (1943-1944).

[14] *Eyrbyggja saga* (*The Saga of the People of Eyri*) is an early family saga composed by an anonymous author during the 13th century. It describes a long-standing feud between Snorri and Arnkell, two powerful chieftains in the Snæfellsnes region in the west of Iceland. The saga is backwards looking and conservative, characterized by a distinct interest in old values, old lore, rituals, pagan practices and superstitions. It shows a strong belief in prudence and wisdom (as exhibited by Snorri) and takes a dim view of those who spend their money on chasing after the latest fashion. The standard edition of the saga is that of *Íslenzk fornrit* (4, *Eyrbyggja saga, Grænlendinga sögur ...*) edited by Einar Ólafur Sveinsson and Matthías Þórðarson (1935).

Flóamanna saga (*The Saga of the People of Flói* [in the south of Iceland]) is a late 14th century family saga by an unknown author featuring narrative material derived from *Landnámabók* (*The Book of Settlement*) and *fornaldarsǫgur*. It tells the story of four generations in the period between between 870 and 1020, beginning in Norway and then relating the settlement of Flói. This is a saga about the value of heroism. The main hero of *Flóamanna saga* is Þorgils Þórðarson, known as *Örrabeinsstjúpr* ("scar-leg's stepson"). Particularly striking is the saga's account of his journey to Greenland, during which he endures great hardships. The standard edition of the saga is that of *Íslenzk fornrit* (13, *Harðar saga, Bárðar saga, Þorskfirðinga saga, Flóamanna saga ...*) edited by Þórhallur Vilmundarson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson (1991).

[15] Terry Gunnell (2004: 68) notes that stories about evil spirits being on the move around the time of winter solstice or Christmas – as we see in both *Grettis saga* and *Eyrbyggja saga* – are common to folktales from all the Scandinavian countries.

[16] *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss* (= god of Snæfellsnes) is a family saga in two distinct parts that has

much in common with *fornaldarsǫgur*. It relates the story of Bárðr Dumbsson who is descended from trolls and giants on his father‘s side. Bárðr escapes from Norway to Iceland and settles in a wilderness inhabited by trolls and giants near the glacier Snæfellsjökull in the west of Iceland. At the end of his saga he enters into the glacier and becomes a guardian spirit of the region (*landvættr*). As the saga of Bárðr ends, an independent story about his son, Gestr, begins. What both parts of the saga have in common is the valour that Bárðr and his son show in ridding the land of evil trolls, giants and animated corpses (*haugbúar*). *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss* is composed around the middle of the 14th century by an unknown author. The standard edition of the saga is that of *Íslenzk fornrit* (13, *Harðar saga, Bárðar saga, Þorskfirðinga saga, Flóamanna saga ...*) edited by Þórhallur Vilmundarson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson (1991).

[17] In the summary that follows I have left out the machinery (A, B, C, D; 1, 2, 3, 4, etc) that Christiansen uses for the purpose of comparing his prototype with variants of the folktale from different parts of Norway.

[18] *Morte Arthure*, also known as the *Alliterative Morte Arthure,* is a long Middle English poem. The story is adapted from books IX and X of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*, but the poem also contains numerous episodes which are not in Geoffrey's work, and some parts do not have a clear source. *Morte Arthure* was composed around 1400. The standard edition of the poem is that by Larry. D. Benson: *King Arthur's Death: The Middle English Stanzaic Morte Arthure*, Exeter, 1986.

[19] In these regions Scandinavian influence might have been stronger than elsewhere in England as a large part of the population was of Scandinavian descent.

Pedagogical Learning Plans and Children with Special Needs: Transforming and Anchoring – or Maintaining and Negotiating?

Bjørg Kjær

Background and regulatory framework: transformation through reform

On 1 August 2004, a new law governing pedagogical learning plans and day-care services for children was implemented in Denmark. In several ways, this law represented a departure from the existing Danish day-care tradition. The law put new emphasis on explicit learning plans and required all institutions to draw up a pedagogical learning plan that should cover a range of centrally chosen themes (Herskind, Jensen, Kjær et al. 2005). This clear logic of learning in relation to how the institutions work with children and the more centralised governance of the pedagogical field were dramatic new departures. The motivating force behind this legislation was a political desire to improve how day-care services work with vulnerable, marginalised children. Furthermore, the law emphasised that, in addition to childcare and pastoral duties, day-care services had the task of teaching children. This highlighted the institutions' particular obligation to support and enable the learning processes of marginalised children. In the Danish context at that time, the concept of learning was considered to be a foreign element in the pedagogical profession. For a number of years, pedagogues had identified themselves as being different by definition from teachers. This became apparent when the law governing pedagogical teaching plans was introduced, as pedagogues participated in demonstrations to preserve children's right to free play in day care (Rosenkrands 2008).

The legislation that mandated pedagogical learning plans is a concrete expression of a political intention to avoid classifying, stigmatising or marginalising children who experience problems. This is part of an international tendency, which is manifested in the Salamanca Declaration and the UN

Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, among other things. Instead, the new paradigm suggests that children should be individually assessed and included. This means that, in the legal framework, there is no definition of the target group "marginalised children" – in recognition of the fact that children can be affected by a variety of different forms of marginalisation. Furthermore, definitions have a tendency to become self-fulfilling prophecies. Thus, the Danish law states that a pedagogical learning plan should include how "marginalised children's" learning will be supported. But there is no definition of what constitutes a "marginalised child", and there is no information about how the pedagogical learning plans should deal with this issue (www.retsinfo.dk).

This article focuses on pedagogical learning plans and children with special pedagogical needs, specifically in relation to the implementation of the new legislation. It is based on the results of an ethnographic study of how pedagogical learning plans are put into practice on the institutional level. This research project was inspired by the work of George Marcus (1996); as a result, it is a multi-sited ethnographic study. Marcus emphasises that anthropological research in the (post-) modern global system must acknowledge that it is no longer possible to separate the world into local communities and global contexts that constitute the background for the local. Nor is it possible to differentiate between 'system' and 'life-world' in a complex global society, where the global and the local are embedded in each other (ibid.: 97).

Between 2005 and 2007, I participated in a five-person research group that studied the progression of work with pedagogical learning plans in a medium-sized Danish municipality (Olesen et al. 2007: 15–26). The focus of our research was the pedagogical institutions that were starting work on this (at the time) new task (ibid.). We researchers followed the day-care workers at two day-care institutions over a three-month period in 2005: before, during and after the task of implementing pedagogical teaching plans was undertaken. This research was multi-sited in that four employees were selected to be followed both inside and outside of the day-care institution; for example, they were also observed while attending courses related to working with pedagogical learning plans as well as meetings in various forums. Furthermore, we researchers conducted interviews with the entire groups of staff of the institutions involved, as well as with key stakeholders associated with the municipal administration. In total, around 40 people were involved in the study, either through interviews or observations and participant-observation studies (ibid: 11). Fieldwork for the project was conducted by all of the participating researchers and was collected in a shared field diary. Thus, in terms of method, the approach to our research was not only multi-sited with regard to location but was also 'multi-personal' and 'multi-perspective' (ibid.: 26). Expanding fieldwork – both in terms

of space and time, and the number of people involved – had several benefits. The project's focus on studying social processes, negotiations, conflicts, interpretations and investigations was strengthened by the opportunity to understand how one's research colleagues viewed interactions, interplay, dialogues and narratives. The experience-based dimension of our fieldwork was broadened and challenged because it was, to a greater degree, an explicit component of the research object. In the day-care field, the use of external consultants, evaluators, supervisors, etc., is an integral part of the established working practice and culture. So, at times, there was a tendency in the field to place we researchers into roles, situations and relationships similar to those listed above. This was a significant source of information about how such processes unfold as well as the norms and values that are involved therein.

The requirements of the new legislation challenged the established Danish day-care services in a number of ways. For example:

1) By establishing a more centralised management of the field, which had a tradition of activism and de-centralised control.
2) By introducing a strong focus on the concept of learning to a field that had, in previous decades, been characterised by a tradition of care based on a psychological understanding of children's development through free play.
3) By insisting that marginalised children's learning be supported in a field that had previously viewed vulnerable children from a perspective of care and protection; to some extent, this exempted these children from being expected or required to learn.

However, it would be misguided to study these processes of change based on the assumption that a legal text has a direct and simple relationship to the practices that unfold in encounters between pedagogical staff, children, parents and others. My focus in this article can be compared to what is implied by the concept of 'street-level bureaucracy' (Lipsky 1980), but it is also closely related to classic and modern understandings of culture and social processes from an everyday perspective, which emerged from folklore studies. In this sense I was particularly inspired by Danish folklore scholar Birgitte Rørbye's concept of popular worlds of experience (folkelige erfaringsverdener; Rørbye 1982).[1] The relationships, symbolic orders and innate meanings of everyday life are the space in which the intentions of the legislation are interpreted, translated and ascribed practical significance. It is also here that a resistance to new approaches and a defence of what is familiar emerges. Therefore, it is necessary to take an interest in this cultural space and in the logics that are involved. Thus, a folkloristic approach complements, challenges and qualifies the administrative and politological approaches.

My perspective is rooted in the research tradition of folklore studies, and it focuses on the ideas and narratives about *what* is special and *who* is special that were activated and produced through the pedagogues' work with pedagogical learning plans. The logic of the new legislation was based on the expectation that an increased focus on learning would improve the employees' ability and desire to include and support children who, for a variety of reasons, are considered to be 'different' or marginalised. Whether or not this expectation was actually realised can only be determined via detailed studies of the employees' actions, negotiations, ideas and narratives.

In the following sections, I investigate what happens in the field of practice when special interventions come into contact with general pedagogical approaches to enable and support marginalised children's learning processes. I describe how the issue of the ways in which general pedagogical work and specialised pedagogical interventions interact with each other was brought to a head by the process of creating pedagogical learning plans, especially with regard to marginalised children – that is, the basic dilemmas and difficulties are most apparent in relation to this issue. Therefore, it is not surprising that, in line with other studies, this investigation shows that attempts to combine work on pedagogical learning plans and the task of dealing with children in vulnerable positions have not been particularly successful (Kjær 2007; see also Sloth, Bramsbye, Mehlbye et al. 2006). Danish sociologist Bente Jensen (2005) has described how pedagogues generally feel poorly equipped to work with marginalised children.

I also demonstrate why this task is difficult for pedagogues, and how and where these problems emerge on a practical level in day-care institutions. I provide examples of how these are manifested in conversations between employees and in their actions involving children with special needs. This issue is understood as a cultural phenomenon in which meaning is created and maintained via people's social interactions. Thus, it is closely related to the social, cultural and professional identities that are constantly at play and at stake.

Between the legislative level on the one side and the day-care services and pedagogical profession on the other, there is, as mentioned above, a discursive vacuum with regard to defining which children are marginalised as well as the concrete understanding of day-care institutions' societal obligations in connection to these children's learning processes. The legislation dictates that general pedagogical staff should take greater responsibility for social and special pedagogical tasks with marginalised children. Furthermore, in 2007, the training course for pedagogues underwent a reform. Thus, the day-care field in Denmark has been subject to a number of significant changes in recent years.

In addition, I elucidate how established traditions, existing professional identities and ways of understanding bring their influence to bear. I describe in detail *how* this occurs and examine some of the factors that contribute to the difficulty of combining work with marginalised children with work on pedagogical learning plans. I start by positioning pedagogues in relation to the municipal structure of which they are a part. Then I identify the genres of text that are familiar to day-care institutions. Finally, I relate the textual practices to the employees' everyday understandings of the children and of what a day-care institution is. I do this in order to gain a deeper understanding of how the employees construct their professional identities and relationships with collegues.

The existing logic of expert systems

The employees at day-care institutions work with a variety of external partners and expert systems; in this respect, Social Services and Educational Psychology and Counselling (known as PPR in Danish) is a key actor. Contact with Social Services is based on a logic of either support or help for families with various problems, or of protecting the child if he/she has been subject to abuse in the family (duty of notification; see BUPL 2011). This contact is orientated outside of the day-care institution, and the objective is to transfer a case to social workers and caseworkers. In some respects, the mandate of PPR is orientated towards the day-care institution itself. In part, PPR workers are tasked with evaluating children's psychological and social issues, and then advising day-care employees and parents how to handle them. In the past decade, the individual-psychological approach that dominates PPR's methods has been strongly influenced by a diagnostic perspective regarding children, which is supported by the international diagnostic tool ICD-10, for example (Bryderup 2011). Furthermore, PPR's work is the basis for (and is sometimes involved in) the referral of children to special interventions, such as having different institutional support measures or placing them into specialised day-care centres. These expert systems have a professional and organisational logic that requires or encourages the employees at day-care centres to be aware of the children's individual shortcomings, deficiencies, problems, difficulties and diagnoses. In order to obtain help in solving a specific pedagogical problem with a child who is experiencing a particular problem, the day-care institution must submit to a logic that diverges from the other logics of the institution. In other words, a perspective that focuses on individual deficiencies is dominant, rather than a perspective that focuses on activities and children in groups.

Textual practices

Even before the introduction of the new legislation, certain textual practices already existed in Danish day-care institutions. The law requiring pedagogical learning plans highlighted an increasing demand for written documentation in the work of day-care institutions. The law states that institutions must write a document with the title "pedagogical learning plan". For auditing purposes, this document must be approved and evaluated each year (Olesen and Kjær 2005). Thus, the pedagogical learning plan is an extension of the business plans that have been obligatory for several years (Brostrøm 2004). Pedagogical learning plans were established as a genre that was aimed at the parent group in general and at parents and municipal governors in particular. Therefore, it focuses on the shared activities of 'normal' children and on the pedagogical visions and values of the institution's employees (Kjær 2007).

Alongside this shared text, institutions produce several other texts. They may include individual care plans or different types of texts expressing concern about a child, which may vary in scope. These texts are confidential, subject to confidentiality agreements, and they are written for internal use by the institution's employees or by external experts. All of these texts focus on individual, 'problematic' children. They are often addressed to PPR psychologists, and they invite the reader to think in diagnostic terms and to locate problems and their causes in the individual child – in his/her family situation, body or brain. Thus, the pedagogical learning plan and the individual care plan or document that expresses concern each have different foci and target groups, as well as clearly separate social lives. This is significant to the everyday logics.

Texts and everyday understandings

In the everyday lives of the employees, these two textual practices and text-based genres are not considered to be related. As a result, they act as self-affirming and self-fulfilling systems (auto-poetic systems). As a consequence, the pedagogical group perspective and the individual-psychological perspective do not qualify or challenge each other. Thus, there is no analysis of how an individual child's problems may be related to the general pedagogical approach of the institution, for example. Instead, the two perspectives compete and take time and resources from each other – both when the texts are produced, and when employees are deciding how a pedagogical task should be done in practice. Here, two colleagues talk about this problem, which seems to them to be unresolvable in principle:

Alberte: We take the children's individual needs into consideration.

Nete: But then I think that it should be the same for the other children, too. There's always a danger that if we take special care of one child – the normal children should have normal stimulation. It's a huge dilemma. (from interview)

The underlying premise of this conversation is that special or 'individual' needs are so different from 'normal' needs that they mutually exclude each other. Thus, in the eyes of the day-care employees, special needs are completely different from 'normal' needs. Here, a concept of normality and divergence is created, placing children and the adults' work with them into insurmountable, qualitatively differentiated categories. The employees see a contrast and a conflict that makes them feel like they must choose – for them, the two approaches cannot be combined. The individual perspective in relation to children with difficulties is so strong that the group perspective tends to entirely disappear. Thus, even normal children are regarded from an individual perspective. As a result, there arises fierce competition for the scarce adult resources. The task of combining the two types of work is articulated as being impossible and refers to the implicit premise that, depending on which category of children they are working with, pedagogues must do completely different things. The group of children is not perceived to be a pedagogical resource wherein activities that are targeted at a child with special needs can be done in ways that support both the weak child and the group as a whole. On the contrary, the group is considered to be a representation of the normality that children must demonstrate in order to benefit from the community and its shared activities. If a child has language difficulties, for example, a speech therapist comes to the institution and removes him/her from the group to provide language training and stimulation. This prioritisation makes sense in the context of an expectation that language stimulation is not for 'normal' children – or that the need for language stimulation must be fundamentally different for the two categories.

The textual practices here are related to the demands and expectations of external expert systems and parents, and they influence the pedagogues' ways of thinking and talking about learning plans and vulnerable children. Furthermore, the existing organisational forms and ways to divide labour within the institutions tend to remove vulnerable children from pedagogical learning plans, and vice versa.

Division of labour and professional identities

The dominant individual perspective in relation to vulnerable children and the dominant group perspective in relation to pedagogical learning plans are manifested in the organisation of the different professions within day-care institutions as well as via the professional identities of the employees. When a child with special needs is evaluated and referred for special support, the support pedagogue comes into the institution and a division of responsibility

is established – with the support pedagogue or the special pedagogue on one side, and the pedagogue in charge of the main group of children on the other. Our study indicates that the division of responsibility takes the form of feelings of ownership that are directed towards different children – the support pedagogue 'owns', so to speak, the individual children with special needs. Similarly, the main pedagogue 'owns' the group of children who are considered to be 'normal'. The children who are in a grey area – i.e., the ones without official diagnoses or documented difficulties – are not really owned by anyone, but the main pedagogues talk about having a responsibility to initiate assessments of these children so that they can become somebody's responsibility.

Here, a pedagogue explains how working with vulnerable children takes something away from the other children:

Nete: We have some children with special needs here…children who are in a grey area. (…) And I think that…it's incredibly weak that they're just supposed to be incorporated. Of course they should be included in the situation, that's a given – they're already included – but without giving any extra resources, I think that's very bad. (…) There may also be bigger and more special-needs cases than the ones we have – I really think that they're being left in the lurch when it just says that they should be taken into consideration. Because we already do that, and we do it happily. But it also requires an extra effort. And if one makes the extra effort – hopefully – at least to some extent, something is taken from the others [the normal kids]. (from interview)

The underlying rationale is that pedagogy is something that takes place in a relationship between children and adults – either between a group of children and one or more adults when dealing with normal children, or between one adult and one child in the case of children with difficulties. The pedagogue tends to place most of the emphasis on the quantitative aspect – he/she does not really articulate the different work tasks; rather, he/she focuses on the different amounts of work. As expressed in the quote above, the powerlessness that the day-care employees experience in relation to supporting children in vulnerable positions is a matter of the time available and the staffing level of the institution. The underlying premise is that, if there were enough time and resources, then everyone's needs could be met. This is a logic that has been supported by administrative logics in previous decades: based on individual children's problems, more resources are allocated in the form of man-hours – sometimes, with the consequence that a special pedagogue enters the scene. In this way, a quantitative problem is solved.

However, new problems tend to arise as a result, as is evident in the following excerpt:

Field notes: The support pedagogue held a meeting with the child's main pedagogue, the psychologist and the head of the support body to discuss a plan of action for the child. The support pedagogue explained that they had discussed who should be responsible for doing what was needed for the boy. For example, he had no

friends. So who should make sure that he spent time with a potential friend or learned to play with others? The institution wanted someone external to ensure that this happened. The support pedagogue wanted it to be like "in the old days" where a group could cope with two retarded children. I asked about the boy's relation to the pedagogical learning plans. That was clearly not how he was discussed. The discussion about inclusiveness had not been extended to children with special needs. We talked a little about how the boy could be helped best. Should language be the priority or social relationships? The support pedagogue strongly believed that it is difficult to participate socially without language. We also discussed what the support pedagogue's role in the institution should be. She was irritated that the main pedagogue wanted her to "be integrated" – "Integrated into what", she asked , "into chaos?"

Here, the main pedagogue assumed that, when one of the scarce support pedagogues has been allocated to a child, then that child should be the support pedagogue's responsibility. The support pedagogue assumed that she is there to carry out some specific learning-related tasks with the child for the limited number of hours she is at the day-care institution. Neither of them thought about who should do what in relation to the pedagogical learning plans. They agreed that there are two separate tasks, and both parties fought to do what they were accustomed to doing. The support pedagogue – with her social or special-pedagogical approach – took as her starting point the divergent child, who she sees from an individual perspective that is characterised by specific, targeted problem-solving. The main pedagogue – with her general pedagogical approach – took as her point of departure the normal children, who she sees from a group perspective. Her problem-solving is characterised by generally supporting children in being able to find their own direction in play, and thereby forming their sense of self. Thus, the two pedagogues represent contrasting logics when it comes to their view of targeted interventions. The support pedagogue sees targeted interventions for vulnerable children as a necessity and as a core pedagogical task. The main pedagogue (a general pedagogue) sees the targeted intervention as problematic and a potential attack on the objective of self-formation via free play. Working in a targeted manner with interventions is perceived to be legitimate when it comes to vulnerable children, but not legitimate in relation to so-called 'normal' children who should have the opportunity to play freely and 'be children'. The support pedagogue's focus on the individual child collided with the main pedagogue's idea that the support pedagogue should be incorporated into the general work at the institution. This idea makes sense in the context of the idea that what is lacking is more of the same – and therefore, not anything qualitatively different. The support pedagogue's rejection of this makes sense if her premise is that the special intervention is qualitatively different from the general pedagogical work – which she also views negatively, since she characterised it as "chaotic".

Here, both the support pedagogue and the main pedagogue were blind to

the fact that the general intervention in day-care institutions also represents targeted intervention, as this is a basic feature of institutional life. The everyday life that is played out in the institutions is related to the particular dramaturgy and logic that is integral to day-care institutions where children and adults spend a large part of the day together (Kjær 2007b; Ehn 2004). The employees are there because they have tasks to do that are related to the children's development, well-being and play. One task that they consider to be particularly important is ensuring that the children have opportunities to play freely. Paradoxically, the pedagogues see themselves as those who take care of the children, their development and rights – while, at the same time, they worry about influencing, controlling or interfering in the children's play. The law requiring pedagogical learning plans and the mandate to consider the learning processes of vulnerable children collided with an existing, hidden learning plan based on the implicit premise of dividing and segregating the children into groups based on normality and divergence. This way of thinking and of understanding pedagogy demands a division of labour among the adults to separate the children into certain groups. The sense of ownership of particular children or groups of children creates obstacles for a coordinated and comprehensive approach to pedagogical efforts. The employees imagine that the tasks are so fundamentally different that they could not possibly be combined. But on the contrary, these tasks necessitate the creation of specific professional identities if they are to be performed.

The law states that the pedagogical learning plan should be "tailored to the composition of the group of children" (Social Services Act §22, part 2). But when it comes to vulnerable children, it seems as though this requirement is not realised or is only realised to a limited extent:

1) in part because the tasks related to these children are considered to be fundamentally different,
2) in part because the individual diagnosis (whatever its nature) is placed in opposition to the group-perspective of the learning plan, and
3) finally, because the work with normal children and the work with children with special needs is thematised in textual understandings and professional arenas as being differentiated from each other, which means that vulnerable children disappear from the learning plans.

Perceptions of children with special needs

The task of working with vulnerable children is thought to be fundamentally different from working with children who are considered to be 'ordinary' or 'normal'. In relation to normal children, the general perception is that the pedagogical profession does a good and effective job. Therefore, the task of creating learning plans is primarily interpreted as being a matter of "*articulating what we do and doing more of what we do well*". In other words, the

task is seen as providing a kind of evidence or documentation that will demonstrate that the institution does good work.

Ulla: If I started to think about children with special needs, then it would be a different job altogether, I think. I would see with different eyes, and I would have to do something extra or do something in a different way if there were children with special needs. Because then I would have an objective. I would have to aim towards something. I would have to aim for them to get better or do better. But I think that, with normal children, it's more a matter of articulating what we do and doing more of what we do well. (from interview)

In relation to children who require a special pedagogical intervention, this task is perceived to involve setting objectives and meeting targets; for example, for the child to do better. The above quote illustrates that this task is seen to be fundamentally different from the normal pedagogical work because it involves a targeted approach, which is viewed as something foreign and perhaps even as being restrictive or, when it comes to the normal day-care services, unwanted and intrusive. With regard to special initiatives, the intervention and targeted approach is viewed as something positive – or at least as a necessity. This means that, due to its targeted approach, the task of working with vulnerable or marginalised children is characterised differently than the task of working with normal children. At the same time, the task of creating pedagogical learning plans is considered to be something that can and should be aimed towards the group rather than the individual. Therefore, due to the strong individual perspective, a child with special needs is considered to be outside of the group.

The phrase 'do better' suggests that the perspective is psychologically inspired in a way that prioritises well-being and emotions over learning and involvement. In order to learn in a similar way to – and along with – other children, a child with special needs must reach a certain state of emotional well-being and security, which is considered to be a prerequisite for participation in learning and other developmental activities. If the pedagogues determine that the child is doing better, then he/she can return to the normal everyday activities at the institution and function on the same level as the other children. Only then does the special-needs child enter into the arena of the pedagogical learning plan – the 'normal' arena in the day-care institution. This normality is assumed to be fundamentally positive and appropriate; as a result, the task in the normal area is a matter of "articulating what we do and doing more of what we do well".

The underlying premise here is that, to a great extent, normal children use their own momentum to develop in a positive and appropriate manner. That is, cultural influences and the transfer of traditions are considered to be a process of natural psychological development that takes place via everyday processes and without instruction. The act of structuring and creating goals for the development of these children tends to be perceived as an assault –

adult direction challenges the idea of 'the competent child': these normal, competent children are perceived as being capable of finding their own direction. Since it is the child's self that is being developed, the process must be based on the child's choices, his/her interests, activities, games, etc. Thus, there is a tendency to overlook the adult direction that is a major feature of institutional childhood (see Kampmann 2004; Kjær 2005).

In relation to vulnerable, marginalised children, intervention is considered to be something positive – i.e., something that should correct damage, atypical development and so on. Setting targets is not considered to be contradictory because these children are characterised by their lack of competence in relation to the normality that is dominant. In relation to these children, this creates a need to consider the roles that the existing practice plays in processes of marginalisation, which, as the children get older, are increasingly manifested in institutional and organisational segregation. The existing practice takes the form of organisational and administrative structures, divisions of labour, and pedagogical approaches and definitions of normality and divergence. In her study of day-care institutions' work with marginalised children, Bente Jensen points out, "It is difficult to change the traditional way of seeing and working with the issues related to these children" (Jensen 2005: 82–83).

Jensen also concludes that, in relation to marginalised children, initiatives "have a tendency to not match the pedagogical principles of the institutions", and that they "seem to be based on a tenacious tradition of looking for shortcomings" (ibid.: 100). Thus, children with special needs do not function as well as the other children and their vulnerability is considered to be an obstacle to learning and participation. In this way of thinking, the pedagogues believe that vulnerability (i.e., the psychological failure to thrive) must be reduced in order for these children to learn and participate. The idea that learning and participation could be a way to reduce vulnerability and a failure to thrive does not exist as a possibility in this logic and is thus not taken into consideration. This means that these children experience the Matthew-effect[2] – in addition to their underprivileged situation, they are also, due to the dominant practices of care and compensation, denied the opportunity to escape their marginalised positions, poverty, loneliness, divergent behaviours, etc., via learning (see Kjær 1995; Jensen 2005: 99).

When working with children with special needs, a consequence of the individualised focus is that these children are not incorporated into the normal pedagogy. Rather, others (that is, the experts) are supposed to bring the vulnerable child into a position where he/she is able to participate in the established normality, which is not problematised or discussed. Instead, this normality is an implicit expression of a more-or-less conscious conception of 'the good childhood' of which the day-care institution considers itself to be a representative (Kjær and Smidt 2002) – a self-perception that centres on

the understanding that it is the (only) arena in society that is specifically targeted at children's needs, nature, well-being, development, play, self-formation and so on (Tullgren 2004; Kampmann 2004).

Thus, children with special needs are defined in ways that exclude them from the contructs of the pedagogical learning plan. Simultaneously, the point of departure for the learning plan becomes a more-or-less consciously imagined normal group – and the established dramaturgy, tradition and logic of the day-care institution (Højlund 2005; Højlund 2006; Kjær 2007b and 2011).

The existing logic of the day-care institution

In this section, I explore the dramaturgy of the day-care tradition, where childhood is considered to be a kind of natural phenomenon that should be protected. Thus, day-care services become a kind of nature reserve for children, and the pedagogues consider themselves to be wildlife inspectors who must protect the children from the destructive target-orientated rationale of the 'poachers'.

Annelise: One of our most important tasks is to ensure that children in Denmark today are allowed to be children, whatever happens. The child may be here for 45 hours a week?, so we must ensure that it is pleasant to be here…children need a break, too…children are also at work, and being here is their job. (from interview)

This quote expresses the idea that day-care institutions – and the lives that are lived at them – are one of society's last remaining arenas in which children can live life on their own terms, with their needs as the point of departure. However, in the same quote, day care is seen from the opposite perspective; i.e., that it is work for the children, and therefore does not centre on their needs. Such contradictory perspectives and dilemmas between ideals, values and everyday realities are constantly evident in both the employees' words and their everyday behaviour.

At the time of our study, when they were thinking about the learning plan, the pedagogues had to consider and submit to one of the most dominant success criteria of all: whether they were able to make the children happy and secure. They were very concerned about whether the children were happy and thriving, which is an expression of pedagogues' and day-care institutions' well-established tradition of providing home-like care. It is characteristic of this tradition that happiness, security and care on the part of the employees are placed in opposition to learning. Pedagogues perceive care and learning as opposed to one another: a positive atmosphere and happy children are associated with free play and child-directed activities, whereas the learning perspective is associated with adult-directed, predetermined activities.

The employees were worried that a learning plan would change the informal and care-based life of the day-care or kindergarten into a structured

preschool programme. The pedagogues were deeply concerned with defending the children's right to be happy, and emphasised that play allows the children to have or establish a learning space or environment.

Anette: At one point, we felt that we should go out, out, out. The parents really wanted that. But if the children are tired of going out every day, then it's not in their best interests.

Sandra: Even if we can document that we've been on outings, we can't really use that for anything.

Birte: If the pictures we take show children with their mouths turned down, then isn't it better to have some pictures taken out in the sandbox where the corners of their mouths are in the right direction?

All: Yes. (from interview)

Having to talk about learning plans made the pedagogues think in terms of organised activities that fulfil parents' expectations for a good and meaningful institutional life (see also Kjær 2003; 2007b for more about interactions between parents and staff). The strongest argument in this discussion was about whether or not the children were happy. The institution's ability to establish a daily routine where children can thrive, play and are happy and well-cared for is central to the employees' and parents' assessments of quality. For the pedagogues, there was no clear relationship between well-being and learning – rather, the two are in opposition to each other. This opposition is related to associations with the adult-directed activities and preparations for school that characterise the pedagogues' first impressions of working with learning plans.

This (negative) image of what the learning-plan perspective might require from day-care institutions refers back to an already existing, seemingly self-evident, invisible learning plan: the Danish day-care tradition or day-care culture, in which children are positive, happy, have conversations, play and cooperate together. These expectations reflect values held by the middle classes, which, in part, set the norms for life in day-care institutions (Callewaert and Nilsson 1980; Broady 1981; Bernstein 1977). This learning plan is not perceived as a learning plan but rather as the expression of natural development, security and well-being. However, it establishes a range of expectations and requirements for the people who are expected to take on the role of 'child' (Kjær 2005). A happy child is a child who is able to establish appropriate and acceptable relationships with other children and the institution's employees. The competent child is able to live up to expectations without visible difficulties. Happy children – those who affirm the view of the day-care institution and its staff with regard to 'the good childhood' – are a constant goal; therefore, happy children are considered to be a mark of quality (see Liberg 2003).

The invisible learning plan specifically caters to a particular group of

children, who become representatives of 'the norm', so to speak, and become a symbol of a normal, good childhood populated by happy, competent children who cooperate with each other and with adults in ways that are considered to be correct, appropriate and natural. A child's behaviour is understood as an expression of his/her ability to develop his/her innate competences as opposed to what was previously known as 'child-rearing' (Nordin-Hultman 2004).

As seen from a folkloristic and analytical perspective, the institutions' universe has its own heroes and villains. Some are better at meeting expectations than others. Some receive affirmation, while others do not. In the universe of the institution, incantations, invocations and curses are spoken. Indeed, they are called diagnoses or are expressed through the narrative traditions of the pedagogues and the children's' modes of expression. The institution is built upon its own rituals. These may be 'going on an outing', 'assembly' or 'being picked up'. Or perhaps the Christmas party or coffee meet-ups on Fridays for the parents. Whatever form they take, these rituals are integral to how everyday life in and around the organisation is formed (Ehn 2004; Kjær 2005 and 2007b). The dramaturgy of the institution and of day-care service claims the status of 'natural' and 'appropriate'. And so it is – at least for the group of children who are capable of playing the role of the competent child in this dramaturgy. But the children who are unable to do this 'fail' the invisible learning plan's 'exam' in childlikeness, so to speak. They become children with special needs, vulnerable children, problem children, children in the grey zone and so on.

The culture of communication and the perception of colleague relationships

Our ethnographic material documents how the employees talk about, negotiate and act in relation to the pedagogical learning plan. It illustrates which forms of communication and genres of speech the staff considered to be legitimate and not, which in turn established the communicative framework for their work on the pedagogical learning plans and with special-needs children. The existing culture of communication established two spheres or areas – two communicative fields with their own modalities and genre conventions. In the following, I describe these two fields in more detail, as well as the role that they play in the (identity) work of the employees.

The first of these communicative fields can be given the general heading of "THEORY" .[3] For the employees, "THEORY" denotes something that can be talked about and discussed. It is a matter of the intentions that are formulated via generalised statements, and it is made up of abstractions that can be given linguistic forms similar to principles and reports. The second communicative field can be generally labelled "EXPERIENCE". For the

employees, "EXPERIENCE" denotes something that can be narrated but not discussed. It is a matter of experiences that reproduce personal emotions. The form is concrete, narrative and requires reciprocal affirmation and acceptance.

Communicative fields

"THEORY"	"EXPERIENCE"
intention	experiences
general statements	personal emotions
abstract	concrete
report	narrative
discussion	affirmation

The points listed under the communicative field "THEORY" are based on and maintain a certain distance between language (talking about) and practical actions. Here, the employees can talk about their intentions and what they consider to be important (e.g., a child being allowed to act like a child while at the institution). This field is characterised by abstract, non-specific and generalised statements ("children learn through play" or "there is learning in everything"). In this field, it is relatively easy to agree or disagree because the lack of concreteness creates a certain noncommittal or non-specific relationship to the topic of conversation. "THEORY" is perceived to be something positive, as it can legitimise the work that is being done and engender recognition for the profession. This is where discussions happen.

The characteristics of the communicative field "EXPERIENCE" are based on and maintain a close relationship between the individual and the pedagogical profession. It is here that pedagogues are legitimately able to talk about their experiences: what they have felt, sensed and done. Narratives about personal experiences position the individual with his/her unique senses and feelings in the centre, and are specific and closely linked to practice. The field of "EXPERIENCE" characterises pedagogical discussions in such a way that pedagogy becomes inextricably linked to who the pedagogue is as a person: *"I am so spontaneous. I would rather do it than write about it."* Personalities are brought into play and are at stake. Since individuals must be respected and affirmed, a zone of untouchability is created

around "EXPERIENCE". Feelings and "EXPERIENCE" are not open to debate and cannot be discussed. In this field, it is important to affirm, recognise and respect. "EXPERIENCE" is considered to be positive because it is authentic, true and real.

Furthermore, as already mentioned, "THEORY" is considered to be a good thing because it can defend and legitimise – but in relation to both bodily experiences and personal experiences, "THEORY" is insufficient because it is distanced, inauthentic, artificial and cold. The implicit premise here is that the authentic "EXPERIENCE" is better, warmer and more truthful than the inauthentic "THEORY".

There are a few examples where the boundary between the two communicative fields is traversed; for example, when the approach that employs discussion and the critical examination of the day-care institution's dramaturgy becomes specific and linked to observations of practice. When this happens, difficulties arise and conflicts ensue.

Field notes: The support pedagogue guides the conversation with me towards the general lack of planning at the day-care institution. The main pedagogue does not get involved but is aware of the provocation on the part of the support pedagogue. I ask what she means. The support pedagogue gives an example: it is important to learn how to cut things out. But the institution does not have its scissors in order, if they even have a whole set. They do not teach the children to use scissors. It is also important to learn to draw a person, for example. The support pedagogue has been to several day-care institutions and feels that they lack structure. She says: "But I'm looking at it as a specially trained pedagogue. Maybe it's not something that's taught in the pedagogue courses anymore." The main pedagogue is now visibly upset by the support pedagogue's attack on the pedagogues and on the institution. She looks over at us. And away again. Deeply dissatisfied.

I attempt to mediate: "You feel that it's important to work on fine motor skills with scissors and drawing. Is that perhaps because you are mainly trained in developmental psychology and work with descriptions of development? What do you think, (main pedagogue)?" The main pedagogue takes the opportunity to participate: "Yes, maybe if they can't cut things out or draw people, perhaps they can do something else. There are many ways to learn to do things." The conversation went on for a while and centred on structure versus no structure. It appears that there is a hidden agenda, which revolves around which of the two is able to pull out the strongest arguments – the experienced, specialised pedagogue or the young, generalised pedagogue?

This episode documents a struggle over the right to decide the agenda and the interpretative perspective. Each of the parties felt that the other had lost touch with important aspects of the pedagogical task. Via the mediation of the fieldworker, this disagreement was interpreted as an expression of different professional approaches. Here, it is worth noting that it is the fieldworker who established the discussion and embedded the conversation in a profession-related, academic framework. Both the support pedagogue and the main pedagogue began by expressing only indirect physical and verbal

communication towards the other; the direct speech was directed towards the fieldworker. What was said indirectly to the colleague was partially uttered via the conversation with the fieldworker and partially expressed via bodily attitudes and emotional expressions. The main pedagogue heard what was being said but responded more to the verbalisation, criticism and problematisation in itself. If the fieldworker had not opened up the dialogue, the exchange of words might have ended with the support pedagogue's angry outburst and the main pedagogue taking offense. On other occasions, these kinds of disagreements were interpreted as an unwillingness to take responsibility, an inability to be receptive or to cooperate, as unwarranted criticism, negativity, judgement, etc. This example illustrates how language is considered to be dangerous when it is used to communicate and make differences and disagreements visible. This danger must be eliminated, and is therefore met with anger, affront, defensiveness and other implicit forms of aggression.

Two researchers who study pedagogy, Gunnel Colnerud and Kjell Granström, have described how pedagogical staff use language to create agreement, affirmation and consensus, and therefore do not anchor language in practice. Rather, they detach it from practice. This results in a use of language in which abstract and semi-abstract concepts, taken from different theoretical directions, are used to describe the pedagogues' intentions with their practices. Colnerud and Granström call this practice "pseudo-meta-linguistic" (1998). Pseudo-meta-language can be differentiated from everyday language by its use of abstract concepts, but it is also similar to everyday language in that it does not employ these concepts in pedagogical reflections or analyses. The consistent decoupling of language and the pedagogical practice makes it possible for employees to establish a colleague relationship that is based on narrative or linguistic unanimity, even when the colleagues' practices may be in direct opposition to each other.

Thus, pseudo-meta-language becomes a linguistic style rather than a professional language through which the practitioners of the profession can share reflections, analyses and insights. Colnerud and Granström (1998; Colnerud 1995) illustrate how a linguistic style entirely devoid of theoretical concepts can contain analysis and reflection if it is anchored in practice and compares intentions to what is actually happening.

In this example, the support pedagogue compares her actual observations to the objective that the children should learn to draw and cut things out, and that they should have the opportunity to practice this and be supported if they find it difficult. Here, language is linked to the pedagogical practice and, as a result, there is an opportunity to reflect upon and discuss objectives and means in relation to the pedagogical learning plan and the practices it should support. The main pedagogue rejects the criticism by suggesting that the children could do something else, and the discussion subsequently turns

to whether it is good or bad to implement structure in the institution. Both the support pedagogue and the main pedagogue share the implicit premise that the general pedagogy represents freedom from structure (which is not actually the case – it is merely a different kind of structure). From the support pedagogue's point of view, this is a failure, and from the main pedagogue's point of view, it is a prerequisite for the children's own self-development. However, the example also illustrates how discussions and reflections of this type must overcome non-verbal communication that is anchored in individual feelings and attitudes.

The support pedagogue relates a general objective – i.e., that children should learn to cut things out and draw people – to a specific observation that the institution does not ensure that this happens. In doing so, she opens up an actual discussion about what the institution teaches the children. By being specific and talking about something she has experienced and seen, she places the conversation in the area of "EXPERIENCE" – but she uses a characteristic from the area of "THEORY"; namely, that this is something that can be discussed. In this way, she traverses the boundary between the two communicative fields, which in turn angers and offends the main pedagogue. The main pedagogue moves the discussion back into the "THEORY" area by making it general and a question of principles. Thus, she avoids assessing what the institution and her own pedagogy teach the children. She re-establishes the cultural order with regard to determining legitimate topics of conversation and how these can be articulated in relation to the communicative fields, and with regard to the mutual affirmation and recognition of an individual's personal "EXPERIENCE".

The cultural order's communicative fields establish a kind of taboo, which can be formulated as follows: we do not discuss each other's actual actions and ways of being adults because we respect that we are all different. We discuss "THEORY" and we affirm each other's "EXPERIENCES". This is a communicative order that seeks a consensus in the specific and debate in the abstract – but separates the two from each other.

Conflicts like this (between the support pedagogue and the main pedagogue over the scissors and drawing of people) have a tendency to be defined as an expression of "PERSONAL CHEMISTRY". "We don't get along" or "we have bad chemistry" are expressions that are often used. This is probably a widespread phenomenon. Indeed, in 2006, the professional union responsible for visiting pedagogues (BUPL) published a report that showed that over one-third of union members' dismissals and resignations were motivated by personal chemistry. When disagreements and differences are called "personal chemistry", a cultural order is maintained in which theory is detached from practice, and in which individual experience and action take precedence over generalised knowledge. If learning plans are meant to take vulnerable children's learning into consideration, then the two

communicative fields of "THEORY" and "EXPERIENCE" must be combined.

The encounter between the two pedagogues was made even more problematic by the fact that, in their discussion about the pedagogical learning plan, neither of them included work with vulnerable children or observations of the normal practice of the institution. Another difficulty is that (when the fieldworker does not get involved) frustrations and disagreements tend to merge in the interpretation of the situation and be explained as a 'lack of chemistry'. Professional identities are made so personal that anger, offence and feelings of violation as well as other emotions are perceived to be legitimate reactions to professional disagreements or actual observations.

The pedagogues' identity is linked to an understanding of the pedagogue as a relational worker who has relational skills. The person and the profession are one and the same, and pedagogues consider themselves to be their own tools of the trade (Weicher & Fibæk Laursen 2003). Since the individual and its unique personality are untouchable, it is difficult for them to discuss how they and their colleagues conduct pedagogical tasks. It seems that the parties' fervent identity-work removes the focus from the task at hand, so that a professional issue may be reinterpreted as something personal – either in terms of emotion or attitude. In both cases, dialogue becomes impossible since feelings and attitudes must always be respected (Kjær 2004a and 2004c; Colnerud & Granström 1993). In the encounter described above, the support pedagogue demanded more structure, scissors and drawing skills, and the main pedagogue demanded play, processes and freedom. Perhaps this is an encounter between the methodologist who considers activities and processes to be tools, and the relational pedagogue who considers herself to be the tool.

Underlying rationales at stake

As shown in the previous section, there are several reasons why the encounter between the main pedagogue and the support pedagogue took place under difficult circumstances. In this encounter, two different and often conflicting logics, universes of understanding and expert systems were activated, and the collision was intensified by the professional identity being so strongly attached to the person. In the following, I look more closely at how these interdisciplinary encounters have a tendency to be problematic; in particular, the way these encounters become difficult when problems are interpreted as an expression of "personal chemistry". Indeed, as I describe later, it is not a coincidence that the metaphor is made up of "personal" – which refers to the individual as a psychological and social unit – and the biological "chemistry" – which is rooted in a natural-scientific understanding of a person and his/her dispositions and relations.

Anthropologist Susanne Højlund analyses how homeliness[4] is a significant and widespread institutional strategy, both at long-term care facilities for children ("children's homes") and at day-care institutions (Højlund 2005, 2006). Dating back to the civic philanthropy of the 1800s in Denmark, the concept of homeliness has played an important role in both the construction of social work and in its legitimisation and symbolic anchoring (Lützen 2003). Thus, from the very beginning, the ideal of homeliness has been fundamentally embedded in the creation of the welfare state's institutions (including day-care institutions). Thus, homeliness is part of the basic concept of the day-care institution, its dramaturgy and societal task. The idea that the values of day-care institutions are tied to the concepts of home and family is not surprising, since the welfare state has taken on a number of child-rearing and care tasks that were previously organisationally anchored in the home or household. In line with the ideal of homeliness, the pedagogical profession has for many years considered the merging of the personal and the professional to be an ideal and a strategy for practice.

In this tension between ideals of homeliness and the structural conditions of the workplace, the pedagogical employees must deal with the dilemmas that arise. Pedagogues struggle to define a form of institutional homeliness while knowing that this homeliness will never be 'authentic': it will always be a constructed, pseudo-homeliness – a friendly and warm institutional atmosphere, but an institutional atmosphere nonetheless (see also the above quotation regarding the institution as the children's haven and place of work). Højlund calls this type of paradoxical, intentional, argued and constructed authenticity "performed authenticity" (Højlund 2006).

Perhaps due to this paradox, pedagogy seems to revolve around what is thought to be – or that which is able to be – authentic; that is, a person him/herself. Therefore, attentive, authentic adults and good, close relationships are fundamental values in the world of day care. It is the people who populate the institutions who create the homeliness that is impossible to achieve organisationally and, as a result, pedagogues see themselves – their own person – as a tool of their profession.

With regard to care and childrearing tasks, folklorist Anne Leonora Blaakilde has analysed ideas about the exchange of experiences between mothers and grandmothers (Blaakilde 2006). Inspired by linguistic researchers Lakoff and Johnson (1980), among others, she describes how the relationship between generations in the family context relates to a general idea about the person or personality as a place, a container, in which the self is located. When a mother and daughter tell each other about their experiences of motherhood, childrearing or caring for their child, they must continuously ensure that they mutually affirm each other as independent people. When they want to share experiences and knowledge, they must do so via genres of speech that respect the other person. And respecting the other per-

son involves perceiving the personality as a container in which the other's inviolable, authentic self is located (Blaakilde 2006).

The feelings that are perceived as "chemistry" – that is, biological or biochemical absolutes – are placed in this personality, which is understood as the container for the self. Feelings are true and indisputable because they come from the body; thus, they are the biochemical basis for the person's self. Experience also forms part of this biochemical, inviolable self. A mother must respect her daughter's right to have her own experiences – if not, then she does not respect her daughter as a person. This means that good advice is useless because personal experience – insights that have been physically sensed and experienced – is what counts. This is perceived to be authentic due to it being anchored in the personality, in the experiences of the biochemical body. Therefore, the mother and daughter must share insights, knowledge and feelings via narrative forms that take the person as their starting point. They must talk about their own experiences. But they must not interfere with each other's experiences, give good advice, tell stories about what others have experienced or share scientific insights. All of these narrative forms are considered to be inauthentic, untrue. Indeed, the entire logic and construction of these genres insist that experience can be shared and passed on. Thus, they do not respect the personality as a guarantor of truth and absolute authority.

Nevertheless, the maternal grandmothers give their daughters advice in practice. They do so by sharing their own experiences and feelings in the hope that their daughters will learn from them. In these narratives about personal experience, it is emotion that guides the individual through the chaos of experience: if it feels right, then it is right. If it feels good, then it is good. Personal experience is good, whereas advice and generalised knowledge are bad (ibid.).

In the following, I demonstrate that these narratives about identity, personality, experience and the (im)possibility of sharing experiences can also be found in the internal communication between the pedagogical employees. These ideas about the precedence of experience and feelings create a kind of authority of authenticity, which has moved from the female generational relationships of the family sphere into the arena of colleague relationships at the day-care institution. Through the institution's ideals regarding homeliness and informality, zones of communicational untouchability are established around what is called 'experience'. The untouchability is established and legitimised via the emotional argument. The consequence of this is that, since everyone must form their own experiences, realisations and reflections become individual projects that cannot be shared with anyone. The experience argument is endowed with the embodied, emotional and biological authenticity of the individual, and therefore constitutes an indisputable authority.

Homeliness + authenticity = authority – a cocktail that creates a zone of untouchability

A sentence like "We should articulate what we are doing, and do more of what we do well" indicates that the learning plans' demand for verbalisation provides the employees with an opportunity to focus on what they do well and what is not so good. But there was no discussion of how one could become qualified to differentiate between the two. It was simply assumed that they would be capable of doing so. The discussion that ensued implied that this evaluative differentiation is something that could be easily placed within the individual pedagogue. The conversation revolved around how and to what extent the institution's photographic evidence should be supplemented with written material. That was a question that required deliberation and discussion.

Alma: We used to write down small observations.

Ulla: We can always include pictures. We have tons of pictures, if we need them…

Alma: Yes, yes.

Ulla: …which can be included, right?

Alma: I think the other thing [observations] is more important because, when we're taking pictures, then we can start to talk about how the pictures should look.

Interviewer: Have you all written observations previously, or…?

Benedikte: On a course, at least.

Interviewer: Yes. It seems that…

Benedikte: But sometimes, I think it's hard to get started.

Interviewer: Yes.

Alma: Now you know that you should write about something from the morning, and I'll give you a shove so that that you get started the first few times.

Benedikte: That's not necessary. Then I'll just freeze up completely, so you shouldn't do that.

Alma: No, then I won't do it.

Interviewer: Is it writing it down, or finding time and a quiet moment?

Benedikte: I don't know. Right now, it's just that…I mean, I feel like…it's just a bit myself because I'm so spontaneous and…it irritates me a bit that I have to sit down if I want to walk around in the playroom. I mean, I'm not a secretary. It sometimes irritates me a bit. I could have just become an author. So I feel a bit like – now they also want to decide that I have to write this when I would rather be a part of something, or do something or start something up. (from interview)

In this conversation, a dilemma is activated between, on one side, the practical pedagogical work as an embodied craft that creates an everyday life with interactions between people and, on the other, the analytical distanced work of reflection that registers, talks about and textualises this practice. One of the employees did not think that it makes sense for them to write because pedagogical work is a matter of being with the children and doing different activities. Therefore, writing and reflective work are placed outside of the core tasks of the profession. Furthermore, the argument is that they became pedagogues because they wanted to be with the children and do something with them. The opposition between "time with the children" and "time in the office" is clear (according to BUPL 2002; Kjær 2004). Here, the point is that the learning plans' demand for textuality represents a new and extra task that steals the employees' time from the children. A range of organisational and resource-related factors that have given the day-care institution new tasks also support this viewpoint.

The conversation also illustrates a circumstance that is worth noticing; namely, the forms of colleague relationships and interactions that are in play. One colleague offers to share the responsibility for the new written task, but her offer is rejected. At first with a friendly "that's not necessary" and "I'll manage on my own". But another layer is soon added to this rejection because interference from a colleague would cause the person in question "to freeze up completely". Thus, it was inappropriate for the colleague to attempt to get involved. Perhaps because this would open up an opportunity for her to give advice or include alternative perspectives that might involve an implied criticism or relativisation of the other's (professional) behaviour, strategies and ways of thinking. And, as discussed earlier, this type of interference and potential analysis is problematic because the professional identity is so closely tied to the individual personality. Thus, displaying improper pedagogical behaviour is almost as unbearable as being a bad person. One's actions become equal to one's personality. Statements like "I'm spontaneous" and "I want to walk around in the playroom" indicate that the perception of the pedagogical work is associated with and motivated by personal qualities, desires and dispositions. The inviolable person with his/her unique dispositions and preferences are the ultimate argument. If it feels good, then it is right. The fact that the pedagogue considers herself to be her instrument and her method impedes the general discussion of actions, attitudes, dispositions, priorities and so on, as this would involve a lack of recognition and respect for the person herself. Indeed, her colleague rapidly withdraws her offer to help – presumably to redress the mutual balance of recognising the inviolable personalities of those involved.

This exchange also illustrates another fundamental characteristic; namely, that reflection is considered to be an individual project that can only take place based on an individual's own motivation and experiences. If a person

is put under pressure, then he/she may "freeze up". Thus, in this case, the professional identity of the pedagogue is identical to the biographical and biological person that comprise an individual. As a result, silence must be maintained with regard to the pedagogical work with the children – out of respect for the individual pedagogue.

Conclusions and perspectives

In this article, I have touched upon the meaning-making processes that were initiated by a requirement to change practices. I have illustrated how these requirements challenge existing norms, logics, values, professional identities, colleague relationships and communicative orders. In the discursive vacuum of these processes of change, several fundamental concepts become subject to new or re-interpretations. On the level of practice, existing traditions, structures and organisational forms fill out the discursive vacuum with familiar and established definitions of different types of vulnerability and divergence, and the respective specialised initiatives aimed towards these children (Kjær, Malmgreen & Mikkelsen 2002; Nielsen, Thorgård, Wang et al. 2009: 9–10). As a consequence, the marginalised children are not visible in the pedagogical learning plans or in the work carried out in relation to these plans.

The absence of legislative classification and attempts to avoid stigmatisation were not sufficient to counteract the stigmatising classification in practice. This is in part because the encounter between a day-care institution and PPR is also an encounter between the pedagogues' approach and PPR's psychological expertise and position of power. One study has shown that Danish pedagogues do not believe they are qualified to work with marginalised children (Jensen 2005). As I have shown, they experience frustration and, in terms of psychological evaluations, they may become entirely dependent on the expertise of PPR. The individual-psychological perspective of the expert system has a profound effect on the day-care institution's daily practice and especially tends to set the agenda in relation to vulnerable children who need special attention. At the same time, this causes a sense of powerlessness and bewilderment among the pedagogues.

This study emphasises the importance of investigating everyday practices, professional identities and the processes by which meaning is created when attempting to transform and develop the welfare society. Everyday life at day-care (and other) institutions is brought forward and unfolds via the symbolic creation of meaning, both with regards to language and action. In order for the people involved to be capable of dealing with changes and to take action during a time of change necessitates that these routines and patterns be described and analysed. As a result, pedagogues will be able to see what the changes are doing to them, their everyday lives, their identities

and their relationships. Decision-makers may also need to gain insights into the sometimes intense forces that are released during such a process of transformation – and perhaps to establish a respectful understanding of why it may be difficult, painful or characterised by conflict. The folkloristic academic tradition can contribute with concrete, empirically grounded analyses and understandings of these processes, so that the result is not merely an insight into *what* is happening, but also *how*, along with which cultural, social and identity-related factors are at stake. During certain periods of time in the history of folklore studies, scholars have tended to romanticise popular world views and popular worlds of experience (Rørbye 1982) as a consequence of their critical debate with ethnocentric and patronising terms. Analytical equality between the logics of everyday life and expert discourses may open up a critical perspective on both, so that we can establish a plausible, nuanced and respectful scientific understanding of the life-world of popular experience formation. It will also help us understand the logics involved in life worlds as well as systems at a time when institutional life comprises a significant portion of everyone's existence.

Bjørg Kjær, Ph.D.,
Department of Education/Childhood, Youth & Institution
Tuborgvej 164
DK-2400 Copenhagen NV
Denmark
Email: hbak@dpu.dk

References

Blaakilde, Anne Leonora 2006." >It's just a story I'm telling you; I haven't experienced it myself.< A Grandmother's narratives and experiences". Pp. 158–182 in *Narrating, Doing, Experiencing: Nordic Folkloristic Perspectives.* Annikki Kaivola-Bregenhøj, Barbro Klein & Ulf Palmenfelt (eds.). Studia Fennica, Folkloristica, Finland.

BUPL 2011. The duty to report. Available at: http://www.bupl.dk/loen__og__vilkaar/ansaettelse_og_afsked/ansat_-_rettigheder_og_pligter/underretningspligt?opendocument (downloaded 12.8.2012)

Brostrøm, Stig 2004. *Signalement af den danske daginstitution. Undersøgelser, resultater og refleksioner*. Copenhagen: The Department of Education, Aarhus University.

Bryderup, Inge (red.) 2011. *Diagnoser i specialpædagogik og socialpædagogik.*København: Hans Reitzels Forlag.

Colnerud, Gunnel 1995. *Etik och praktik i läraryrket. En empirisk studie av lärares yrkesetiska konflikter i grundskolan.* Stockholm: HLS förlag.

Colnerud, G. & Granström, K. 1998. *Respekt for lærere. Om lærere professionelle redskaber – fagligt sprog og faglig etik*. Aarhus: Forlaget Klim.

Ehn, Billy 2004. *Skal vi lege tiger?Børnehaveliv set fra en kulturel synsvinkel*. Aarhus: Forlaget Klim.

Herskind, Jensen, Kjær et al. 2005. *Guldguiden. Læring i dagtilbud*. Ministeriet for familie- og forbrugeranliggender. ISBN 87-990495-5-4.

Højlund, Susanne 2005. "Den hjemlige institution". In *Guldguiden. Læring i dagtilbud*. I: Herskind, Jensen, Kjær et al. Ministeriet for familie- og forbrugeranliggender. Pp. 184–188.

Højlund, Susanne 2006. "Hjemlighed som pædagogisk strategi". In: Kristensen, O.S. ed. *Mellem omsorg og metode: Tværfaglige studier i institutionsliv*. Viborg: Forlaget PUC. Pp. 95–135.

Jensen, Bente 2004: *Daginstitutioner og social arv – udvalgte resultater fra en spørgeskemaundersøgelse*. Copenhagen: BUPL. Available at: http://www.bupl.dk/iwfile/AGMD-7VQJWC/$file/daginstogsocialarv.pdf

Kjær, Bjørg 2003. "Forældre og forældresamarbejde – hvordan omtales forældre og hvordan udtaler de sig?". I: Udvikling og perspektiver Socialministeriets evaluering af formålsbestemmelsen om dagtilbud til børn i Lov om Social Service. Rapport 3. CASA, Højvangseminariet og RUC. S. 105–123.

Kjær, Bjørg 2005. *Børn og barndom på fritidshjem. Et folkloristisk studie af fortolkning og forhandling om barnlig identitet*. Learning Lab Denmark, Danmarks Pædagogiske Universitet og Etnologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet. ISBN 87-7684-035-2. 230 page Ph.d. thesis.

Kjær, Bjørg 2007. "Børn med behov for en særlig pædagogisk indsats". I: *Når loven møder børns institutioner*. Jesper Olesen ed. Danmarks Pædagogiske Universitets Forlag. Pp.145–179.

Kjær, Bjørg 2007b. "Framtiden och ögonblickets dans. Om möten mellan barn, pedagoger, medhjälpare och föräldrar". I: *Kulturnavigering i skolan*. Arvastson, Gösta og Ehn, Billy eds. Stockholm: Gleerups. ISBN 978-91-40-66108-1. Pp. 125–132.

Kjær, Bjørg 2011. "Æstetiske forhandlinger om barnlig identitet. Normaliserende identitetsarbejde på et fritidshjem". I: *Barn* nr. 2, 2011. Pp. 9–26.

Kjær, Malmgreen & Mikkelsen 2002. "Forebyggelse og integration – børn med særlige behov". I: *Pædagogik og politik i kommunerne. Dagtilbud til børn – Rapport 1. Socialministeriets evaluering af formålsbestemmelsen om dagtilbud til børn i Lov om Social Service*. CASA, Højvangseminariet og RUC. Pp. 77–106. Available at: http://casa-analyse.dk/files/paedagogik_og_politik_i_kommunerne.pdf

Kjær & Olesen (eds.) 2005. *Informationshåndbog om pædagogiske læreplaner i dagtilbud*. Styrelsen for Social Service, Socialministeriet og Ministeriet for Familie- og Forbrugeranliggender. ISBN 87-990713-0-4. 162 pages. Available at: http://www.bufnet.kk.dk/Dagtilbud/Portalen/Fundament%20for%20projekterne/Policy/~/media/bufnet/Dagtilbud/Portal%20for%20paedagogik%20og%20udvikling/Policy/Infoh%C3%A5ndbog%20fra%20Socialministeriet.ashx

Lakoff, George & Johnson, Mark 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lipsky, Michael 1980. *Street-level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services*. Russel Sage Foundation.

Lützen, Karin 2003. "Den borgerlige filantropi som forudsætning for velfærdsstaten. In: *13 historier om den danske velfærdsstat*. Pedersen, K. ed. Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag. Pp. 47–57.

Marcus, George 1995. "Ethnography in/of the World System; The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography", *Annual Review of Anthropology, Vol. 24 (1995),* Pp. 95–117.

Nielsen, Hanne et al. 2009. *Evaluering af loven om pædagogiske læreplaner*. AKF, Danmarks evalueringsinstitut, NIRAS Konsulenterne og Udviklingsforum.

København: Ministeriet for Familie- og Forbrugeranliggender. Available at: http://www.uvm.dk/Uddannelser-og-dagtilbud/Dagtilbudsomraadet/Fakta-om-dagtilbud/~/media/UVM/Filer/Udd/Dagtilbud/111102%20Slutevaluering%20af%20loven%20om%20p%C3%A6dagogiske%20l%C3%A6replaner.ashx

Mehlbye (ed.) 2009. *Socialt udsatte børn i dagtilbud – indsats og effekt. Sammenfattende rapport*. AKF, Anvendt Kommunal Forskning. http://www.akf.dk/udgivelser/2009/pdf/udsatte_boern.pdf/

Olesen, Jesper (ed.) 2007. *Når loven møder børns institutioner*. København: Danmark Pædagogiske Universitets Forlag.

Rosenkrands, Ulrika 2008. "Pædagogiske læreplaner: en bragende succes". Børn & Unge no. 11, 2008.

Rørbye, Birgitte 1982. *Folkloristiske horisonter. På vej til en kritisk teori om de folkelige erfaringsverdener*. Copenhagen: UNIFOL, Department of Folklore. University of Copenhagen.

Sloth, Rasmussen, Dybdal, Thorgård, Bramsbye, Åkerman, Mehlbye, Andersen, Gundelach & Rasmussen. 2006. *Evaluering af loven om pædagogiske læreplaner.* Rapport. Ministeriet for Familie- og Forbrugeranliggender.

www.retsinfo.dk. 2004. *Lov om ændring af lov om social service (pædagogiske læreplaner i dagtilbud til børn)*. https://www.retsinformation.dk/forms/R0710.aspx?id=20055

---

[1] Rørbye's work is inspired by the concept of 'life world' in the Habermassian tradition. The 'popular worlds of experience' is an attempt to update classic and ethnocentric terms such as 'folk belief' or 'popular belief".

[2] "For to everyone who has will more be given, and he will have an abundance. But from the one has not, even what he has will be taken away" (Matthew 25:29). The term 'Matthew-effect' is used in sociology and education research to describe a phenomenon in which benefits and disadvantages are unevenly distributed and inequality is reinforced.

[3] Note that the overarching terms are written in CAPITAL letters and in quotation marks. This is because they are emic categories, which describe what I analytically (with an etic-label) call communicative fields for everyday speech genres and communications strategies.

[4] For non-British readers, the term 'homeyness' might be more precise to describe the character of the local ideals at stake.

Sigurd Erixon on the Post-War International Scene

International Activities, European Ethnology and CIAP from 1945 to the mid 1950s

Bjarne Rogan

> C'est mon rêve qu'il sera possible un beau jour de publier un atlas européen. (Sigurd Erixon, 1951/1953)[1]

> […] lorsqu'il s'agit d'études culturelles et de la connaissance des hommes, peu de choses me paraissent plus importantes que les comparaisons à faire entre les différentes régions et plus dignes d'intérêt que les tentatives de créer à present, après les guerres dévastatrices, des contacts et de la confiance entre les savants et entre les institutions, indépendamment de toutes frontières politiques. (Sigurd Erixon 1951a)

Why make an investigation into an individual scholar's deeds and doings, successes and setbacks abroad? Sigurd Erixon (1888–1968) held an exceptionally strong position in Swedish ethnology (cf. Arnstberg 1989, 2008), and it is largely due to his efforts that Sweden came to be seen as a vanguard of European ethnology. Between the 1930s and the late 1960s Erixon was by all standards and measures the best-known and most influential scholar internationally of European ethnology or cultural history studies.

He was far from satisfied with the state of the art in European culture history research. He saw more clearly than most others the limitations of a divided and often sectarian discipline, as well as the problems caused by the national heterogeneities in the organization and the profile of European culture history studies. His lack of charisma was largely compensated by his unbending will, and through a lifetime – his retirement years included – he pursued his goals abroad with assiduity and unflagging determination.

In an earlier article in *Arv* (Rogan 2008c) I have discussed his efforts in the 1930s to establish a platform for a unified scholarly discipline that he called European regional ethnology, a term that he had coined to embrace

the study of material culture and social life as well as that of non-material culture or folklore. His efforts unfolded on two levels: in articles that tried to outline the theoretical and methodological foundations of the discipline, and on the practical level around international projects, journals, and organizations.

The continuation of these activities after World War II is the topic of this article. In the 1950s and 1960s ethnology gained ground, not least in the Nordic countries, and sometimes to the detriment – or so it was felt by many – of folklore studies. A motive power in this development was Sigurd Erixon, or the "heavy artillery from the North", as an apprehensive Belgian folklorist once nicknamed him.[2] His will to see folklore as one special branch of the broader discipline of European ethnology, to be subsumed under general ethnology or anthropology, gave him much opposition.

In this article I will follow Erixon's international activities from the late 1940s to the mid 1950s. The text also investigates the history of the international organization CIAP – la Commission Internationale des Arts et Traditions Populaires – which came to be Erixon's most important playground for promoting international cooperation. His adventures abroad in the 1960s will be pursued in a later article, the third part of this "biography of an internationalist". Because Erixon was engaged in so many of the activities and debates of his time, he may function as a keyhole to the international history of the discipline.

I A Glance Backwards

The interwar period had seen several attempts to establish international associations and scientific journals of ethnology and folklore. In the late 1930s there were four, partly competing, organizations.

The oldest one was CIAP, established in 1928 under the auspices of the League of Nations and strictly supervised by the League's sub-organization of cultural politics, la Commission Internationale de Coopération Intellectuelle (Rogan 2013).[3] One of the challenging newcomers was a predominantly Swedish initiative. Folklorists from Northern Europe had discussed a new organization in 1934, during the London ICAES congress (see below). In 1935 Carl Wilhelm von Sydow (1887–1952) followed up by convening an international folktale congress in Lund, with Sigurd Erixon, the ULMA founder Herman Geijer (1871–1943) and around 25 other folklorists, ethnologists, and philologists present. The congress decided to work for the establishment of an association for ethnology, folklore and related linguistics of Northern, Western and Central Europe, as well as for an international journal (Rogan 2008c:70ff). Although the initiative came from the folktale researchers, it was Sigurd Erixon who managed to broaden the scope – in accordance with his conception of "European ethnology" – and

to take more or less control of the further course of events: meetings in Berlin (1936) and Brussels (1937), and congresses in Edinburgh in 1937 and Copenhagen in 1938 (ibid.).

However, Erixon had to face two unexpected opponents. The first one was the nazified, corrupted and aggressive German *Volkskunde*. The German *Forschungsgemeinschaft* (research council) financed the Berlin meeting in 1936, where the organization IAEEF (International Association of European Ethnology and Folklore)[4] was established and where it was decided to launch the new scientific journal *Folk* – the latter also financed by the Germans and published in Leipzig. As a consequence of the growing nazification of the discipline, the Germans were boycotted at the IAEEF congress in Edinburgh (1937), the whole congress being turned into a British-Scandinavian event. For the same reason, the journal *Folk* was abandoned after only two issues in 1937, when Erixon managed to found *Folk-Liv* as an alternative international journal.

The second opponent was the French-dominated rival organization, the *Congrès International de Folklore* (CIFL), led by Georges Henri Rivière (1887–1985). CIFL held its first (and last) congress in 1937. It was an important event with some 300 participants, and it was decided that CIFL should become a permanent organization. But it was clear to Rivière that the scientific leadership of European ethnology/folklore remained in the hands of the Germans and the Nordic countries – *in specie* Sweden and Sigurd Erixon. Even if Rivière seems to have been seduced by German *Volkskunde*, and especially by its progress in cartography, he chose a strategic collaboration with Erixon. They both joined forces with another newcomer, the ICAES (the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences), which had started its long series of congresses in London in 1934. ICAES had the whole world as its playground and was consequently no rival, in the stricter sense, to a new network of European ethnology.

Erixon and Rivière started reorganizing the institutional landscape at the second ICAES congress (Copenhagen 1938), where they managed to circumvent the German problem. Their two organizations established joint committees and exchanged members for their respective boards, and French and other "allies" were invited to join the board of Erixon's new journal *Folk-Liv*. The following issue of *Folk-Liv* was proclaimed the official organ of both Erixon's and Rivière's organizations – IAEEF and CIFL. The Germans, among others, had wanted to host the following congress, but Erixon invited it to convene in Stockholm, in August 1940.[5]

In a short lapse of time, between 1935 and 1938, the two rivals had become allies, with a common scientific journal, joint scientific committees on cartography, and plans for common congresses. Both associations responded to a deeply felt need to create contacts and to raise the many regional ethnologies and folklore studies to the level of a scientific discipline, a unified

"European ethnology". There can be no doubt, however, that the mastermind behind the efforts to establish a European (regional) ethnology was Sigurd Erixon, as shown by his theoretical and methodological articles in *Folk-Liv* in 1937–38.

We shall never know whether this fragile alliance between the French and the Nordic would have lasted, as World War II shortly afterwards effectively stopped all interaction, including Erixon's congress of European ethnology, which was planned to be held in Stockholm in August 1940 but adjourned to 1951.

Some changes can be observed. One is a shift of focus in the late 1930s from archive issues to cartography. Centralized national archives and accessibility to texts through translations into the main European languages – von Sydow's cherished idea – had been the starting point of the discussions, in London (1934), Lund (1935), and Edinburgh (1937). However, in Paris in 1937 and especially in Copenhagen in 1938, the main argument for international cooperation was cartography techniques and atlases – issues that interested Erixon and Rivière. At the same time, there seems to have been a mild but growing tension between folklore and ethnology. This is hardly surprising, given the fact that folklore was a well-established discipline and ethnology an upcoming intruder. The change of the name of von Sydow's and Erixon's international association in 1937 – from "Folklore and Ethnology" (IAFE, 1935) to "European Ethnology and Folklore" (IAEEF, 1937) – may be seen as a sign of Erixon's strong position and ambitious strategy.

There is good reason to ask why Erixon, with his international ambitions, did not want to use CIAP as a platform for his efforts to promote the new discipline. The answer is at least threefold.

First, Erixon was certainly aware of the veto of the League of Nations on using terms like "ethnology" and "folklore" in the name of the organization, and he knew very well the League's bureaucratic grasp of the organization (Rogan 2008c, 2013). Still a curator at Nordiska Museet, Erixon had wanted to bring along von Sydow to the founding congress of CIAP in Prague in 1928. At the request of Erixon that not only he himself but also von Sydow should be invited to give a lecture in Prague, the representative of the League of Nations had refused von Sydow's contribution, arguing that "la poésie populaire a été écarté de nos préoccupations" – "folk poetry has been excluded from our preoccupations".[6] The masters were the bureaucrats, not the scholars.

A second reason must have been the general decline of CIAP during most of the 1930s (see Rogan 2008c), a third that Germany withdrew from CIAP in 1933, as a consequence of the country's withdrawal from the League of Nations. When Erixon's campaign for European ethnology started in 1935, a successful result was hardly imaginable without cooperation with German *Volkskunde* – the strongest scholarly milieu in Europe. And there were still

active German scholars who were (probably) untainted by the Nazi ideology, on whom Erixon relied.

So a declining or even moribund CIAP, in the grip of international bureaucrats and with the strong German *Volkskunde* excluded, must have seemed like an impossible tool for Erixon's ambitions in this early phase. The reverse of the coin, however, is that while CIAP withered during the latter half of the 1930s, the Nazi problem became acute for his new organization IAEEF. The irony of history is that after the war it was CIAP that would become the tool for the joint efforts of Erixon and Rivière.

II Post-war Resurrection of CIAP and Swedish Involvement

After the war no one thought of resuming the alliance, nor of reviving CIFL or IAEEF. Amazingly, only CIAP rose from the ashes. For nearly 20 years it was CIAP and its commissions that would offer a common platform for Erixon and Rivière.

The initiative to revive CIAP was taken in the early autumn of 1945, by the former CIAP Secretary General Euripides Foundoukidis (1894–1968) – who had held an administrative post in the League of Nations – and the former CIAP Deputy President Albert Marinus (1886–1979), a Belgian folklorist.

Neither Erixon nor Rivière attended the first meeting, held in Geneva in November 1945. The documents from the meeting are missing in the UNESCO archives,[7] but a report from the French delegate Marcel Maget (1914–1994) gives an impression of the deliberations.[8] The same ambiguity that had afflicted CIAP in the inter-war years persisted: The delegates wanted CIAP to be a strictly *scholarly* organization, the governmental authorities being told to abstain from appointing national representatives; on the other hand, the disciplines of "le folklore, l'ethnographie, les arts populaires" ought to play an important role for *the education* and *the mutual understanding* of peoples (ibid.). With a disaster like World War II freshly in mind, it is perhaps not so strange that they advocated this dual aim that many had criticized before the war.

The first congress took place in Paris two years later, in October 1947. Sweden was represented by Åke Campbell (1891–1957) and Andreas Lindblom (1889–1977), art historian and president of Nordiska Museet. From Norway, the folklorist Knut Liestøl (1881–1952) made one of his rare visits abroad. Liestøl does not seem to have been especially active. Erixon stayed home, and Rivière kept a low profile.

The congress comprised a General Assembly (GA) and a board meeting, as well as plenary sessions. New by-laws were passed, a Spanish diplomat – Salvador de Madriaga – was elected President and the Belgian Albert Marinus Deputy President. Among the three Vice Presidents was Sigurd

Erixon – elected in absentia. The two others were the Frenchman Arnold van Gennep (1873–1957) and the American Duncan Emrich (1908–1977)[9] – later replaced by Stith Thompson (1885–1976). And Foundoukidis continued his pre-war function as Secretary General.

The roughly 60 delegates boiled over with enthusiasm. There was a unanimous will to be a strictly scientific organization, and to escape the intervention of governmental authorities and all the traps that the old CIAP had fallen into. At the same time there was a rather naïve optimism about activities to be started: the creation and recreation of ethnological institutions after the war, the use of the discipline to reconstruct the rural zones of Europe, etc.[10] In addition, it was decided that the *Volkskundliche Bibliographie* should be the responsibility of CIAP, that CIAP should take on its shoulders a world-embracing catalogue of registrations of popular music, and that a new scholarly journal would be launched. At the proposal of Åke Campbell, the name of the journal would be *Laos*. Arnold van Gennep proposed that the work with an international, multi-lingual dictionary of ethnography and folklore should be started. Sigurd Erixon later became responsible for the latter two projects. The congress also discussed several aspects of atlases and cartography, another field of cooperation that would become mainly Erixon's responsibility.

In 1947 CIAP had started out on its own, with no formal relations to UNESCO. But with no funding there could be no activities, so a change of policy was necessary. In 1949 CIAP joined a group of international scientific organizations to found the UNESCO sub-organ CIPSH – *le Conseil International de Philosophie et des Sciences Humaines*. CIPSH was the link between CIAP (and similar organizations) and UNESCO. Only as a member of CIPSH could CIAP find some funding for its scholarly projects.

Nordic researchers had supported international cooperation in the interwar years, but they had kept away from CIAP, and they looked with scepticism at the 1947 circus in Paris. Åke Campbell has rendered his impressions from Paris in letters to Irish colleagues, where he deplores the naivety of all the proposals and decisions – or as he writes: "the well intentioned but unwise southern Europeans".[11] However, he manoeuvred as best he could to have Swedes in the different committees.

A year later Sigurd Erixon praised the many decisions of the congress, but he could not refrain from the following verdict, when he convened Swedish ethnologists to discuss the possible founding of a national CIAP commission. It was the discourse of a self-confident but experienced ethnologist:[12]

> However, one should not exaggerate the importance of an organization like this one. We know all too well how often resolutions are passed, how much talking there is in such assemblies and how time is wasted, to the detriment of real research. I did not participate in the 1947 congress. But Åke Campbell from the Swedish side did, and I believe he made a remarkable effort and succeeded in correcting a lot of misunderstandings and misconceptions, due to the fact that to a large extent there were new-

comers, mainly from Latin America, who attended the conference in Paris, and that neither these nor the masters in Paris possessed the necessary knowledge or perspective. It became clear that scholars and especially we Northerners have an important mission to keep the dilettantes in line, to offer guidance and correction. When talking with ethnologists from various countries I have often observed a notable scepticism from the real workers in the vineyard. They find such events indifferent and keep away. But when the cat's away the mice will play. For this reason I think that one should not completely disregard this striving for new organizational forms and these possibilities to gain new contacts. In my talks with Swiss scholars this autumn I did stress these ideas and I think that some of them will change their attitude.

[…] One may ask whether Paris is a suitable place for this activity. In some respects our discipline is still in its childhood there. Possibly another place should be designated, but as long as this has not happened, as long as no other country has taken on all the work and all the costs of such a centre, and as long as Paris enjoys high esteem in public opinion, the most sensible thing for the time being is to let that city be our gathering point.

Sweden joined CIAP in 1949, with Erixon as the president of the national Swedish CIAP committee. An important motive for Erixon was the prospect of UNESCO subventions. As one of CIAP's vice presidents he participated from 1949 at the meetings in CISPH, UNESCO's sub-organization in Paris. He also stressed the fact that post-war CIAP covered the whole field of European ethnology – in principle if not yet in practice, and not only folk art and folklore, as had been the case before the war. The scholarly projects for which CIAP actually obtained support from UNESCO in the following years were the bibliography, the dictionary of ethnological terms, the journal *Laos* and some 'specialist meetings' on cartography.

What happened after the 1947 Paris congress? The core activity was the publication of an information letter – *CIAP Information* – from 1948 onwards. No. 3/1948 contained an unsigned report on "Ethnological and Folklore Studies in Sweden". In no. 19–20 (1950) Arnold van Gennep once more launched the idea of a dictionary of ethnological terms, but this task would have a long way to go before it was accomplished in 1960, under the supervision of Erixon. The only project with a visible result was another task laid on Erixon's shoulders: the journal *Laos* – the first volume being presented at the Stockholm congress in 1951.

In other respects, CIAP continued a rather somnolent life. The CIAP information letter as well as the annual reports to CISPH/UNESCO – both edited by Foundoukidis – took unduly much credit for the 1949 and 1950 conferences held in Geneva by the International Council of Music as well as for Stith Thompson's Mid-Centenary Congress in Bloomington, Indiana (1950) – the latter one attended by Erixon and Campbell (cf. Rogan 2012: 88).[13] CIAP itself, however, organized neither administrative nor scholarly reunions.

As the CIAP delegate to CIPSH, Erixon took part in the discussions on the international folktale institute in Copenhagen, the precursor to NIF

(Nordisk Institut for Folkedigtning). The institute had been proposed by Carl Wilhelm von Sydow at the eighth Nordic conference on folklife studies (Oslo, 1946), and it was established already in the spring of 1949, under the name of Institut for International Eventyrforskning, mainly through Danish funding and led by Dr Inger M. Boberg (1900–1957) (Bødker 1959). The funds were insufficient, however, and from the autumn of 1949 and the following years there were attempts to have the institute financed by CIPSH/UNESCO, through the intermediation of – and membership in – CIAP. Discussions went on between Erixon, Stith Thompson – who was responsible for the folktale section of CIAP – and the professor of philology Louis L. Hammerich in Copenhagen.[14] As CIAP was unable to obtain support for new activities, the folktale institute was closed in spring 1952. New efforts were made in the mid 1950s. Erixon participated in a meeting in Copenhagen in 1954 with Danish and Norwegian colleagues, where the goals and objectives were changed. The geographical scope was delimited, compared to von Sydow's ambitious plans: The new institute would not embrace the whole world but only the Nordic countries. The idea of extensive collecting of material was abandoned, but the thematic scope was widened from folktales only to other kinds of folkloristic material (Bødker & Hammerich 1955). In 1959 the institute was reopened under the name of NIF, but this time without any involvement from CIAP.

III 1951: Stockholm and "European and Western Ethnology"

At the joint CIAP/CIFL/ICAES congress in Copenhagen in 1938 (see Rogan 2008c:92–93), Erixon had invited European ethnologists to convene in Stockholm in August 1940. But the war stopped all international activities, and the event was postponed until 1951.

"The International Congress of Western and European Ethnology", held in Stockholm and Uppsala in late August and early September that year, was a purely Swedish arrangement – not to say an "Erixonian event", even if CIAP was allowed to co-sign the invitation and to hold its General Assembly at the closure of the congress. The chairman of the organizing committee and president of the congress was Erixon himself, and its secretary Albert Eskeröd (1904–1987). And in accordance with the protocol, Mrs Edit Erixon chaired the ladies' committee. Erixon also had to take over from Eskeröd the editing of the proceedings (*Papers*, 1955).

Erixon was well prepared. Just in time before the congress he had managed to finish the first volume of the CIAP journal *Laos*, which contained a French version – "Ethnologie régionale ou folklore" (pp. 9–19) – of his main lecture at the congress, the latter entitled "Regional Ethnology or Folklore". Erixon also had it printed beforehand in *Folk-Liv* (1950–51), in a slightly different version and under the title "An Introduction to Folklife Re-

From the opening session of the congress. From left to right: Albert Marinus (CIAP Deputy President), Sigurd Erixon (President of the congress), Salvador de Madriaga (CIAP President), Euripides Foundoukidis (CIAP General Secretary), and Stith Thompson.
Source: *Papers of the International Congress on Western and European Ethnology*, Stockholm 1951. Stockholm 1955.

search or Nordic Ethnology" (pp. 5–17). In the paper he picks up and develops several of his arguments from earlier theoretical and programmatic articles, but he has abandoned his pre-war behaviourist and functionalist ideas. Erixon now found his inspiration in American cultural anthropology or "culturology", with its concepts of culture areas, folk culture versus mobile culture, culture centres, and ways of diffusion, acculturation, and assimilation. His references are first and foremost American cultural anthropologists. He proposes a historical and comparative study of a field that embraces urban and industrial societies, societies in transformation as well as traditional societies. He advocates a study of culture in its three dimensions (as he had already done in his 1937 article) – space, time, and social strata. And he ends with the following definition-like description of the discipline: "a comparative culture research on a regional basis, with a sociological and historical orientation and with certain psychological aspects" (p. 15). The theoretical approach is that of diffusionism, and cartography is the tool par excellence. Such was the scientific programme that he recommended for *Laos*, for CIAP and for European (regional) ethnology – and which he also advocated through the cartography commissions.

The ensuing discussion (*Papers*, pp. 41–46) turned around seemingly eternal issues such as the boundaries of the discipline, its the name and re-

lationship to neighbouring disciplines, the concept of "folk" and other terms – to which the conclusion was that a dictionary of terminology was more urgent than ever. Erixon must have had his qualms, however, when CIAP president Madriaga – historian of literature and professional diplomat – commented upon his lecture and tried to define – in front of some two hundred delegates – what folklore was about. In the printed version of the discussion, Madriaga's strange intervention is abbreviated (*Papers,* p. 43). As can be seen from the proof text (SE 8:77), Erixon as editor deleted the following statement by Madriaga on the subject matter of the discipline:

> I consider classes in a nation as natural phenomena, the people are spontaneous and traditional, the middle classes are in charge of the intelligent, technical and present, and the aristocrates [sic] are the seers, the intuitional people who see the future. It is the synthesis of these three things that make [sic] a nation.

No wonder that CIAP strove hard to gain acceptance, in addition to all its financial and practical problems!

The congress gathered around 230 participants, and more than half of them came from other countries than Sweden. In all 57 papers were given during the five days of the congress, which were followed by a three-day trip to Dalarna with Erixon as cicerone and – for those who still had time and energy left – an additional excursion to Lund and Scania under the guidance of Sigfrid Svensson (1901–1984). In the call for papers the congress committee had suggested a certain number of subjects to be treated, including ethnological and folkloristic atlases, the position of ethnology among the social sciences, problems of ethnological terminology, and publications and international cooperation – all favourite topics of Erixon's and which he discussed in his four or five lectures and introductions. The majority of the lecturers, however, chose their subjects quite freely, varying from the Christmas tree in Norway to housing constructions in Ireland and survivals of animal sacrifices in Greece, to mention but a few. As the proceedings were published as late as 1955, only some of the 57 papers appeared in the *Papers of the International Congress of European and Western Ethnology Stockholm 1951*.

IV CIAP and the Swedish Reaction

Erixon obtained through CIAP a contribution from UNESCO for the publishing of the proceedings (*Papers* 1955), but he did not want the event to be regarded as a CIAP congress. One reason may have been that the range of invitations would have had to be delimited, given the difficult post-war landscape and the UNESCO relation.[15] Close to one thousand invitations had been sent out. Actually, only three of CIAP's elected officers participated in Stockholm, in addition to Erixon: the President Salvador de Madriaga – who exposed his ignorance in matters of ethnology; Deputy

President Albert Marinus – who refused to communicate in any language but French; and the Secretary General Euripides Foundoukidis – who was remembered for having prepared nothing for the meeting[16] and who would shortly afterwards be forced to resign for irregularities (see below)

Salvador de Madriaga (1886–1978) wanted to resign as President of CIAP at the General Assembly, which took place during the congress. But why had he been elected at the CIAP congress in 1947, and why was he forced to leave soon after the Stockholm congress? These questions deserve a short answer, as his retirement would throw CIAP into a deep legitimacy crisis in the following years.

Apparently, Madriaga was the ideal formal and symbolic head of an international organization. He held a solid reputation as a diplomat, pacifist, scholar, and author, and he spoke the main languages fluently. He had very

Some of the roughly 230 delegates to the 1951 congress, gathered in front of Nordiska Museet. Source: *Papers of the International Congress on Western and European Ethnology*, Stockholm 1951. Stockholm 1955.

close connections to the League of Nations before the War – as a specialist on disarmament questions – and later to the United Nations. He had been Spanish ambassador to the United States and to France, and a delegate to the League of Nations. He had been member of the Spanish parliament and minister in the Spanish government on several occasions, but as a marked opponent to Franco he went into exile when the latter came to power in 1936. His scholarship, however, was in fields far away from ethnology. In the 1930s he held a chair of Spanish literature in Oxford, and during these years he also published several books on the psychology of nations. It is probably an echo from these works that made this Spanish aristocrat express himself so clumsily.

In addition to Madriaga's awkward participation in the debates, his opening address[17] at the congress disclosed all too clearly that he had had nothing to do with the discipline since his election in 1947. Erixon chose to omit the whole presidential address in the proceedings, a quite exceptional decision. A private note (SE 8:77), where he tries to interpret and rephrase the text of the address, explains why: "I think he means …", "a series of phrases discloses his lack of competence", "the context is somewhat hazy", "to reconstruct his way of thinking", etc., are some of Erixon's comments in the margin. He even appears a little embarrassed – although flattered – when it came to the President's song of praise of the leadership of the "Swedish school" of ethnology.

The background to his wish to withdraw seems to have been a question of international politics and his Spanish citizenship, rather than a consequence of his ignorance in matters of folklore and ethnology – a fact that was impossible to ignore when he was called on to speak. Due to Spain's collaboration with the Axis powers during World War II, the United Nations had decided in 1946 that Spain should be banned from the UN and all its sub-organizations, as long as General Franco remained in power. For geopolitical and Cold War reasons, this boycott lasted only until 1952, when the UN approved of Spanish participation in its sub-organizations, and in 1955 Spain was offered full membership. In the early 1950s, however, Madriaga's formal position in the UNESCO system was probably a delicate one, in spite of (or because of?) his open opposition to the dictatorial powers of Spain. But at the CIAP General Assembly in 1951 he was persuaded into continuing, as no one of those present, and least of all Erixon, wanted to take over. Madriaga would soon afterwards hand in his resignation, however.

There was a considerable discontent with CIAP, especially among the Swedes, who were not impressed by this meeting with CIAP. At the same time, a convenient form for organizing cooperation within the field of European ethnology seemed as difficult to obtain as ever. It had been a central issue among the 'Europeanists' at the third ICAES congress, in Brussels in 1948. And the question was pursued in Stockholm in 1951. One of the main

issues was the relationship to anthropology: Should European ethnology be a section, and thus just a theme, at the anthropological congresses (ICAES)? And should CIAP and the anthropological organization merge under the CISPH (UNESCO) umbrella, as UNESCO wanted?

Erixon gave his points of view and led the discussions on all these questions.[18] As for counting ethnology (with folklore included) as a branch of anthropology, Erixon seems to have had more reservations than earlier – and later. He put forward some arguments about anthropology's high level of generalization and classification and ethnology's historical dimension, but his main concern seems to have been the risk of being overruled in organizational and economic matters in the UNESCO system – as an appendix to anthropology. Most Swedish ethnologists held a conservative position in these questions. His colleague Sigfrid Svensson was quite outspoken on these questions.[19]

No less important was the question of CIAP's functioning: Was a reform feasible, or should a new organization be established? It must have been a rather disappointing debate for the CIAP officials present. It remained unsettled, according to Albert Eskeröd's official summary, "whether the activity of the CIAP should be extended, making it a means of contact in the domain of European ethnology, or whether a new organ should be created in order to support these interests in collaboration with the CIAP" (Eskeröd 1952:115).

So much for the official report. An unpublished note in Swedish,[20] probably from Erixon's hand and intended only for the Swedish congress committee,[21] discloses that the committee had discussed several times the possibility of creating a "Permanent Scientific Council for European Ethnology". The envisaged role of CIAP would be reduced to keeping the contacts with UNESCO and the cashbox. According to the note, the idea of a new, "versatile" and "flexible" organization won the acceptance of many of the participants at the congress. Opposition from some CIAP members, however, prevented a formal proposition and vote. Erixon's verdict is clear: "That CIAP [… in its present form] should become an efficient organ for international cooperation within ethnology in Europe must be seriously questioned". In order to establish a more efficient organization, Erixon wanted – contrary to what he had advocated earlier – membership restricted to the Nordic countries, the Baltic refugees included, the British Isles, and central Europe.

Later correspondence (spring 1953, see below) revealed much discontent with the Secretary General Foundoukidis, who had neglected to prepare the necessary documents and reports to the General Assembly of CIAP. He never wrote any minutes from the meeting,[22] where several decisions were taken, one of which was to replace the former Board by an Executive Committee consisting of 19 persons. At least some of the subsequent antagonism

(1953, see below) was due to confusion about the decisions taken in Stockholm.

The result in 1951 was that the Swedes were charged with finding a solution to the challenge of European collaboration.[23] Few had faith in CIAP, and the future of European ethnology was once again placed in the hands of Sigurd Erixon, just as it had been before the outbreak of the war.

Erixon argued repeatedly for the need to revive international contacts after World War II, and he wanted to promote ethnology as a university discipline. But he needed systematic information about the complex world of ethnological institutions, teaching and research. On three occasions he launched broad inquiries, and the first one had already taken place as part of the preparations for the congress. He had asked representatives from each of the nineteen participating countries for reports on the status of the discipline in their country, to be presented at the congress. These reports, however, were extremely heterogeneous with respect to both contents and length, ranging from half a page up to some 20 pages. When in addition the printing of the proceedings was delayed several years, he refrained from publishing them. The national reports ended up in the archive of Nordiska Museet (SE 8:77).

But Erixon had gained experience from this failure. Soon after the congress he distributed a structured questionnaire to colleagues all over Europe, which resulted in much better material for statistics and comparison. The results were published in an article in CIAP's journal *Laos* in 1955 (Erixon 1955b; cf. Rogan 2012), to be discussed below. The third survey, which took place in the mid 1960s, was published as a series of short articles in the first volume of the journal *Ethnologia Europaea*.[24]

V 1952: An Ardent Traveller

Erixon was, as he openly acknowledged himself, neither eloquent nor well versed in the main languages used at international meetings. At most international events French, English, and German were used for lectures and in the debates. Erixon normally spoke English, but he seems to have been fairly fluent in German.[25] The language question was one reason – although not the most weighty one – why he hesitated and on several occasions declined to accept the presidency of CIAP.[26]

Still, he set out on numerous travels abroad and participated at many congresses and reunions from the late 1940s until far into the 1960s. Most of his travels are well documented.[27] From some he has left personal accounts, and his many notebooks – in his almost illegible handwriting – are full of observations from these trips: seemingly unsystematic notes, details and sometimes small drawings of architecture, tools, etc. At congresses he was an omnipresent participant, often giving more than one lecture and sitting on

more than one panel or committee, if not chairing them. To a later observer Erixon appears no less zealous in the role as a traveller. To him travel was fieldwork; he was an untiring observer of the local and the vernacular on trips and excursions.

Erixon's post-war professional travels abroad were too numerous to be presented in detail. In 1947 he took a group of 20 students to Norway, in 1949 he visited Switzerland and Italy, in 1950 he went to the United States, in 1951 he made a journey through Germany, Holland, Belgium, England, and Ireland.[28] His travels in 1952 were of special relevance for his work with CIAP in the following years. As he left a report of these travels, 1952 may be taken as an example.[29]

In February he attended a meeting in the UNESCO sub-organization CIPSH in Paris, where the relation between CIAP and UNESCO was dealt with. In "this great assembly" Erixon fought for continued funding of the CIAP journal *Laos*, for the publication of the proceedings from his own 1951 congress, for enhanced support to the *Internationale Volkskundliche Bibliographie*, and for the financing of an atlas conference. At the same meeting, Alva Myrdal argued "energetically", according to Erixon, for similar support to the international sociologist association.

On his travels in Europe Erixon most often went by train or by car – if he could find a chauffeur. But on this official UNESCO mission he went by air, as he mentions especially in his report. And as was very often the case, his wife Edit accompanied him. Erixon obviously enjoyed his stay in Paris, with lunches and receptions, a luxurious hotel (he even discloses the high room price, paid by UNESCO), champagne and the like, meeting ambassadors, ministers, and even the French President. He paid a visit to Arnold van Gennep in Bourg-la-Reine, just outside Paris – to his "modest abode", as Erixon put it, probably to discuss the plans for a dictionary of ethnological terms. And he visited the archaeological, anthropological, and ethnological museums of Paris.

In June he attended the bi-annual Nordic conference of folk life studies, which took place in Odense, combined with an excursion in Denmark arranged by the Stockholm ethnologists and folklorists. Erixon's main concern in Odense was to discuss a possible organization for a European atlas of folk culture (see below).

In August and September he toured Germany and Austria, where he managed to combine three congresses, in the company of the ethnologist (and captain) Nils Strömbom and their wives. The first goal was a congress on vernacular architecture in Cloppenburg, Oldenburg in Saxony – *Tagung des Arbeitskreises für deutsche Hausforschung*, with mainly German and Dutch scholars present. Erixon was content with the congress, but even more enthusiastic about the local open-air museum and the excursions in the countryside. The social framing is commented on as follows: "Much beer was

consumed in not too luxurious restaurants." But the most important result, according to Erixon, was the network he established with renowned scholars of vernacular architecture. There runs a line from this congress to his election a few years later as president of the CIAP commission on popular architecture.

From Cloppenburg the journey continued on "wonderful highways" through a war-devastated Germany to Passau in Bavaria, in the very south, where he marvelled to see all the signs of old-fashioned husbandry, such as the yoke of oxen. And he expresses on occasions how shocked he was to see the results of the "meaningless" and "barbarian" allied bombing of old cities and cultural heritage sites in parts of Germany.

In Passau he attended the national German congress, the eighth *Allgemeiner Volkskundlicher Kongress*. The congress gathered more than 200 participants, but apart from Austrian-born Lily Weiser-Aall from Oslo there seem to have been no other Nordic ethnologists present. To Erixon's satisfaction, however, "the majority of the leading ethnologists" from the German-speaking world attended the congress, including several from East Germany, as well as from the whole of Central Europe. Erixon notes how the seniors among the German ethnologists were "somewhat ignored" and "pushed aside" and how the young generation was grateful that international contacts were resuming. As regards both Cloppenburg and Passau, he observes a new will to confront the old *Blut und Boden* theories and the romanticist approaches to age and origin, to the benefit of more sociological approaches. Feeling that the context was still very "German", however, he prudently gave no paper on this occasion. But on the excursion day, when the focus was on pilgrimage sites and sumptuous Catholic churches, he could not refrain from intervening and organized a detour to a couple of local farms – one of his favourite research topics.

A couple of the sections of the congress dealt with popular costumes and folk dance (dominated by the Austrians), and there were sections on "Sociographie" and the ethnology of refugees. The latter theme caused a harsh debate, when the East German professor Wolfgang Steinitz (1905–1967) provoked the assembly with his communist points of view. This confrontation Erixon would meet again, in an even more acute form, at the CIAP congress in Arnhem in 1955 (see below).

From Passau the course was set for Vienna, where ICAES (The International Congress for the Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences) arranged its fourth congress, with no fewer than 900 participants, and where he met some younger Swedish colleagues, such as Albert Eskeröd and Mats Rehnberg (1915–1984). This gigantic event, which lasted a whole week, included a regional section for Europe. Arthur Haberland (1889–1964), professor of *Volkskunde* in Vienna, had proposed to organize a CIAP meeting in connection with the ICAES congress, but once more CIAP was unable to

organize anything in its own name.[30] In the European section Erixon gave the opening lecture – on atlas questions, he led the discussions of how to renew the work on a European atlas and he was appointed leader of a group that was supposed to take the question of agricultural studies further. As president of the European section, Erixon was invited to the deliberations of the ICAES council, and he expresses great satisfaction with all the new personal contacts made during the congress.

The untiring traveller Erixon made the most out of the long car ride back through Austria and Germany, with visits to museums, archives and heritage sites on his way. Obviously, he enjoyed his "travel fieldwork". Especially his contacts with a younger generation of German, Austrian, Dutch, and Swiss researchers, as well as with some East European colleagues, were important for establishing a broad international network, which would serve him in his efforts for European ethnology: for the journal *Laos*, for a European atlas of folk culture, and for the organization CIAP – or rather, a new organization that he hoped for. However, he would experience a great surprise soon after his return to Sweden.

VI 1952–53: Stormy Weather before Namur

Early in 1952 Salvador de Madriaga understood that his days were numbered in the United Nations system. The UN General Assembly had opened for Spanish participation in its technical commissions, and Madriaga knew that it would only be a question of time before full membership for Spain was accepted and he would be *persona non grata*. His withdrawal from several UNESCO functions, the presidency of CIAP included, was grounded in "des circonstances d'un caractère politique", as he explains in his letters of resignation.[31]

To his great astonishment, Erixon received a letter from Foundoukidis at the beginning of November, informing him that he had been elected President of CIAP.[32] And he began receiving letters addressed to him as President, from CISPH as well as from colleagues. Foundoukidis did not answer Erixon's letters demanding an explanation.

It finally turned out that in the "interregnum" period after Madriaga, the Secretary General Foundoukidis had acted more or less like a president of CIAP, probably a habit he had acquired during the long "absentee presidency" of Madriaga. On the proposal of Albert Marinus, Deputy President of CIAP, Foundoukidis had asked the opinion of the other members by correspondence and then simply proclaimed Erixon President, without asking him whether he consented. Marinus was furious, both about the informal procedure of "the election" and in general because "Mr Foundoukidis has not yet understood that CIAP is not his personal affair".[33] It is clear from these letters and the subsequent correspondence that there were much antag-

Albert Marinus (1886–1979), Belgian folklorist. He was an active participant at the Prague congress in 1928, and later served CIAP as board member through the difficult 1930s, and after the war as its Deputy President. He organized the Namur conference in 1953. Photo: Collection de la Fondation Albert Marinus, Brussels.

onism and personal dislikes among the central actors in CIAP. Foundoukidis was criticized for taking decisions on behalf of the Executive Committee, for neglecting to report and for non-transparency in his dispositions. Marinus insinuated – with good reasons – that Foundoukidis tried to outmanoeuvre him; Robert Wildhaber and Paul Geiger – Swiss editors of the *Volkskundliche Bibliographie* – accused Foundoukidis in matters of economy; the president of the Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, Ernst Baumann, called him "ein grosser Betrüger".[34] But Arnold van Gennep – the grand old man among the vice presidents – defended every single disposition of Foundoukidis'.[35]

It became clear, during spring and summer 1953, that it was Foundoukidis who had "appointed" Erixon as delegate to CIPSH/UNESCO and "promoted" van Gennep to the position of Deputy President of the Executive Committee – both functions that should probably have been filled by Marinus. But the lack of minutes from earlier meetings – due to Foundoukidis' special way of working – gave room for confusion and different interpretations.

Erixon, who wanted to control events in European ethnology, felt very uncomfortable with this antagonism. He, who most of all would have liked

to found a new scientific organization, had suddenly been appointed president – against his will – of a chaotic and bureaucratic organization in which he had little faith. He sought advice where best he could. His letter to Alf Sommerfelt – Norwegian professor of linguistics, who had served for years as chairman of CIPSH but – to Erixon's grief – was about to resign, discloses Erixon's doubts and hesitation.[36] He felt isolated in the periphery of Europe and with little or no contact with a secretary general far away; there was hardly any money for travelling; he was about to retire the following year and would thus be deprived of his administrative apparatus; and he "lacked the necessary eloquence (in several languages) that I find indispensable for this position".[37] It was not only a question of eloquence, but also of the costs of translation, as Erixon had most of his outgoing letters in German and French translated, as well as the incoming letters in French. His administrative helper Mrs Margit Stoye must have translated thousands of letters.

Erixon decided not to accept the "election", but to regard it as a "tentative proposal". His position was that first of all CIAP had to be reorganized and given new by-laws. Afterwards one could discuss who ought to become its officers. But Erixon was the favourite candidate of several CIAP members, not least of Arnold van Gennep, who feared to see the conservative folklorist Marinus in that position.[38]

In the meantime Interim President Albert Marinus worked hard to find the necessary funding for a CIAP conference, where questions of organization and new elections could be discussed – and certainly also where the Executive Board of CIAP could confront its Secretary General. Marinus did most of the preparatory work, but all the time in contact with Erixon. As CIAP had been founded in 1928, the conference was also supposed to be a celebration of its 25th anniversary.[39]

Foundoukidis actively sabotaged the conference, and not only the planning and practical work. For the year 1951 Foundoukidis had sent the accounts of CIAP to UNESCO for auditing only after several warnings. And in June 1953 he had still not presented the accounts for 1952. As a consequence, UNESCO threatened to withdraw its financial support to CIAP, including support to the Namur conference.[40]

When it was clear that Marinus had secured a sufficient economic basis for the conference, Erixon took over the strategic part of the planning.[41] He wanted a restricted group of scholars to meet, and not a big congress. Marinus had wanted it to be both an administrative meeting and a scientific conference, as UNESCO would support only the scholarly part. He had proposed as themes both symbols and the question of races. Erixon could accept symbols, although "a very wide topic", but he discarded the question of races – a theme for which ethnology was "not yet ripe".[42] The scholarly programme ended up with a session on cartography, which was Erixon's choice.

The quarrel escalated during the summer months of 1953. Arnold van Gennep and Albert Marinus were scarcely on speaking terms, but wrote long letters and sent copies to Erixon. The following quotation from one of Marinus' many letters to van Gennep will suffice to indicate the temperature of the debate and Marinus' feeling of ownership of CIAP: "Don't forget that I have founded CIAP. You will remember the report that I presented in Prague, and the battle that followed. I consider CIAP a little like my own child and I consider it my duty to deliver CIAP from the situation in which it is caught up now."[43] Van Gennep finally invoked his "freedom of action" ("toute liberté d'action"), by which he meant that he would do his best to stop the conference. Marinus responded by threatening "to sully the name" of van Gennep in the public opinion ("de vous écablousser"). He repeated his accusations against Foundoukidis, and he pleaded the support of Erixon "with the authority that he [Erixon] enjoyed among all the folklorists".[44]

Erixon profoundly disliked the situation and expressed his great dismay with "the schism**"** revealed by the correspondence, adding that he was in serious doubt whether it would be possible to reorganize CIAP under these conditions.[45] Marinus responded with another long and detailed report on how Foundoukidis constantly kept CIAP's treasurer Pierre-Louis Duchartre uninformed and refused to have the CIAP accounts audited, how suspicions were arising among the UN officials, and ended with allegations of embezzlement. Actually, a long series of letters from the UNESCO audition department during the years 1950 to 1953 documents that UNESCO demanded from Foundoukidis a better account of the expenses.[46] On the other side, van Gennep continued his letters to Erixon, expressing his views on Marinus' dictatorial ambitions as well as on his lack of scholarly authority. And Foundoukidis did all he possibly could, formally-legally and financially, to prevent the conference from taking place.

Erixon did what he could to calm the stormy waters.[47] He knew very well that the Secretary General was the target of criticism from most sides, and from the UNESCO officials as well. And he expressed his fears of a scission of the organization. But he stressed that there was as yet no real proof of embezzlement on the part of the Secretary General, and he underscored the fact that the secretary's job was voluntary and unpaid work. He was also well aware of the quarrelsomeness and pedantry of the Interim President, who in every second letter – which for periods also meant every second day – demanded the resignation of Foundoukidis. Or in Erixon's own words: "I have never seen clashes like ours; it is extremely difficult to see things clearly only through correspondence." Erixon answered letters all through July and August 1953, from his summer place "at the seaside". In this voluminous correspondence Erixon shows himself as an arbiter and a diplomat, and he did not side with either of the factions – or rather: Both parties felt that he

was their man. In a letter to his Norwegian colleague Nils Lid, professor of ethnology in Oslo, he discloses his personal opinion: He fears that the antagonism between Marinus and Foundoukidis might have as a consequence that UNESCO would drop the subventions to CIAP, adding:[48]

> Neither Foundoukidis nor van Gennep intend to go to Namur. They regard the Namur conference as an insurgence from Marinus (who is neither Dr nor professor) […] For the time being I cannot possibly see things otherwise than that Foundoukidis' fault comes to no more than his lust for power, in addition to the fact that he cannot in due time and in a normal way communicate within the organization nor report to his superiors in CIPSH. But all this is deplorable, and I wonder who and from where we could find another Secretary General.

But Erixon was more intent than ever on finding another candidate for the presidency than himself – or Marinus, who would never win the acceptance of the membership. In July he came up with a new name: Reidar Th. Christiansen, professor of folklore at the University of Oslo.[49]

Parallel to the conference planning, Erixon worked hard to prepare volume II of *Laos* for printing, and he managed to get the volume out by the end of the summer, just in time for the conference. It was a race against time also because UNESCO threatened to withdraw the allocation to both *Laos* and the dictionary, as both projects were delayed. It cannot have been much of a summer holiday for Erixon!

In August the flow of letters continued and the tone grew sharper, not least in the letters from Marinus, to the extent that Erixon refused to discuss the problems through correspondence. But who was actually Euripides Foundoukidis, the protagonist of the following paragraph? He was both a lawyer and an art historian, with a broad academic training. He made an impressive administrative career in the League of Nations, and from 1931 he was appointed Secretary General of OIM (Organisation Internationale des Musées), the forerunner of ICOM, a position that he lost in 1946, during the transmission from the League to UNESCO and from OIM to ICOM. Even if forgotten today, he was a key figure in international museum and culture politics between the wars, with an extensive publication list on heritage topics.[50]

VII 1953: Namur and a Controversial Secretary General

The conference lasted from 7 to 12 September – a whole week from Monday morning to Saturday evening, followed by a two-day excursion in the Ardennes – and gathered around 80 persons. Sigurd and Edit Erixon arrived with the Strömboms, with the latter's car and driver. After the conference Erixon prolonged his journey with a couple of days in northern France together with Marcel Maget "pour étudier les musées et la culture rurale", as he wrote to Arnold van Gennep.[51] He even went to Épernay (Campagne-

Ardennes) to check a Swedish mural painting that van Gennep had told him about.[52]

The conference was organized around three activities, in addition to a one-day excursion to le Musée de la Vie Wallonne: a seminar on cartography and atlas questions, meetings of CIAP's General Assembly – where the most important topics were the international bibliography, the journal *Laos*, and the dictionary of ethnological terms, and first and foremost: meetings of CIAP's Executive Committee, to discuss a reorganization of CIAP and the problems created by the Secretary General. The latter meetings were so time-consuming that several topics that were announced had to be dropped, such as Marinus' proposal for an international research project on symbols and Paul Delarue's plans for closer international cooperation on documentation and research in fairy tales – two topics that were not Erixon's first choice. Even Erixon – omnipresent and always hardworking– protested one evening, when someone proposed to continue the discussions after dinner: How would he find time to prepare his two reports on *Laos* and the dictionary for the final General Assembly?

A report from the conference published by the national Belgian folklore commission – *Conférence de Namur 7 au 12 Septembre 1953* – contains detailed minutes from the seminar on cartography and from the discussions of the General Assembly, as well as the minutes from the meetings of the Executive Committee. Although the meetings of the latter committee were the longest ones and lasted more than two days, the minutes are succinct and do not reveal what happened. The decisions and votes are rendered, but not the discussions on the most difficult issue – notably the behaviour and the activities of the Secretary General. One whole day and a couple of shorter sessions were used to discuss "des questions d'organisation intérieure" and "problèmes d'ordre intérieur".

However, there is a more detailed report – marked "Confidentiel" and distributed only to the members of the General Assembly[53] – and also stenographic reports from most of the deliberations.[54] In addition to the members of the Executive Committee some other persons were present: Georges Henri Rivière, whose assistance Erixon relied upon for a reorganization of CIAP, and – quite exceptionally – an observer from UNESCO. A couple of other folklorists were also summoned, in order to explain their grievances against the Secretary General.

The editing of the confidential report to the members of the GA, based on the stenographic reports, was a "sad task", according to Rivière.[55] From the very start, Foundoukidis was attacked by Interim President Marinus, who stated time and again that he would withdraw from CIAP if the Secretary General were not discharged. For many hours, accusations against Foundoukidis were presented and discussed. Parts of the discussion are not known, as Foundoukidis at one point ordered the stenographers to leave the

Winand Roukens and Georges Henri Rivière. Roukens was the director of the Dutch national open-air museum in Arnhem, which would host the important 1955 congress in Arnhem. Rivière was the director of the French national museum of popular culture in Paris and a close collaborator of Sigurd Erixon in the 1950s, when CIAP was reorganized. Photo: Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, Arnhem. AA 41337 (detail from photo).

room. But more than a hundred pages of stenographed discussions is more than enough to give an impression of a man who defended himself extremely well and who turned an interrogation into a discussion.

Foundoukidis turned out to be a formidable adversary to Marinus. His tactic was to set the one up against the other and to turn the arguments around. He eloquently presented the chaotic situation of CIAP as a result of the antagonism between Marinus and van Gennep. Trained as a lawyer and with thirty years of experience from international administration, he argued both cunningly and shrewdly about the legal status of the presidencies of the mother organization CIAP (Marinus' interim position) and of the Executive Committee (van Gennep's claimed position). He pleaded convincingly the

services he had done for CIAP over many years, and especially its resurrection after World War II, and he underscored the fact that the function as Secretary General was unpaid. And he pointed out formal flaws of procedure that forced the Executive Committee to withdraw several accusations and prevented a vote on the subject of his dismissal.

Erixon's short interventions are marked by doubts and hesitation, and he clearly showed some sympathy for Foundoukidis during the discussions. The greatest problem for Foundoukidis, however, was to defend himself against the accusations of embezzlement in the transfer of money between UNESCO and Switzerland, money allocated to the *Internationale Volkskundliche Bibliographie* but administered through CIAP. As UNESCO had given notice of a special audit of CIAP's finances, the GA decided to proceed themselves immediately to an audit for the years 1951–53. Marinus's position as Interim President was confirmed until next GA, to take place in 1954, but Foundoukidis was not discharged. The minutes are silent about his destiny, but he actually sent a letter of resignation on the closing day of the conference – addressed to van Gennep, whom he regarded as the legal president of the Executive Committee. And later in the autumn he sent a letter of withdrawal from CIAP – to Rivière.[56]

Erixon later disclosed in a letter to Stith Thompson (who had not been present)[57] that "It soon became clear that Mr. Foundoukidis could not remain secretary general and I was asked to persuade him to resign, which he also did".[58] But Erixon felt he had to go to Paris after the conference and convince his old friend van Gennep that it had been necessary for CIAP – as "a compromise" – to have Foundoukidis removed as Secretary General. Erixon adds that the dismissal of Foundoukidis helped CIAP in the following negotiations with CISPH on new subventions from UNESCO – "In other case [sic] they would have refused to recommend our applications" (ibid.).

During the week in Namur, Erixon was everywhere. He discussed cartography, international journals, and the dictionary, and he participated in all the administrative meetings. It is no exaggeration to say that he played a key role everywhere and was respected by everyone. All parties – Marinus, Foundoukidis, van Gennep, and Rivière included – wanted him as President of CIAP. He declined, however, but in letters to van Gennep he kept the door ajar – he wanted to see first what would be his situation after retirement, and what would come out of the reorganization of CIAP.

Erixon accepted the task of serving as Secretary General, with the assistance of Rivière, until the next meeting, which was planned in Paris the following spring. On one important point Marinus was wing-clipped as President. It was Erixon, instead of the President, who was assigned to represent CIAP in international forums. So only one month later, in late October, Erixon was back in Paris, to defend CIAP's interests at the CIPSH (UNESCO) meeting.

VIII 1954: Paris and Reorganization of CIAP

Georges Henri Rivière (1897–1985), the director of the Le Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires in Paris and Erixon's confidential colleague since the 1930s (cf. Rogan 2008c) had been charged by the General Assembly in Namur to work out a proposal for new by-laws and a reorganization of CIAP. Rivière had declined to be elected a member of the Executive Committee, but he had accepted a position as "Technical counsellor" to CIAP, probably at the request of Erixon, who knew him as a skilful organizer and a person "au courant de toutes nos affaires".[59] The French member of the committee and CIAP's treasurer, Pierre-Louis Duchartre (1894–1983), had been charged with clarifying the economic situation after Foundoukidis and to present a financial report. Duchartre was Vice President of the French national folklore commission, which van Gennep chaired.

The two Frenchmen worked on their tasks during the winter and spring of 1954, in order to organize a General Assembly in Paris, while Erixon took care of the relations to UNESCO. The GA was to be combined with a meeting of CIAP's cartographic commission, "an expert meeting" for which Erixon had obtained support from UNESCO. Duchartre worked hard to get the necessary documentation from Foundoukidis, but with few or no results (see below), but Rivière presented a draft for a reorganized CIAP in April.[60] Rivière was the architect behind a new structure and new by-laws, but the grey eminence who approved and sanctioned was Erixon. Both of them knew well the UNESCO system and its requirements. In his letters Rivière did not hide the hard labour and the amount of correspondence it took to organize a general assembly and elections for an international organization that had formally collapsed. According to the CIPSH/UNESCO requirements the formal basis of CIAP was to be national committees, but there were only two such ones: the Swedish and the Belgian. Rivière was in regular contact with interim President Marinus and Erixon during the spring, and as the meeting approached there came a new optimism in his letters. "Now everything is running smoothly [… we are moving towards] a genuinely democratic way of functioning", he stated several times; "Great news. The allocations for 1954 will soon be transferred to CIAP: bibliography, dictionary, cartography, fairy tales, ploughs".[61] The only disappointment was that UNESCO had stopped the support to the journal *Laos*.

A circular explaining the current work and the proposed reorganization, signed by Marinus, Duchartre, Erixon, and Rivière, was distributed in April. The text (ibid.) clarifies how the decisions from Namur had been followed up, the plans for the following years, and the details of the forthcoming GA – including the problems of reconstructing the membership list before the convocation, as no such list existed in the archive after Foundoukidis.

As for the forthcoming election, Rivière insisted once again on Erixon's

candidacy as President, but Erixon declined again and reintroduced Reidar Th. Christiansen. However, they agreed upon Marinus as Deputy President once more, with one Vice President from the American continent and another from Asia. CIAP was to be a worldwide organization. And Rivière presented a new candidate for the position of Secretary General: the Portuguese Jorge Dias (1907–1973), professor of anthropology in Coimbra.

The convocation,[62] signed by van Gennep, Erixon, and Rivière, was distributed in early May. The meeting of the cartography specialists, led by Erixon, took place on 1–2 July, and the GA on 3 July. The main items on the GA agenda were the financial report and the annual reports for the preceding years, new by-laws, a three-year programme and the election of the board. Concerning the reports, the signatories of the convocation – with reference to the chaos of the preceding years – stated that "We do hope that they will be followed up by a firm will to assure CIAP a democratic functioning, rather than a reawakening of the quarrels".

There are no stenographic reports from this meeting, only detailed minutes.[63] Everything seems to have run smoothly, however, with 18 countries represented. In his report on the preceding years, Marinus did not hide the reasons why so much had gone wrong. Even the financial report given by Duchartre cannot have caused too much turmoil. This long and detailed report,[64] with annexes – including correspondence and a protocol (*procès-verbal*) from a formal meeting with Jean d'Ormesson present, a high representative from UNESCO – was marked as confidential. And for good reason! The report leaves little doubt about systematic embezzlement of parts of CIAP's allocations. The main victims were the Swiss folklorists who edited and administered the *Internationale Volkskundliche Bibliographie*.

New by-laws, closely following UNESCO's requirements, as well as a set of interior regulations, were adopted.[65] Membership was to be based on national committees, which would each elect three members to the GA. The board was to be elected among the members of the GA. The new mode of election was a democratic victory, according to Rivière, as opposed to the former "combination of corridor politics and correspondence" and "the occult dictatorship of the secretariat".[66] Rivière also explained how the aims and delimitation of CIAP were formulated in order not to challenge the pluralistic tendencies of European ethnology – hence the long list of terms for the field – and at the same time not to provoke the feelings of the "powerful and jealous anthropologists" – hence the formulation "up to the machine age".[67]

For scholarly projects, financial support had to be sought from external sources, specifically UNESCO. With the recent problem of no financial basis for the secretariat freshly in mind, a modest yearly fee was imposed on the national committees. One of the few countries where the system of national committees worked in the early 1950s was Sweden, where the func-

tion of the national committee (founded by Erixon in 1947) was taken over in 1956 by *Etnologiska Sällskapet* in Stockholm – another one of Erixon's bastions. The structure looked convincing – on paper. But the issue of national committees and yearly fees would once again be one of the main reasons for the next crisis of CIAP, as it turned out in the following years. And Erixon's insistence on national committees would finally be one of the main stumbling blocks that led to Erixon's defeat and the scission of the organization in 1964.

As for the elections, everything went as planned by Erixon and Rivière. Erixon got the President he wanted, Professor Reidar Th. Christiansen (1886–1971), whom he described as "a man of high standing with great experience of international relations and with especially good contacts in England, Ireland and the States. He is also a very good speaker, especially in English, and an amiable person who would be very much esteemed".[68]

And Rivière got his man for the position as Secretary General, Professor Jorge Dias, in Rivière's words "a young scholar who has solid contacts with Latin America, he speaks and writes Portuguese, Spanish, French, English and German".[69] The rest of the elections went just as well. The new treasurer was Ernst Baumann (1905–1955), President of the Swiss folklore society and a key person for the *Volkskundliche Bibliographie*. As Vice President from the American continent was elected Stith Thompson, professor at Indiana University, Bloomington. He was Erixon's and Rivière's candidate, against whom van Gennep proposed the Canadian folklorist Marius Barbeau. Barbeau (1883–1969) was considered 'the founder' of Canadian folklore, but his contacts with European ethnology were far behind those of Stith Thompson. As for the Vice President from Asia, there was no candidate – and this position would remain vacant. And Erixon himself got the position he wanted, as one of eight board members.

The Paris meeting had 'a happy ending', and for CIAP as well as for Erixon the future of European ethnology looked bright. Erixon had got his man as president and placed himself in a withdrawn but important position. Things were "running smoothly" and optimism reigned before the next and most important congress ever for CIAP, in Arnhem the following year.

IX *Laos* – a Short-Lived Journal

Little has been said so far about the scholarly projects, of which the one that had advanced fairly well was the journal. The question of an international journal for ethnology and folklore had been a recurrent issue since the early 1930s. Scholars in general travelled far less than today (Erixon was an exception), there were far fewer international meetings, and for most scholars the main medium for contact was one-to-one correspondence. So the need for a "mass communication medium" of a more scholarly quality than just

a newsletter was strongly felt. CIAP had never succeeded in launching a journal before the war, and the IAEEF journal *Folk* – in the main the work of Erixon – had had to close after only one year (1937), due to the Nazi pressure on international ethnology (Rogan 2008c). When the idea was picked up again at the CIAP congress of 1947, it was Åke Campbell who proposed the name *Laos* – that is, "folk" in Greek. The English version of the subtitle was *Comparative Studies of Folklore and Regional Ethnology*.

UNESCO gave a first grant to the journal after CIAP's affiliation to CIPSH in 1949. In April 1950 Erixon told Gösta Berg (1903–1993) at Nordiska Museet that he had been asked to take on the editorship and find a publisher for a new international journal, and he asked for support from the museum and if Berg would agree to be assistant editor.[70] It ended up with Arnold van Gennep, Stith Thompson, and E. Foundoukidis on the editorial board of the two first volumes, but it was Erixon who did all the work. The journal was planned as a yearbook and was published in 1951, 1952, and 1955.

The subtitle of the journal – in three languages – stresses the comparative aspect of the discipline. As for the name of the discipline, it discloses national differences. The French name is written with an *or* – "folklore ou ethnologie régionale" – probably because "folklore", which had been the general name until 1945, had a bad reputation after the war and was just being replaced by "ethnologie".[71] The English name is "folklore" *and* "regional ethnology", a consequence of the fact that Erixon encountered much opposition in his efforts to regard "ethnology" as the comprehensive term for a unified discipline. The German name was "Volkskunde", a corollary of the opposition in the German-speaking world to leave the dichotomy "Volkskunde – Völkerkunde". The qualifying "*regional*" before ethnology was Erixon's idea, which he had proposed in 1937 (Erixon 1937) and now elaborated further in the opening article of the first volume of *Laos* – "Ethnologie régionale ou folklore". This question of nomenclature would be a central issue at the Arnhem/Amsterdam meetings in 1955.

The contents of *Laos* differed somewhat from that of other international journals like *Folk-Liv*, or the discontinued *Acta Ethnologica* or *Folk* (see Rogan 2008c), with their clear scholarly profiles, i.e. original articles presenting new findings, preferably based on methodological and theoretical considerations. Erixon wanted articles that rather

> expose more briefly, but concisely, one of the main ideas or some of the most remarkable results of [the authors'] research, without putting too much weight on communicating novelties or being too argumentative [… but to] focus on the author's present research activities and to communicate the state of the art in diverse fields, and especially matters of principal or methodological interest. (Erixon 1951a:8)

Purely administrative and practical topics were excluded from *Laos* from the start, but texts on international events and debate were welcomed.

Erixon clearly tries to balance the need for a scholarly journal with a wider impact than his own *Folk-Liv*, the need for contact and communication on ongoing research in different countries and related (sub)disciplines, and UNESCO's requirements – which prioritized communication on international projects and in principle did not support purely scientific journals.[72]

Volumes I (1951) and II (1952) answer more or less all these needs and requirements, but with a clear preponderance of short thematic articles and overviews. Among the thematic articles we find Sigfrid Svensson on his diffusionist studies on dress modes etc., Nils Lid on myths and witchcraft in the high north, Leopold Schmith on the distribution of some legends, Åke Campbell on the Swedish folk culture atlas, Jorge Dias on Portuguese and Spanish ploughs, Stith Thompson on the star husband tale, Arnold van Gennep on popular customs, Branimir Bratanić on the one-sided plough in Europe, Gustav Ränk on Baltic farmhouses, Julio Caro Baroja on the windmills in Spain, to mention some of the contributions, not to mention the articles by Erixon himself – on windmills, on social groups and occupations, on metaphorical language, and other topics. There are also quite a few overviews, such as Kustaa Vilkuna on Finno-Ugrian ethnography, Arthur Haberlandt on trends and goals of Austrian *Volkskunde*, Axel Steensberg on recent agricultural research in Denmark, Helmut Petri on contemporary German ethnology, Ernst Manker on ethnographical investigations on the Lapps, etc. The volumes give a succinct impression of contemporary folkloristic and ethnological research.

This profile of *Laos* caused some mild criticism and debate within CIAP, as some – especially Marinus – found that it was not international enough, in the sense that it presented a series of *national* themes instead of genuinely *transnational* research. Erixon's response was that the first two volumes represented several parallel studies that gave room for comparative insights, and he stated – obviously annoyed by Marinus' naivety – that CIAP had never yet managed to launch any really international research projects – with the possible exception of a future European atlas of folk culture. And he repeatedly invited Marinus himself to publish something "international", which the latter never did.[73]

However, the profile of *Laos* changed with volume III (1955), but in a somewhat different direction. Erixon was in regular contact with UNESCO in the intermediate years, having serious problems with the financing of the journal[74] – which was partly due to the neglect and omissions of Foundoukidis. Volume III does not contain articles on national topics, but exclusively articles, reports, and minutes concerning international activities – such as atlas questions, CIAP's commissions, conferences, the bibliography, and the dictionary, etc. – "in accordance with the wishes expressed by UNESCO".[75] In this volume Erixon had no fewer than six contributions: on

the dictionary of ethnological terms, on cartography, on conferences and CIAP commissions, on the teaching of ethnology in Sweden, as well as a broad and thorough survey of "The Position of Regional Ethnology and Folklore at the European Universities: An International Inquiry".

The latter article was based on a questionnaire that Erixon had sent out in the autumn of 1953 to colleagues all over Europe, as a consequence of the failure at the Stockholm 1951 congress to make an inventory of the state of ethnology in European academic institutions (see above). The survey is incomplete with regard to Eastern Europe, as communication was very difficult, but covers the rest of Europe well. In total there were around 50 universities teaching folklore and folk-life studies in Europe in the early 1950s, with around 40 professors or docents and 15 full-time university teachers – in addition to an unknown number behind the Iron Curtain. A line of division in Erixon's statistics is whether the subject comprises both material and mental culture, or whether the two are taught separately – as in Finland, Denmark and Norway as well as in East German universities. In most of Europe, however, "the whole subject" was being taught. The overall pattern is that separate chairs belong to the north and east, and combined chairs to the rest of Europe. The "big brother" in Europe was Germany, with no fewer than 19 university departments in East and West Germany. The survey also lists some research institutions without obligation to teach, mostly archives and "commissions".[76] For Erixon, this inventory was not intended as a historiographical study, but as an indispensable tool on the road towards a unified "regional European ethnology".

However important this volume – and this article – is for the present-day historiography of the discipline, Erixon acknowledged that the profile forced upon *Laos* by CIPSH rendered the journal less valuable to a number of readers and made it all the more dependent economically on its benefactor (Erixon 1955a:7). The number of subscriptions was low, and the Swedish publisher Almqvist & Wiksell suffered a considerable loss as the UNESCO grant was modest and sales very low. Volume I was printed in 725 copies, but only 43 were sold, the rest given away. As the result for 1952 was not much better, the publisher had to stop the journal.[77] There was also another factor of a practical kind that contributed to the discontinuation of *Laos*, notably the very common practice of exchange of free copies between institutions. Many institutes and libraries wanted it, but not so many were willing to pay for subscriptions. Even if Erixon's institute in Stockholm supported the journal, it had to appear independent of national interests, which excluded this form of "barter economy" with Stockholm as a basis. Furthermore, Stockholm already had all the other relevant journals in exchange of *Folk-Liv*.

X *IVB* – an International Bibliography

The *Volkskundliche Bibliographie* had been a Swiss-German project since 1917. It was initiated by John Meier (1864–1953), German philologist and *Volkskundler* who held chairs first in Basle and then in Freiburg am Breisgau. Its first editor was Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer (1864–1936), professor in Basle from 1900. From 1935 his successor in Basle, Paul Geiger (1887–1952) took over. Until World War II the bibliography was a predominantly Germanist project, focussing on literature on German culture and on German-speaking Europe. Such was also the case for the first volume after the war (for the years 1937–1938), published by the German national folklore society, the Verband Deutscher Vereine für Volkskunde (Wildhaber 1951). The contents of this volume is described by Robert Wildhaber as "politically highly explosive and perhaps not always of a high standard, but which still will be enormously interesting – looked from a historical, objective and neutral point of view" (*Actes de la conférence de Namur*, p. 25).

At the first CIAP congress (Paris 1947, see above), an agreement was reached between CIAP and the German and Swiss societies of *Volkskunde*. For the "reconstruction" after the war of the science of European ethnology/*Volkskunde*, an international bibliography was felt to be indispensable. And there was a common understanding that an international bibliography could be published only by an international organization. CIAP took over the formal responsibility for the bibliography, but with the editorial work still done in Switzerland, under the auspices of the Swiss national society, the Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde. The following volume, published by Paul Geiger in 1949 (for the years 1939–1941), included "international" in its title and clearly signalled the change of policy – as regards its contents as well as the language areas now covered: *Bibliographie Internationale des Arts et Traditions Populaires. International Folklore Bibliography. Volkskundliche Bibliographie*. This volume, however, did not keep the desired standard, due to the illness of Paul Geiger (ibid., p. 26). In 1951 appeared the volume for the years 1942–1947, with Robert Wildhaber (1902–82), the director of the Swiss Volkskunde museum in Basle, as co-editor. Wildhaber took over the next volume alone and remained the editor of the *Internationale Volkskundliche Bibliographie* (*IVB*), as it came to be called, until 1977.

Erixon was never deeply involved in the bibliography, but from 1949 onwards he led the negotiations with CIPSH to assure economic support for its publication from UNESCO. This allocation was always insufficient but never threatened, however – in the way that the support to *Laos* and the ethnological dictionary was – as UNESCO's policy was to encourage disciplinary bibliographies. But in the late 1940s and early 1950s, when CIAP was in a chaotic state from an organizational point of view, the Swiss editors had

Robert Wildhaber, the long-time editor of *IVB*, on an excursion to Sils-Chiavenna, Engadine, Switzerland, in 1970. Photo Klaus Beitl/SIEF website (detail from photo).

to work on their own, with hardly any contact with CIAP and with the pecuniary problems caused by Foundoukidis' dispositions.

Geiger had fallen ill soon after the transition in 1947 and Wildhaber had to front a series of difficult decisions when he took over the editorship. The transition from a predominantly German to an international bibliography was not done overnight. Wildhaber had to find national collaborators in as many European countries as possible, preferably all. In very many cases there was not one single national collaborator or institution that could cover a whole country or the whole field of disciplinary specialities, so several collaborators were needed in many countries. And should the geographical area be expanded to ethnology and folklore outside of Europe – for a truly *international* bibliography? Wildhaber was of the opinion that the overseas countries that had been influenced by European culture could not be excluded, so he extended his network of collaborators to North and South America and South Africa.

Furthermore, an international bibliography had to be selective, but in what ways? What should be the relationship to the national bibliographies that some countries were publishing? How should the classification system from the German volumes be upheld, in order to secure continuity, and at the same time be expanded and modernized in order to follow the development of the discipline? Should every title be accepted, or to what extent could the editor refuse too idiosyncratic specialities proposed by collaborators with different national biases? What was the delimitation of *Volkskunde*, European ethnology and folklore, and what should be included from closely related fields or disciplines like anthropology or ethnography, sociology, geography, history, dialectology, onomastics, etc.? (Wildhaber 1951, 1955).

During the transition phase the editor had to rely upon his own judgement and necessary approximations. It was not until the Namur meeting (1953) that the above-mentioned questions were discussed by the CIAP membership and a bibliography commission was appointed, to discuss and give advice in these matters. Ernst Baumann (Basle), the leader of the Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, was elected president of the commission, and Wildhaber was (re)appointed editor. The other members were Marie-Louise Ténèze (Paris), Helmut Dölker (Stuttgart/Tübingen), and Roger Pinon (Seraing, Belgium) (*Conférence de Namur*, pp. 23–44, 114). For thirty years Wildhaber edited the *IVB*, producing fourteen thick volumes that were published regularly every second year (Brednich 1977–78).

XI Cartography and the Question of a European Atlas

> The idea of creating an international atlas of European folk culture to illustrate cultural relations and contrasts which are of significance for the understanding of the cultural evolution in Europe, has long loomed before our scholars and especially folklife researchers and folklorists. Though these may generally have concentrated upon national inventories and problems, their branch of science is nevertheless fundamentally international. Their object is cultural vegetation, so to speak, which can be comprehended only through the general distributional conditions and ways of migration.
> (Erixon 1955f)

Since the early twentieth century, diffusionist studies had invited the use of maps, from the beginning on a regional and national basis. But as the cultural elements crossed national borders, the idea of a European atlas soon came up, and in the 1930s discussions of international cooperation was on the agenda when scholars met. But there were many obstacles, as scholars in different countries often focused on different cultural elements and had developed different scales and techniques. Sigurd Erixon's most active period coincided with the peak of the cartographic investigations period, that is, from the 1930s through the 1960s, and he would become one of the main ambassadors – if not *the* main one – for European cooperation in the field. Already in the early 1930s he distributed questionnaires in Esperanto (Erixon 1955f), he led commissions and chaired conferences of the Ständige internationale Atlaskommission almost until his death.

At the ethnology and folklore conferences in the late 1930s, like the IAFE meeting in Berlin in 1936, the CIFL congress in Paris in 1937, and the ICAES congress in Copenhagen in 1938 (see Rogan 2008c), cartography and atlases were central topics. In 1936–37, IAFE/IAEEF – the organization where Erixon played a major role – had accepted a proposal from the *Atlas der Deutschen Volkskunde*, the vanguard atlas project in Europe, to distrib-

From the Arnhem congress in 1955. Leopold Schmidt (Vienna) on the rostrum, and presiding from the left Sigurd Erixon (Stockholm), P. J. Meertens (Amsterdam), and Winand Roukens (Arnhem). Photo: Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, Arnhem. AA 41321 (photo cut).

ute a series of questionnaires in Northern and Western Europe, with a joint atlas project in view – obviously a project with ulterior political motives. And at the CIFL congress in Paris in 1937, the French and the Germans agreed upon bilateral cooperation on atlas questions. Both projects were abandoned, however, due to the Nazi problem.

In Paris in 1937 an international Commission de Coordination des Atlas Folkloriques had also been set up, with Sigurd Erixon as president. The task was to define standards that the national projects should adopt. The committee met again in Copenhagen the following year, when an additional committee was established – this one too with Erixon as president. The latter committee had to propose questionnaires for the collection of material "suitable for cartographic treatment" in the European countries, with a view to preparing a general atlas for Europe (Erixon 1951c; Campbell 1951). A list of thirteen themes was established – on bonfires, the Christmas tree, Lucia and candle traditions, ritual flogging at annual festivals, bringing the last

corn sheaf home, the daily bread, threshing methods and implements, etc. At about the same time – in 1937, the year when the first volume of the German atlas was published, it was decided to start the work of a Swedish national atlas, under the auspices of the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy and with Erixon as one of the editors.

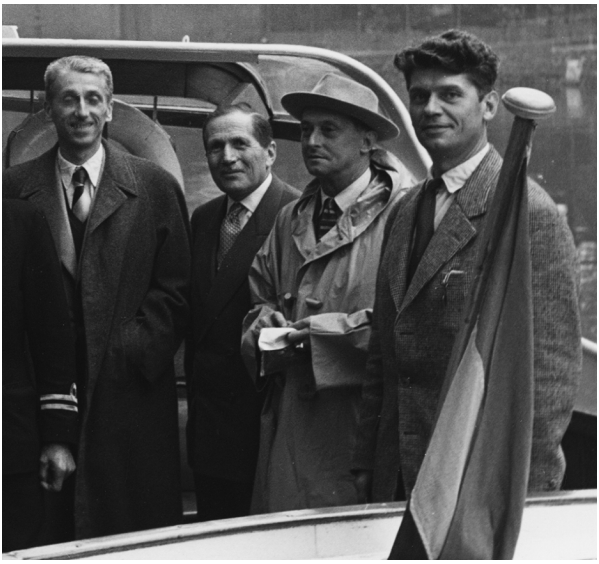
During and after the war cartographic work continued on a national basis, but it took some time before the discussion on international atlas issues resumed. The 1938 list of thirteen themes did not lead to any tangible results, and Erixon later acknowledged that the task of a European atlas had to be approached in a different manner (Erixon 1955c).

At the 1951 Stockholm congress, "Ethnological and folkloristic atlases" was one of the themes proposed in the call for papers. Erixon and Campbell focussed on their national atlases, and some of the thematic lectures probably touched the subject. There was also a congress exhibition of national atlases in Nordiska Museet. But there was no renewal of the pre-war international committees nor any decisions about a European atlas – probably due to the internal CIAP problems. The Swedish organization committee was given free hands to take the question further, a task that Erixon pursued with zeal on his travels the following year – to the CIPSH meeting in Paris in February, to the Nordic conference in Odense in June, and to the anthropologist congress in Vienna in September (see above).

In Paris he obtained economic support for an international conference on atlas questions, to be held in 1953. The Nordic colleagues who had gathered in Odense, however, recommended "the greatest caution before taking a definite decision" on a European atlas organization (Erixon 1955c). It should be added that in the early post-war years the Nordic bi-annual conferences of folklorists and ethnologists repeatedly discussed the possibility of a Scandinavian or Nordic atlas, but with meagre results. Erixon's close colleagues in Norway, Nils Lid and Hilmar Stigum, showed no enthusiasm, neither for a Scandinavian atlas nor even for a national atlas. The same was the case in Denmark. The Nordic discussions resulted in an agreement to publish in the Swedish atlas some maps of the distribution of "Swedish" culture elements in Finland and "Finnish" elements in Sweden.

In Vienna Erixon gave a lecture on the results of and plans for the Swedish atlas. As there was a general interest among many European ethnologists in agricultural implements and especially ploughs, Erixon proposed and won acceptance for a project – "on an international basis and by way of an experiment" – to map ards and ploughs as a preparation for a more general European atlas.

As for the UNESCO grant, it was decided to use the money for an "atlas expert meeting" in connection with CIAP's General Assembly in Namur in 1953 (see above). As a preparation, Erixon published a short note in the 1952 volume of *Laos*, where he stated that knowledge of the geographic dis-



The "wonder boy" of cartography, Marcel Maget, to the right. From an excursion on the canals (Amsterdam-Volendam) in 1955, during the Arnhem-Amsterdam congress. The French delegation gathered, from the left: Georges Henri Rivière, Charles Parain, Pierre-Louis Duchartre, and Marcel Maget. Photo: Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, Arnhem. AA 41423 (photo cut).

tribution of various culture elements was indispensable for ethnological research – and just as indispensable as the comparative method – and proposed that the spreading of such knowledge should be one of CIAP's foremost tasks. At the same time he published a list of questions that were suitable for cartographic treatment, and he invited the readers to do the same (Erixon 1952:116).

In Namur Erixon gathered around twenty scholars, most of them specialists in cartography, in September 1953. In accordance with the idea from Vienna, he also invited some specialists on ploughs – including Axel Steensberg (Denmark), Hilmar Stigum (Norway), Milovan Gavazzi and Branimir Bratanić (Yugoslavia), and Jorge Dias (Portugal). The latter two would become his close collaborators. The basic question for Erixon was whether the editors of the several national atlases under preparation should and could be urged to deal with specified themes and to organize their maps in ways that made comparison possible – or whether the preparation of a genuinely international atlas was possible, and – in that case – how it should be perceived.

The challenges for standardization were indeed formidable. The most advanced atlases under work were all different. In most countries purely folkloristic and linguistic elements prevailed, while material and social culture had been systematically dealt with only by few countries, one of them being Sweden. The Germans had prioritized an even distribution of informants all over the country and concentrated the investigations on certain limited periods of modern times. Sweden, on the other hand, had pri-

oritized only the most densely populated areas and had chosen the period 1850–1900, to document what was disappearing. The Swiss also had an evenly distributed network of informants, whereas the Swedish had taken as a point of departure areas where the phenomena were known to exist. The Swiss atlas had a focus on matters such as how customs and traditions were dissolving, whereas the Swedish in addition had tried to illustrate social differences. And the Austrian maps used around one hundred different scales in their representations. And so forth (Erixon 1955c; *Conference de Namur*).[78]

Among the additional challenges was the question of terminology, a problem that the international dictionary of ethnological terms would try to solve – but that dictionary still had a long way to go, and Erixon led a constant fight for the funding of that project. There was also doubt about the financing, as the national atlases had different benefactors and relied upon voluntary aid, often from milieus that took a national pride in the project. A European atlas would require the editors of national atlases to agree to follow the directives from an international organization, and experience had taught Erixon how nationalistic many of the national folklore and ethnology settings were.

But Erixon was convinced that an international atlas was of paramount importance, or in his own words at the Namur conference: "There is no doubt […] that if any scientific matter might be characterized as having international significance for the science of culture, it is a European atlas" (Erixon 1955c:51). Acknowledging that CIAP, which in 1953 was in a deplorably chaotic state, would never be able to cope with an international project of this dimension, he proposed – what he had been prevented from saying in Stockholm in 1951 – that a new organization be established, or preferably "an international institute for comparative culture research and mapping" (ibid.). He envisaged international funding, preferably from CIPSH/UNESCO.

However, he realized that "our chances of finding support and understanding for such an enterprise are very small just now." The alternative was to start with some selected themes that could be dealt with separately, notably ploughs and vernacular architecture, where much research and mapping had already been done. Erixon ended up by proposing a new commission on cartography, and a demand to UNESCO for the financing of specialist meetings, including a conference on ploughing implements. Axel Steensberg (1906–1999) volunteered to try to organize the conference in Copenhagen.

The most remarkable contribution to the debate[79] was delivered by the young French scholar Marcel Maget – folklorist, sociologist, and ethnographer with a strong interest in mathematics and history, now working under Rivière at the national museum in Paris[80] – who gave an advanced evalua-

tion of technical aspects concerning questions of scale and the use of map symbols. Maget argued convincingly *against* a too strict harmonization of scales – and *for* a "normalization" rather than a "standardization" – with reference to the different levels of analysis, the problems of presentation of density and of geographical/topographical elements. He also warned against comparison in the simple form of superposing maps of different elements instead of using geodetic references, as the geographers did, and he gave a learned exposé of geodetic squaring and the need for inclusion of geophysical, hydrological and political variables. He politely warned against "des visions gigantesques" in the direction of a complete European atlas (i.e. Erixon's dream) and he supported the idea of limited case studies that Erixon – realistically but somewhat reluctantly – had ended up with (*Conférence de Namur*: 66–74). Erixon and the audience must have been thoroughly impressed. And after the conference Erixon toured France with his new friend Marcel Maget as guide, to study rural housing and to visit local museums.

The General Assembly of CIAP established three committees at the Namur meeting: A commission for cartography questions, chaired by Erixon and with Maget as a member; a commission for rural housing, chaired by Erixon and also including Maget; and a committee for an international conference on ploughing implements, chaired by Steensberg and with Erixon as a member. It should be observed that the CIAP commissions were small, unlike the later SIEF commissions, and consisted of only appointed specialists. The cartographic commission had seven members (in addition to Erixon and Maget: Branimir Bratanić, Jorge Dias, P. J. Meertens, Richard Weiss, and Kustaa Vilkuna).

The cartographic commission convened again the following year in Paris (1–2 July 1954), in connection with the General Assembly that reorganized CIAP. In the meantime, the conference on ploughs had taken place in Copenhagen (see below). The main lectures were given by Erixon – a general introduction (Erixon 1955g) and a survey of atlas work in European countries (Erixon 1955f), and by Maget – on technical aspects of cartography (Maget 1955). Erixon's survey was based on a questionnaire distributed in the autumn of 1953 from the Institute of Folklife Research in Stockholm, prepared for him by Gustav Ränk (1902–1998). The survey shows that maps of distribution were commonly used in research and publications in all European countries, but only ten had projects on national atlases (already published or planned): Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, West Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, and Switzerland. Erixon's ambition was to extend the survey worldwide. The questionnaire also included some questions on a possible European atlas and its organization. Some of the respondents proposed to start on a broad basis, but the majority recommended

a cautious start with a small number of carefully selected and not too complex culture elements.

Maget's lecture – "Éléments d'un projet d'harmonisation technique" (Maget 1955) – was an advanced exposé of problems concerning "la cartographie ponctuelle" or "point cartography", to the exclusion of more advanced techniques used for areas and frontiers, and covering only spatial and not temporal or social distribution. His discussion included the morphology of the symbols and the problems of scale and of background information. The text is that of a logician or mathematician playing with concepts and formulas, and it is hard to judge what might have been its impact on his colleagues. Maget's conclusion was to show the utmost prudence in the work for international harmonization, pointing to the fact that much cartographic work had turned out to be of little value for posterity. He also left his audience in doubt as to whether it was really worthwhile striving for an international atlas, given all the problems of harmonization, and asking if it was not better to have regional or national atlases, with scales that were relevant for the actual region or country, and adapted to the scientific quality of the collected material and to the research topic.

For two days the committee discussed Erixon's proposals for relevant themes for international maps and Maget's technical arguments (Erixon & Maget 1955a). It became clear that the members interpreted their mission differently. The majority, including Erixon, meant that the task was to prepare a European atlas of folk culture, whereas the minority was of the opinion that they were expected to work solely on the issue of harmonization of techniques. The time dimension posed another problem. The majority pointed to questions of chronology and differences in the dissolution of traditions, whereas Maget insisted upon the necessity to keep strictly to synchronic maps, leaving out historical strata. Compromises were reached, however, and the commission presented a number of recommendations to CIAP, which were accepted in CIAP's working programme for the years 1954–56, including a change of mission for the commission to a Permanent Commission for International Atlases (or "Die ständige internationale Atlaskommission", as came to be its name) – with the same members, and having as tasks both the question of technical harmonization and the selection of themes for international atlas projects. Among the themes proposed and accepted were first and foremost ploughing implements, but also housing, crop rotation, ceremonial bonfires, family and village organization and meals and eating habits – the two latter themes the specialities of Erixon and Maget respectively (*Laos* 1955:58–60, 174–75).

The commission would encounter severe problems in the following years. Its work – and destiny – go beyond the time frame of this presentation, but the short version is as follows: both Jorge Dias and Marcel Maget withdrew from the commission by the end of the 1950s. P. J. Meertens (1899–1985), founder of the present Meertens Institut in Amsterdam, had to take over the function of secretary, and Mathias Zender (Bonn) and Jenö Barabás (Budapest) joined the commission. Much worse, however, were the constant pecuniary problems. Even if the interest in cartography was growing and reached a peak in the 1960s, especially in Central and Eastern Europe, the commission was unable to obtain funding for meetings, neither through CIAP from UNESCO, nor from other sources, in spite of Erixon's many efforts.[81] The financial problems were to a large extent due to CIAP's new crisis in the late 1950s. Throughout the 1950s the commission never convened *qua* commission, but the members corresponded and met occasionally at other conferences, and normally at their own expense. Some of them met at the "Konferenz für volkskundliche Kartographie" in Linz in December 1958, a conference organized by the Gesellschaft für den Volkskundeatlas in Österreich, to work for a better coordination of the national atlas projects in Central Europe (West Germany, Yugoslavia, Austria, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary) (Bratanić & Burgstaller 1959), and at its follow-up conference organized by Professor Mathias Zender in Bonn in 1961. Mathias Zender (1907–1993) was leader of the oldest and biggest atlas project in Europe, the Atlas der deutschen Volkskunde (ADV). In spite of its age and setbacks during the war, the ADV was thoroughly modernized under Zender's leadership from 1945.

The members also met at Kurt Ranke's congress on oral literature in Kiel in August 1959, on one of the two occasions when the CIAP Board managed to convene in the latter half of the 1950s, as well as at the ICAES congress in Paris in 1960. In Kiel the CIAP Board "liberated the commission members from their responsibility for the European atlas plan as long as the necessary economic resources were not secured".[82] Some scholars were not so happy with this decision, among them Erixon, and in October 1960 he managed to convene the commission in Zürich, at their own expense.[83] Some other specialists from Central Europe were also invited. There were different views on the question of a general atlas of Europe versus experiments on a smaller scale. Erixon, who had previously advocated a common European atlas project, now belonged to the minority who warned against a too ambitious approach – as opposed to the views of Bratanić and Zender, who thought that the national atlases could coordinate the work. Erixon still dreamed of a general atlas, but he could not envisage it without "eine koordinierende Forschungszentrale".

In spite of the problems encountered, the commission managed to work out some questionnaires for testing out international maps. Due to the eco-

nomic problems not all of these could be sent out, and after discussions with other European colleagues it was decided to reduce the number of themes to one or two and to stick to material culture, notably ploughing implements and threshing tools and techniques. One of the reasons for sticking to material culture was the new contacts with East European scholars from the early 1960s. Furthermore, a basic blueprint map for a European atlas, including the Near East and North Africa, was developed on a scale of 1:4,000,000.[84]

The fairly regular conferences of the ADV in Bonn became an important venue for the commission members. The result of this situation was that the commission came to work more and more independently of CIAP, and when the scission came in 1964 and SIEF was established, the commission declared full independence.

XII Ploughs, Agriculture and the Copenhagen Institute

In 1951–52 Milovan Gavazzi and Branimir Bratanić, both professors in Zagreb, had proposed a research project and a conference on ploughing implements (Gavazzi 1951; Bratanić 1952). Erixon wanted to combine this idea with his cartographical interests, and in Namur (1953) he had made the Executive Board of CIAP adopt a plan for a conference "for the preparation of an atlas of the different types of ploughs in Europe", to be held in Copenhagen in 1954 (*Conference de Namur*, pp. 60–62, 116). An International Commission for Research on Ploughing Implements was appointed – again with Erixon as chairman. The reason for the choice of the Danish National Museum in Copenhagen as a venue was the broad research on agricultural history carried out in Denmark, historically but also by Axel Steensberg, and the promise of economic support from the Danish authorities (Erixon & Steensberg 1955). The conference took place in June 1954 – under the title "The International Conference for Research on Ploughing Implements" – and gathered around 35 researchers.

This strong interest in, not to say infatuation with, ploughs may strike a present-day observer. Why special conferences and plans for international atlases on ploughs, one may ask. Just a brief glance at ethnological publications of the first half of the twentieth century reveals an enormous interest in tools of tillage, and especially for the soil-cutting ard and the soil-turning plough. It should be observed that these tools appear in a large number of variants, depicted from the Bronze Age and described since Antiquity through the Middle Ages up to our time, in all corners of the world. They are basic instruments in the development of agriculture – mankind's main economic basis all through the historical period. The technology is simple and easy to grasp, and they lend themselves easily to comparative studies, whether the approach is evolutionist, diffusionist or functionalist. These

tools offered an ideal access – for cultural historians, ethnologists and linguists of the historical school – to the study of interactions between ethnic groups, of contacts and of culture areas crossing political frontiers. On the basis of the mapping of formal similarities and linguistic criteria, genealogical classification systems could be worked out (Lerche & Steensberg 1980:5).

The conference is well documented through a 170-page printed report – *Research on Ploughing Implements* – which contains the correspondence of the committee preceding the conference, the atlas plans circulated beforehand to the participants, the internal discussions of the committee, the proceedings – with lectures and discussions, and the resolutions. Erixon and Steensberg had made a preliminary draft for a classification system that might be used for an international atlas of ploughing implements. It turned out, however, that the level of research was extremely varied among the different countries represented, as were also the expectations for an atlas. Bratanić argued for a universal and all-inclusive classification system that even Erixon found far too ambitious (ibid.: 78–88). It became clear already through the preceding correspondence that no agreement could be reached, except on the need to collect further data and the hope that the new CIAP atlas commission would come up with solutions later. One of the stumbling blocks was, once again, the lack of an international nomenclature.

The conference ended with a recommendation for the establishment of a permanent secretariat. In addition a Permanent International Committee was elected, and Sigurd Erixon was appointed to his usual position – as chairman of the committee. The committee's mandate was to "consider plans for the preparation of statistical and cartographical material etc. relating to the use and nomenclature of ploughing implements on a broad international basis". Steensberg became its secretary, and among the members were Bratanić and Dias, as well as Paul Leser (1899–1984). As a German *Volkskundler* who had fled Nazi Germany and passed many years in Sweden, Leser ended up as professor of anthropology in Connecticut. It was Leser who would take over as chairman of the committee when Erixon died in 1968. With his 700-page *opus magnum* from 1931, *Entstehung und Verbreitung des Pfluges*, covering plough types all over the world, he was definitely the greatest expert on ploughs and ploughing on the other side of the Atlantic.

An International Secretariat for Research on the History of Agricultural Implements, which covered a broader field than only tillage tools, was actually established in the wake of the conference. The International Secretariat was financed by the Danish Ministry of Education and housed by Nationalmuseet in Copenhagen. It was intended to function as a connecting link between researchers in different countries, to establish a library of agricultural history and an archive of agricultural implements.

The Permanent International Committee functioned as an international

council for the permanent secretariat in Copenhagen (which also had a national board of governors). This permanent committee, which organized some conferences in the 1960s under the leadership of Sigurd Erixon, should not be confused with CIAP's commission on cartography and a European atlas. Erixon chaired both the commission and the committee, and Bratanić and Dias were members of both; both were occupied by ploughing implements, and it was at times difficult to see which hat Erixon was wearing. But as the secretariat was under the jurisdiction of the Danish ministry, it could never fuse with CIAP's atlas commission under Erixon, or later with SIEF's *Gerätekommission* under Wolfgang Jacobeit – all of which took a keen interest in ploughs. There was indeed a bewildering landscape of research on ploughs!

Through the 1950s the permanent secretariat in Copenhagen distributed questionnaires, collected material, completed its archives and the library, and published a newsletter, under the leadership of Axel Steensberg (chairman) and Peter Michelsen, the later leader of the open-air museum in Lyngby (Nellemann 1960–61; Lerche 1979). As for the history and the activities of the secretariat and the committee through the 1960s and 1970s, see Lerche & Steensberg 1980:14–46.

Erixon counted the establishment of the Permanent Secretariat among one of the few victories of CIAP, or as he reported in 1961:[85]

> Inspired by the initiative of a CIAP commission, an international research centre has been established, which now endeavours to function as an independent institution. We here see a nice example of how a good solution to such an enterprise should be carried through.

XIII A Dictionary of Ethnological Concepts

It would take 13 years, from the conception of the idea by Arnold van Gennep at the CIAP congress in Paris in 1947, until the publication in 1960 of *General Ethnological Concepts* (Hultkrantz 1960), volume I of *International Dictionary of Regional European Ethnology and Folklore*. The preparation of volume II, *Folk Literature* (Bødker 1965), would take another five years. The central element of the title, *Regional European Ethnology*, tells all about the influence of Sigurd Erixon.

As little happened for some years,[86] van Gennep repeated his proposal in an article in *CIAP Information* in 1950 (vols. 19–20), where he presented a very ambitious sketch for an encyclopaedia-like publication entitled *Lexique International d'Ethnographie et de Folklore* – in no fewer than fifteen languages, organized not alphabetically but with a classification system like that of the *Internationale Volkskundliche Bibliographie*, and with a world-wide scope. Van Gennep himself was approaching the age of 80 and too occupied with his voluminous *Manuel de folklore français contempo-*

rain (1937–1958) – in 8 volumes and more than 3.500 pages – to take on the editorship.

When did Erixon take over the responsibility and turn the project into a Nordic venture? It was probably on the initiative of the entrepreneurial Secretary General Foundoukidis, who in December 1951 simply asked him to take over the management, in the wake of the discussions at the Stockholm congress in September the same year.[87] At the congress Erixon had given an introduction, and a more limited version of the original plan had been discussed. At the same time Erixon suddenly received in his bank account a lump sum for the publication of the dictionary. In the early spring of 1953, however, he unexpectedly learned from UNESCO that the grant was revoked and the money was claimed back, as no dictionary had been published. The reason seems to have been that Foundoukidis had informed UNESCO that the volume was ready for printing already in 1951,[88] and had transferred the UNESCO grant to Erixon, neglecting to inform him about the requirements. Erixon had never had any ambitions to do the work himself, and in 1953 the editorial work had not even started, nor were there yet any realistic plans for the editing! It took Erixon some rounds of negotiations with the UNESCO audit department – in the midst of the hectic planning for Namur – before he was granted a deferment.

Between the autumn of 1951 and summer of 1953 Erixon made great efforts to find authors for the work. He realized that it would be a very difficult task, and he expressed serious doubts as to who would be able to perform the task. His second worry was that the UNESCO grant was far too small to pay the costs of the volume he wanted.[89] Erixon understood that he had to rely upon Nordic forces, and he first asked Sven Liljeblad if he would take on the editorship. Liljeblad (1899–2000) gave his advice, but he wanted to remain in the United States, to finish his study of Indian cultures. On several occasions he urged Nils Lid (1890–1958), professor of ethnology in Oslo, to take the job, but Lid rejected the offer. Lid passed on the invitation to his young colleague Knut Kolsrud (1916–1989), later successor in his chair. Kolsrud was willing, but too delayed with another project.[90]

Erixon discussed the dictionary project at all the meetings and conferences in 1952 – in Paris, in Odense, in Vienna. In December 1952 he summoned Nils Lid, Kustaa Vilkuna, and Laurits Bødker to a planning session in Stockholm, as a 'pre-committee'. Kustaa Vilkuna (1902–1980) was professor of ethnology/Finno-Ugrian ethnography in Helsinki. To judge from the correspondence and regular contact, Lid and Vilkuna were his closest colleagues in Norway and Finland. The endeavours to find an editor continued, and in July 1953 he announced that he had finally found the scholars he needed: Åke Hultkrantz had accepted the invitation to be the main editor and Laurits Bødker his assistant.[91]

Åke Hultkrantz (1920–2006) was a Swedish historian of religion and eth-

nologist, who had just presented has doctor's thesis (May 1953) and who later got a chair in comparative religion in Stockholm. His research centred on religious beliefs among North American Indians, and all through his career he had a close relationship to American culture studies. Laurits Bødker (1915–1982), a Danish folklorist who worked at Dansk Folkemindesamling and who later became director of Nordisk Institut for Folkedigtning and professor in Copenhagen, was one of the founders of modern folklore studies in Denmark.

In August 1953 it became clear that the problems with UNESCO were temporarily solved, and Erixon presented a revised plan in September in Namur, where Hultkrantz and Bødker were invited (*Conférence de Namur*, pp. 89–101). The plan had been drafted by a local committee in Stockholm, consisting of Erixon's assistants and students – Gustav Ränk, Eerik Laid, and Anna-Britta Hellbom, in addition to Hultkrantz and Bødker.

It was clear that van Gennep's ambitious plan would be impossible to carry through, for economic, practical, and organizational reasons. The revised plan aimed at a "reference work of handbook type […] mainly restricted to the fields of European ethnology and folklore" (ibid.: 94). The list of terms would be strongly reduced and restricted to theoretical concepts, there would be a focus on definitions, contents, and relations to other terms, the area should principally be Europe, the terms would be rendered in fewer languages (translations), and the language of the text should be English. The volume would appear as a systematic manual, in alphabetical order and with no thematic divisions (ibid.: 94–95). For once, Erixon posed an ultimatum: If the plan were not accepted in the main, someone else had to take over.

The General Assembly of CIAP sanctioned the plan and appointed an editorial committee consisting of Nils Lid, Kustaa Vilkuna, and Sigurd Erixon as chairman. Very much of the work, however, would fall on Erixon, especially in the most intensive editing period, as Lid died in 1958 and Vilkuna was appointed minister of education in the Finnish government the same year. The ethnologist Hilmar Stigum (1897–1976), head curator at the Norsk Folkemuseum and later professor in Oslo, replaced Lid in the committee in 1958. Stigum was less internationally oriented than the two others, or as he wrote – self-ironically – to Erixon in 1953: "[…] my colleagues back home tell me it's high time that I move beyond the Scandinavian borders".[92] Still Erixon persuaded him to participate in Namur in 1953 as well as in Arnhem/Amsterdam in 1955.

The work on volume I started in 1955 and lasted five years. The final plans for the project – including objectives, layout, selection of terms, the organization of the project, etc. – are described in detail in *Laos* vol. III (1955), by Erixon, Hultkrantz, and Bødker. The work was in the main done by Hultkrantz and Bødker, who appear as sole authors of their respective

volumes, but a great number of scholars in Europe and the United States were consulted by correspondence. UNESCO gave yearly grants, but far too small to keep the project on the rails, so Erixon had to seek money where he could, from his institute in Stockholm as well as from other sources.

Several problems of compilation, selection, layout, and definition were encountered as the work proceeded. One of the main problems for Hultkrantz in volume I, *General Ethnological Concepts*, was the balance between European regional ethnology (including folklore), European general ethnology and Anglo-American ethnology/anthropology. Traditional folklore and folklife studies had formed relatively few and vague concepts, due partly to their historical tendency, compared to the more functionalist and social-science-oriented British and American anthropology.

Volume I was printed in the autumn of 1960. However, the publisher Rosenkilde and Bagger did not want to release it before volume II (Bødker on *Folk Literature*) was printed. But Bødker was delayed time and again, and it was decided to release volume I in September 1961. The project leader Erixon, the main editor Hultkrantz, and the secretary Hellbom were obviously annoyed with all the problems that cropped up in Copenhagen,[93] until Bødker's volume finally appeared in 1965. If Hultkrantz's volume strove in vain to keep a European focus and to tone down its American bias, Bødker's volume had the opposite problem, as testified by its subtitle: *Germanic*.

One should expect that after so many vicissitudes, alterations, refusals, pecuniary and organizational problems, and not least so many years, the project leaders would be satisfied and happy that the project was finished. Hultkrantz's volume was a handy one of only 282 pages, running from "Acceptance" and "Acculturation" to "Volkstumskunde" and "Vulgus in Populo". It was much smaller than Erixon had originally planned – due to the fact that all empirical terms were left out. It was pointed out in the annual project reports (1959, 1961, 1963, 1964)[94] that volume I dealt with general ethnological concepts and definitions only; it was not an inventory of all the "realia" on which the disciplines of European ethnology and folklore worked. So the dictionary committee decided to do "damage repair" by planning more volumes. At the CIAP Board meeting in Kiel in 1959, the committee got acceptance for the planning of several new volumes: Erixon had actually planned no less than 12 more volumes. Two were already in progress around 1960, notably Jouko Hautala (1910–1983) working on terms concerning folk beliefs and Sigurd Erixon and collaborators on terms used for the study of settlement, village organization, and house construction. Kustaa Vilkuna had agreed to write a volume on fishing and hunting terms. And other volumes were in planning. However, none of these were finished – at least not in the form of international dictionaries.

XIV 1955: Arnhem, Amsterdam and European Ethnology – and a Political Intermezzo

> When I accepted the charge of Secretary General of the CIAP, I thought of the help of more experienced colleagues for whose scientific value I had great respect, because I think it worth fighting for the science we are devoted to, sparing no efforts to bring it up to its right high level. If you think of the great number of those who have a too superficial and episodic conception of it, without the sense of the unity of the culture in its many relations with the human societies, you understand that all my hope was that, supported by the few like you, I could contribute to a radical transformation of the present state of things. In the International congress of folklore in Arnhem, I am going to fight for an ethnological thesis, and I firmly think of the help of your opinion, which I often quote in my communication, as well as that of Marcel Maget. But we will certainly be a very sad minority.
> (Letter from Jorge Dias to Sigurd Erixon, 7 July 1955, on the subject of the forthcoming Arnhem congress.)[95]

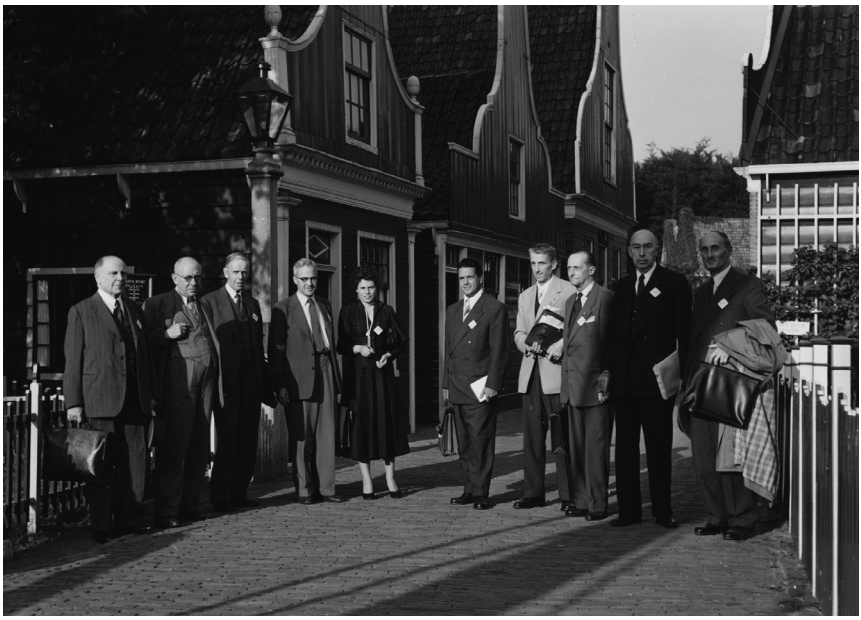
After the General Assembly of CIAP in Paris in 1954, the legitimacy strife was over. A new board had been elected, with Reidar Th. Christiansen as President and Jorge Dias as Secretary General. New commissions were ap-

The Board of CIAP at the Arnhem congress in September 1955, posing in front of St Hubertusslot, in De Hoge Veluwe National Park, just north of Arnhem. From the left: Jorge Dias (Portugal), Helmut Dölker (West Germany), Milovan Gavazzi (Yugoslavia), Reidar Th. Christiansen (Norway), Winand Roukens (Netherlands) with his back towards the photographer, Stith Thompson (USA), Pierre-Louis Duchartre (France), Sigurd Erixon (Sweden), Albert Marinus (Belgium), Georges Henri Rivière (France). Photo: Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, Arnhem. AA 41409 (photo cut).

An excursion on the canals, Amsterdam-Volendam, 1955. In the front, with a pipe in his hand, Hilmar Stigum (Oslo). In the second row, with a cigar, Kai Uldall (Copenhagen) and D. Orel (Ljubljana). In the third row Milovan Gavazzi (Zagreb) and an unknown lady. In the fourth row Niilo Valonen (Helsinki) and Ernst Burgsteller (Linz). Photo: Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, Arnhem. AA 41424 (photo cut).

pointed, a working programme adopted, and peace reigned with UNESCO. And Sigurd Erixon had obtained what he wanted: a presumably orderly and functional organization, a Nordic president, and himself in an important but not too exposed position, from where he could continue his campaign for a regional European ethnology.

During the winter of 1954–55 Het Nederlands Openluchtmuseum – the Dutch open-air museum in Arnhem – issued invitations for a "Congrès international de folklore", to be arranged in September 1955 "with the cooperation of CIAP". The host was the museum's director Winand Roukens (1896–1974). At the same time it was decided to invite around fifteen of the most prominent scholars to a two-day post-seminar in Amsterdam, hosted by the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences and its secretary for the Dutch Folklore Commission, P. J. Meertens, "to discuss the results obtained at the congress".[96] Meertens was a close collaborator of Erixon and Dias in the at-



The Board of CIAP at the Arnhem congress, September 1955, posing on a village street in Zaanse Schans. From the left: Sigurd Erixon (Sweden), Albert Marinus (Belgium), Reidar Th. Christiansen (Norway), Helmut Dölker (West Germany), unknown woman, Jorge Dias (Portugal), Georges Henri Rivière (France), Pierre-Louis Duchartre (France), Stith Thompson (USA), and Milovan Gavazzi (Yugoslavia). Photo: Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, Arnhem. AA 41324.

las commission, and it was probably the three who had contrived the second, closed conference.

As usual, Sigurd and his wife Edit arrived by car with the Strömboms and their driver, and the four-day congress started on 20 September, gathering more than a hundred participants. All were selected and personally invited. Compared to earlier congresses of folklore or ethnology, where the lecturers freely chose their topics and read their papers, the Arnhem congress stands out as the first modern one. The overall theme was European ethnology as a scholarly discipline, its definition and delimitation, its unity and its name. Eight handpicked lecturers were given topics to talk on, and they were admonished to angle their presentations towards "the essence of the science" and "the present state of affairs", and to "arrive at tangible results".[97] These keynote lectures were short – only 25 minutes were allowed for each, as manuscripts had been distributed beforehand to the participants. Likewise with the one or two commentators (or "co-lecturers") on each lecture, who gave prepared comments of 10 minutes' length, before the general discussions started.[98]

This strictly controlled procedure must be credited the Dutch hosts. But

P. J. Meertens (Amsterdam) and Dag Strömbäck (Stockholm) at a reception at the Arnhem congress, 1955. Photo: Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, Arnhem. AA 41334 (photo cut).

it was CIAP's new Secretary General, Jorge Dias, who was the motive power behind the scholarly programme, in cooperation with Sigurd Erixon, G. H. Rivière and P. J. Meertens.[99] Topics treated were the position of folklore and ethnology in society, their relative regression, their relationship to other disciplines, the question of nomenclature, and, not least, the unity of folklore, ethnology, and anthropology. The most noteworthy contribution was Jorge Dias's opening lecture, "The quintessence of the problem: Nomenclature and subject-matter of folklore" (Dias 1956). It was a well-argued analysis of European ethnology and its relationship to general ethnology, which pointed directly to the discussions at the subsequent Amsterdam conference.

Erixon kept a lower profile in Arnhem, acting only as 'co-lecturer' to Karl Meisen's discourse on "Folklore as a Social Science" (Erixon 1956). His

The Arnhem congress, 1955. Sigurd Erixon lecturing on modern art? Around the Picasso painting in the Kröller-Müller Museum: In grey suit J. Hansen (Roermond), in dark suits Gösta Berg (Stockholm), Sigurd Erixon, and Dag Strömbäck (Uppsala). Photo: Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, Arnhem. AA 41404 (photo cut).

different contributions did not pass unnoticed, however. Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann wrote enthusiastically (1955:84):

> Erixon's presentations gave a clear insight into the broad scope of our discipline in research and teaching, as it is conceived in Scandinavia; here the discipline in all its sociological breath is referred to with the highly appropriate term "Folklivsforskning".

Not everyone, though, was happy with Erixon's suggestions. When he supported Dias's proposal of a unitary name for the discipline – that is ethnology – and to subsume folklore under that discipline, he met with massive opposition in the discussion.[100] It was obviously a strategic move to adjourn these issues to the post-seminar and to a restricted group of colleagues. However, there was a pronounced will in general – throughout the lectures

The Arnhem congress, 1955. From the left Oskar Loorits, Uppsala, who upset the whole congress by his frontal attack on his East German colleague Wolfgang Steinitz. Next Winand Roukens (Arnhem), J. M. Ritz (Munich), B. Bratanić (Zagreb), and J. Hanika (Munich). Photo: Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, Arnhem. AA 41434 (photo cut).

and discussions – for the discipline(s) to focus more strongly on the social dimension and to pay more attention to contemporary issues and less to history.

Erixon had his great moment in Amsterdam, when thirteen selected scholars met in the more relaxed setting of the Royal Dutch Academy, to conclude after Arnhem. The deliberations ended with a set of recommendations. The final document[101] more or less followed the programme from Arnhem. The most important section was on terminology, relating to Dias's lecture and Bratanić's "co-lecture". The group recommended that on an international level the name of the discipline (comprising folklore, material and social culture) should be *ethnology*, with the qualification *regional* or *national* when it was necessary to distinguish between "socalled historical peoples and peoples without a written history". The term *folklore* should be used exclusively for the study of one of the discipline's constituent parts, "la culture spirituelle". The recommendation was unanimous, but the German and Austrian participants (Helmut Dölker and Leopold Schmidt) made their reservations; they would confer with their colleagues and report back to

CIAP. However, the German-speaking scholars were not willing to leave the terms and the dichotomy *Volkskunde–Völkerkunde*, nor to accept a subordination to *Völkerkunde* (Weber-Kellermann 1955; Lühti 1955).

Section II dealt with the museums of "regional ethnology", their exhibitions and research, relating to Hilmar Stigum's lecture and Rivière's "co-lecture". It was recommended that these museums should avoid exhibiting isolated objects and endeavour to present material cultural in social, ideological, and historical contexts. Urgency plans should be made for documentation and collecting of heritage threatened by disappearance, and "man's behaviour in face of industrialization" should be studied. As for section V, the teaching of ethnology (relating to lectures by Martti Haavio and Stith Thompson), it was recommended, among other things, that students of regional ethnology should be offered courses in general ethnology, and vice versa.

The recommendations were edited in French and intended for CIAP. A copy was sent to UNESCO, where they were warmly received. UNESCO officials found them so interesting that the text was immediately translated into English and distributed to a number of scholars and museums in other parts of the world.[102] Within CIAP, however, their impact was less spectacular, to put it mildly. The thirteen handpicked participants in Amsterdam were hardly representative of the scholarly community at large. Both the unity of the discipline and its proposed name would soon be challenged again. There was severe resistance to defining the three branches as specialities of one and the same discipline, as well as to acknowledging them as a regional variant of anthropology. The main opposition came from the folklorists. And Marinus, who was deeply offended because he had not been invited to Amsterdam (nor to give a lecture in Arnhem), would soon unearth the hatchet again.[103]

Post-war CIAP had been an organization for Western Europe, with contacts with the two American continents. When Erixon called his congress in 1951 "European and Western Ethnology", it just reflected the fact that "European ethnology" for all practical purposes was synonymous with the ethnology that was practised to the west of the Iron Curtain. With the exception of Yugoslavia and to some extent East Germany and Poland, contacts with Eastern Europe were practically non-existent through the 1950s.[104] Furthermore, CIAP had always functioned as a non-political organization, in the sense that it never invited discussions on the state of culture research and the conditions of the researchers in the East. But at the closure of the congress in Arnhem there was an intermezzo that challenged this policy.

Only one scholar from the other side of the Iron Curtain had been invited to the congress, Professor Wolfgang Steinitz from East Berlin, nicknamed "der rote Volkskundler" by Western colleagues. Steinitz had participated at some conferences in West Europe earlier, for instance at the Vienna congress in 1952, where Erixon had first experienced his attacks on western

points of view (see above). Dutch authorities refused him a visa, however, and Steinitz wrote a long letter to Roukens, asking him to read it to the audience at the congress – a practice that was fairly common. In the letter[105] Steinitz expressed his regrets at not being able to participate, he commented on and criticized one of the pre-distributed papers – from both a historical-marxist and a political point of view, he criticized Western attitudes and regretted the lack of cooperation between East and West, he wanted Easterners to be represented with equal rights in commissions and committees, and he praised cooperation in general.

After the reading of the letter by Roukens, who just wanted to use it for a formal closure of the congress, there came from the audience an unexpected "Ich bitte das Wort!" It came from Oskar Loorits (1900–1961), Estonian refugee who lived in exile in Sweden, working as an archivist in Uppsala, after having fled the Soviet-occupied Estonia in 1944. Loorits' talk contained serious accusations against Steinitz of espionage, provocations, and informing. It also implied hard criticism of the congress organizers for having invited a communist agent and spy like Steinitz when international cooperation was on the agenda. Thirdly, it contained a profound regret that the Western community of scholars had turned their back on oppressed populations and their exiled researchers. And his final word was "J'accuse!"[106]

All were taken by surprise, and there was no debate. Roukens uttered some confused phrases to "mein Freund Loorits", the CIAP President Christiansen thanked the hosts for the whole arrangement, and all went to lunch. The "intermezzo" is not even mentioned in the minutes of the congress.[107]

Although Loorits was met with a resounding silence there and then, the incident had a sequel. A few institutions expressed their gratitude to Roukens for having invited an exiled scholar. But Steinitz soon learned what had happened, and he started a correspondence that lasted far into 1956.[108] Through the letters from Steinitz and Loorits appears a complex picture of the events before and during the war. Steinitz himself had been expelled from Germany by the Nazis in 1933, emigrated to Russia, from where he apparently also was expelled, and his main base from 1938 to 1946 had been Stockholm. Loorits elaborated his version in a detailed report,[109] where he relates about the oppression of scholars in Estonia, under both the Communist occupation (1940–41 and again from 1944) and the Nazi occupation (1941–1944), about Steinitz's role during his stays in Estonia (1933, 1937, 1940), how he had been reported on by Steinitz, interrogated, and threatened with execution, how his family had been killed and how he had had a close escape. Steinitz, who held a very high position in East Germany – as a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Vice President of the Academy of Sciences – rejected Loorits' version as a pack of lies. He distributed his version to all the ethnological institutes and academies in Eastern Europe, from Moscow to Albania – institutions that all supported

Steinitz. To quote just one reaction, from the newly elected CIAP Board member Piwocki from Warsaw: "Any collaboration between us and colleagues from the capitalist countries becomes impossible, when we are met with such insults. This must be made clear."[110]

We do not know Erixon's reactions, but he must have felt the situation rather awkward, knowing both parties from Stockholm and Uppsala. After all, his institution had welcomed Baltic refugees, and he knew better than anyone that CIAP totally lacked the muscle that Loorits called for. The incident created a cold front for some time, at least in CIAP's relations to Eastern Europe. Steinitz sought cooperation with the anthropologists in ICAES. In the mid 1960s, however, Steinitz would become a supporter of Erixon in the renewed debate about the name of the discipline and its relationship to anthropology (Rogan 2008a).

XV A Closing Remark: Culmination – and Dark Clouds on the Horizon

> I am very glad to know that you are decided to fight for a more ethnological basis of our science, for whose improvement you have done so much. Although those who are in the opposite field are much more in number and daring, I am sure that sooner or later our point of view will impose itself for its own evidence.
> (Letter of 1 August 1955 from Dias to Erixon)[111]

In spite of the Loorits-Steinitz controversy as a reminder of the political situation in Europe, the Arnhem-Amsterdam congress marked a peak in the history of CIAP. Never had a congress been so well organized, and hardly had there been a congress that had been so marked by self-reflexivity and filled so many scholars with optimism about the future of the discipline. In 1955 the hundred or so most prominent ethnologists and folklorists of Europe were at least willing to discuss difficult issues such as the importance of studying contemporary topics and the social dimensions of culture, the unity of the discipline, its relation to general anthropology and its designation. When he left Amsterdam, Erixon must have felt that his strategy for creating a platform for European ethnology was a success. Notwithstanding the debate and opposition in Arnhem, the Amsterdam recommendations went hand in glove with his plans for the discipline.

Furthermore, the CIAP Board meeting, which had taken place at the beginning of the congress, had been a calm and well-organized session, not least thanks to the new Secretary General. The board had been expanded with three new members: the Brazilian folklorist and musicologist Renato Almeida (1895–1981), the local host Winand Roukens, and Xavier Piwocki – professor in Warsaw. Erixon was probably very content with this extension to Eastern Europe as well as to South America. The programme for the

years 1957 and 1958 was planned, comprising several conferences (a General Assembly in Rome, a conference on fairy tales in Oslo, and one on vernacular architecture in Paris).[112]

None of these events took place, however, and disappointments and lethargy, as well as reversals and infighting, would be the order of the day for several years. Especially the issues of the unity of the discipline and its designation would haunt CIAP in the following years and split its members, as seen in 1964 when CIAP became SIEF.

It is a story so sad that it is perhaps not worth telling, had it not been for two things. One is the incredible energy and persistence of Sigurd Erixon in pursuing his goals. The other is the fact that this story is part of the heritage of European ethnology and folklore, and as such it should not be forgotten. The period 1956 until 1968, when Erixon died, will be the framing of the last part of this "biography of an internationalist".

Bjarne Rogan, dr. philos.
Professor of Culture History
Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages
University of Oslo
P.O.Box 1010, Blindern
NO-0315 Oslo
Norway
e-mail: bjarne.rogan@ikos.uio.no

Erixon also found time for fieldwork, in between his trips to the Continent. He made several visits to Norway. In 1957 he visited the west coast of Norway, together with Nils Lid and Rigmor Frimannslund (Holmsen). Photo: Riksarkivet. Privatarkiv 1342, Rigmor Frimannslund Holmsen.

References

Actes du Congrès International d'Ethnologie Régionale (20–24 septembre 1955). Arnhem 1956.

Arnstberg, Karl-Olov 1989: *Utforskaren. Studier i Sigurd Erixons etnologi.* Carlssons.

Arnstberg, Karl-Olov 2008: Le moment Sigurd Erixon. *Ethnologie Française* 38: 213–219.

Boberg, Inger 1953: *Folkemindeforskningens historie i Mellem- og Nordeuropa*. Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaards Forlag.

Bratanić, Branimir 1952: On the Antiquity of the One-sided Plough in Europe, Especially among the Slavic Peoples. *Laos* II:51–61.

Bratanić, Branimir 1965: Forschungsbericht. Bericht über die Tätigkeit der Ständigen internationalen Atlaskommission in den Jahren 1954–1964. *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 61:243–247.

Bratanić, Branimir & Ernst Burgstaller 1959: *Konferenz für volkskundliche Kartographie in Linz a.d.D., 11.–13. Dezember 1958. Tagungsbericht, Referate.* Linz.

Brednich, Rolf 1977–78: Die internationale volkskundliche Bibliographie. *Ethnologia Europaea* 10:184–191.

Bringéus, Nils-Arvid 1988: Internationella kontakter. *Folklivsarkivet i Lund 1913–1988*. Lund 1988.

Bødker, Laurits 1955: Some Problems of Terminology in Folklore. *Laos* III:36–43.

Bødker, Laurits 1956: Paper on the dictionary of regional European ethnology and folklore. *Conférence de Namur*, pp. 97–101.

Bødker, Laurits 1965: *International Dictionary of Regional European Ethnology and Folklore*. Vol. II *Folk Literature (Germanic).* Copenhague: Rosenkilde and Bagger.

Bødker, Laurits & Louis L. Hammerich 1955: An International Folktale Institute in Copenhagen. *Laos* III:99–101.

Caillot, Marie 2011: La revue *Mouseion* (1927–1946). *Le musées et la coopération culturelle internationale*. Tome premier. Thèse pour le diplôme d'archiviste paléographe 2011. Ecole Nationale des Chartres.

Campbell, Åke 1951: Notes on a Swedish Contribution to the Folk Culture Atlas of Europe. *Laos* I:111–120.

Christiansen, Reidar Th. 1955: A Folklorist's Plea for Co-operation. *Laos* III:9–17.

Christophe, Jacqueline, Denis-Michel Boëll & Régis Meyran 2009. *Du folklore à l'ethnologie*. Paris, Éditions de la maison des sciences de l'homme.

Commission Internationale des Arts et Traditions Populaires, 1955: Rapport sur les activités du Comité exécutif et de ses mandataires sept. 1953–juillet 1954, Compte rendu de l'Assemblée générale de la CIAP (Paris, juillet 1954), Statuts de la CIAP. *Laos* III:166–180.

Conférence de Namur 7 au 12 Septembre 1953. Compte-rendu édité par la Commission Nationale Belge de Folklore. Bruxelles 1956.

Conseil International de la Philosophie et des Sciences Humaines (C.I.P.S.H.). *Bulletin* 1950. Paris (UNESCO).

Dias, Jorge 1956: The Quintessence of the Problem. Nomenclature and Subject-matter of Folklore. In *Actes du Congrès,* 1956, pp. 1–14.

Erixon, Sigurd 1937: Regional European Ethnology I. Main Principles and Aims with Special Reference to Nordic Ethnology. *Folkliv* 1937:89–108.

Erixon, Sigurd 1948–49: Nyorienteringar inom folklivsforskningen. *Folk-Liv* 1948–49:5–14.

Erixon, Sigurd 1951a. Avant-Propos. *Laos* I:7–8.

Erixon, Sigurd 1951b. Ethnologie régionale ou folklore. *Laos* I:9–19.
Erixon, Sigurd 1951c. Newer Atlas Organizations and their Activities. *Laos* I:205–6.
Erixon, Sigurd 1952: Some Questions to the Readers on Problems of Current Interest. *Laos* II, p. 116.
Erixon, Sigurd. 1952: Retrospektiv översikt och redogörelse. *Liv och folkkultur* V: 129–138. Stockholm.
Erixon, Sigurd 1955a: Avant-propos. *Laos* III:7–8.
Erixon, Sigurd 1955b: The Position of Regional Ethnology and Folklore at the European Universities. An International Inquiry. *Laos* III:108–144.
Erixon, Sigurd 1955c: An International Dictionary of Regional European Ethnology and Folklore. Introduction. *Laos* III:18–23.
Erixon, Sigurd 1955d: The Position of Regional European Ethnology and Folklore at the European Universities. An International Inquiry. *Laos* III:108–144.
Erixon, Sigurd 1955e: International Conference for Co-operation on the Mapping of Folk Culture, at Namur September 1953. *Laos* III:48–52.
Erixon, Sigurd 1955f: Some Points of View with Regard to International Cartographical Activities. *Laos* III:60–63.
Erixon, Sigurd 1955g: Maps of Folk Culture. An International Inquiry. *Laos* III:79–98.
Erixon, Sigurd 1955–56: Internationelt samarbete. *Folk-Liv* 1955–56:141–145.
Erixon, Sigurd 1956: European Ethnology as Social Science. In *Actes du Congrès*, pp. 56–61.
Erixon, Sigurd & Marcel Maget 1955a: Compte-rendu sommaire des Séances de la Commission de Cartographie de la CIAP, réunie à Paris les 1er et 2 Juillet 1954. *Laos* III:53–59.
Erixon, Sigurd & Marcel Maget 1955b: Commission de l'habitat rural. *Laos* III:106–107.
Erixon, Sigurd & Axel Steensberg 1955: International Conference for Research on Ploughing Implements in Copenhagen. *Laos* III:102–105.
Eskeröd, Albert 1952: The International Congress of European and Western Ethnology, Stockholm-Uppsala 1951. A Short Report […] *Laos* II:111–115.
Gavazzi, Milovan 1951: Zu den gemeineuropäischen Forschungsplänen. *Laos* I:28–30.
van Gennep, Arnold 1950: Projet de publication d'un lexique international d'ethnographie et de folklore. *CIAP Information* no. 19–20 (mars–avril 1950), pp. 1–4.
Hultkrantz, Åke 1952: American "Anthropology" and European "Ethnology". A Sketch and a Program. *Laos* II:99–106.
Hultkrantz, Åke 1955a: Suggestions for an International Dictionary of Regional European Ethnology and Folklore. *Laos* III:23–36.
Hultkrantz, Åke 1955b: Encyclopædical and Lexical Literature in the Field of Ethnology. *Laos* III:23–36.
Hultkrantz, Åke 1956: International Dictionary of Regional European Ethnology and Folklore. *Conférence de Namur*, pp. 93–96.
Hultkrantz, Åke 1960: *International Dictionary of Regional European Ethnology and Folklore*. Vol. I *General Ethnological Concepts*. Copenhague: Rosenkilde and Bagger.
Laos. Etudes comparées de folklore ou d'ethnologie régionale. 1951–55. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
Lerche, Grith 1979: International Secretariat for Research on the History of Agricultural Implements 1954–1979. *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 1979:163–165.
Lerche, Grith & Axel Steensberg 1980: *Agricultural Tools and Field Shapes. Twenty*

Five Years of Activity by the International Secretariat. National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen.
Lühti, Max 1955: Leistungen, Aufgaben und Probleme der Volkskunde. Zum internationalen Volkskundekongress in Arnhem. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* 1. November 1955 (Morgenausgabe 2924).
Maget, Marcel 1955: Eléments d'un projet d'harmonisation technique. *Laos* III:78.
Nellemann, Georg 1960–61: Det internationale sekretariat for udforskning af landbrugsredskabernes historie. *Folk-Liv* 1960–61:127–129.
Nic Craith, Máiréad, Ulrich Kockel, Reinhard Johler (eds.) 2008: *Everyday Culture in Europe. Approaches and Methodologies*, pp. 19–64. Aldershot: Ashgate.
Niederer, Arnold 1983: Robert Wildhaber (1902–1982). *Ethnologia Europaea* 13: 234–36.
Papers of the International Congress on Western and European Ethnology, Stockholm 1951. Stockholm 1955.
Research on Ploughing Implements. The Conference in Copenhagen June 1st–5th 1954.
Rogan, Bjarne 2007: Folk Art and Politics in Inter-War Europe: An Early Debate on Applied Ethnology. *Folk Life* 45:7–23
Rogan, Bjarne 2008a: From CIAP to SIEF: Visions for a Discipline or Power Struggle? *Everyday Culture in Europe. Approaches and Methodologies*, ed. Máiréad Nic Craith, Ulrich Kockel & Reinhard Johler, pp. 19–63. Aldershot: Ashgate.
Rogan, Bjarne 2008b: The Troubled Past of European Ethnology. SIEF and International Cooperation from Prague to Derry. *Ethnologia Europaea* 38,1:66–78.
Rogan, Bjarne 2008c: From Rivals to Partners on the Interwar European Scene – Sigurd Erixon, Georges Henri Rivière and the International Debate on European Ethnology in the 1930s. *Arv. Nordic Yearbook of Folklore* 64:61–100.
Rogan, Bjarne 2008d: Une alliance fragile. Sigurd Erixon, Georges Henri Rivière et l'ethnologie européenne d'avant-guerre. *Ethnologie Française* 4:701–710.
Rogan, Bjarne 2011: A Remarkable Congress and a Beloved General Secretary. http://siefhome.org/images/PDF/inaugural_add_sief2011.pdf.
Rogan, Bjarne 2012: An Internationalist among Norwegian Folklorists. A Biographical Sketch of Reidar Th. Christiansen. *Arv. Nordic Yearbook of Folklore* 68:91–119.
Rogan, Bjarne 2013 Popular Culture and International Cooperation in the 1930s. CIAP and the League of Nations. (In press, Springer/Heidelberg).
Steensberg, Axel 1955–56: The Vth International Congress of Ethnological and Anthropological Sciences in Philadelphia. *Folk-Liv* 1955–56:144–45.
Steinitz, Wolfgang 1956: Für wissenschaftliche Zusammenarbeit zwischen Ost und West. Eine notwendige Erklärung. *Deutsches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* II:325–330.
Thompson, Stith 1996: *A Folklorist's Progress. Reflections of a Scholar's Life*. Special Publications of the Folklore Institute No. 5. Indiana University, Bloomington.
Weber, Florence 2009: Marcel Maget, le folklore et la corporation paysanne. Archiver, publier, enquêter de 1935 à 1944. In Christophe *& al*. 2009, pp. 231–253.
Weber-Kellermann, Ingeborg 1956: Internationaler Volkskundekongress in Arnhem, Holland, 20. bis 24. September 1955. *Sociologus. Zeitschrift für empirische Soziologie, sosialpsychologische und ethnologische Forschung*, 6,1:83–85.
Wildhaber, Robert 1951: Die volkskundliche Bibliographie. *Laos* I:202–04.
Wildhaber, Robert 1955: Bericht über die "Internationale Volkskundliche Bibliographie". *Laos* III:160–162.

Archives

Delargey Center for Irish Folklore and the National Folklore Collection, Dublin (DUBLIN)
Het Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, Arnhem (ARNHEM)
NB: I use the museum's references, although these archives were moved to Gelders Archief, Arnhem, in summer 2007.
Meertens Instituut, Amsterdam (MEERTENS)
Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires, Paris. (MNATP).
NB: I use the MNATP references, although the greater part of this collection was transferred to the Meertens Institute, Amsterdam, in May 2012. The rest is now being transferred to MuCEM in Marseille.
Nordiska Museet, Stockholm.
Collection: Sigurd Erixons samlingar (SE)
Österreichisches Museum für Volkskunde, Vienna (VIENNA)
UNESCO/The League of Nations, Paris (UNESCO)

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

---

[1] Summary of a conference paper, probably from Stockholm 1951, or possibly from Namur 1953, signed Sigurd Erixon. MEERTENS 35:871.

[2] Letter of 2 May 1963 from Roger Pinon to Karel C. Peeters. MNATP: Peeters 4.

[3] The League's Geneva-based suborganization CICI (*la Commission Internationale de Coopération Intellectuelle*), was an organization responsible for international cooperation within the field of art, museums and culture. An affiliated institution in Paris, *l'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle* (IICI), became the executive organ of CICI.

[4] First IAFE (1936), then IAEEF (1937).

[5] *Folk-Liv* 1939:104ff.

[6] UNESCO archives, Paris, IICI Correspondance, F.IX.8 Participation de la Suède. Letter from Erixon dated 31.1.1928 and from Dupierreux registered 8.2.1928.

[7] Some documents concerning the revival efforts in 1945 are contained in UNESCO I.I.C.I. Correspondance F. IX.80 Relations entre l'Institut et la CIAP (1936–45), file I.I.C.I. CIAP Réunion du bureau (28 Nov. 1936). But several other boxes were missing when I visited the archive in 2002–3, among them Correspondance F.IX.84 Réorganisation de la CIAP.

[8] Rapport sur la reunion de la CIAP à Génève, nov. 1945. MNATP: ATP org CIAP. Written by Marcel Maget.

[9] At the time, Emrich held the position as head of the Archives of the American Folk Song section of the Library of Congress, Washington. Soon after, however, he left folklore studies and did not return to the field until 1969.

[10] See Minutes/Compte-rendu sommaire des travaux de la 1ère session plénière. Paris, Musée de l'Homme, 1–5 oct. 1947. MNATP: Org. ATP-CIAP 1947–48–49 etc. There is also some material on the 1947 meeting in UNESCO Reg. 39 A01 ICFAF (International Commission on Folk Arts and Folklore, which was the English name for CIAP after the war).

[11] Letters from Campbell to Séamus Ó Duilearga and Séan O'Sullivan (23.10. and 19.12.1947). DUBLIN. I am grateful to Professor Nils Arvid Bringéus for drawing my attention to these letters.

[12] Manuscript to Erixon's speech, 14.12.1948, on the occasion of the establishment of the Swedish national committee. SE. Translation BR.

[13] See e.g. *Bulletin* 1950 C.I.P.S.H. (Conseil International de la Philosophie et des Sciences Humaines). UNESCO.
[14] Notes and correspondence 1951–1953. SE 8:35.
[15] For example, West Germany was admitted membership in UNESCO in 1951, Spain in 1952, East Germany in 1972.
[16] Letters of 12 August 1953 from Marinus to Erixon and of 17 August 1953 from Erixon to Marinus. SE 8:35
[17] Manuscript, SE 8:75.
[18] See several documents in SE 8:27 and SE 8:77, e.g. Erixon's concluding intervention (ms); Eskeröd's short report; letter (undated) from Arthur Haberlandt to Foundoukidis; etc.
[19] See letter from Sigfrid Svensson to Erixon of 16 February 1952. SE 8:27: "I quite agree concerning the close relationship between the disciplines [… However, at the mixed congresses] our special interests would become but an infinitely tiny, specialized detail among [themes like] Bantu negroes, Tasmanians and people from Tierra del Fuego, or among problems concerning hereditary albinism, chronic infantilism, family planning or the differentiation of Indian languages, etc. "
[20] "Resulat och beslut. Sammanfattning". SE 8:77.
[21] The members were Sigurd Erixon, Gösta Berg, Åke Campbell, Sverker Ek, Dag Strömbäck, Sigfrid Svensson, Albert Eskeröd and Mats Rehnberg.
[22] The above-mentioned report, written in Swedish ("Resultat och beslut …" SE 8:77), contains an overview of the CIAP GA meeting, but only in a very general way and not in the form of minutes.
[23] See Eskeröd 1952:115: "The Congress decided to encharge [sic] the Swedish Organizing Committee with finding a way of furthering international work until a new congress of European Ethnology would be held."
[24] See part III of this article series.
[25] See for instance the taped and transcribed discussion from Arnhem 1955. ARNHEM 558 General correspondence.
[26] See letter from Erixon to Professor Alf Sommerfelt, Oslo, December 20, 1952. SE 8:35.
[27] See SE (Sigurd Erixons arkiv), section 8.
[28] The development of Swedish Folk-Life research during recent years […] B. The Institute for Folk Life Research at the Nordiska Museet and the University of Stockholm (Report to the 1951 Stockholm congress), p. 7. SE 8:77.
[29] SE 8:73. For other years, there are notes concerning congresses and diaries, but no systematic reports.
[30] SE 8:27. Letter (undated, probably September 1951) from A. Haberlandt to the presidency of CIAP.
[31] Letters from S. de Madriaga of 28 April 1952 to the UNESCO General Director and of April 29, 1952 to Foundoukidis. Copies in SE 8:35.
[32] Letter of 4 December 1952, from Erixon to Marinus. SE 8:35.
[33] Letter of 9 December 1952 from Marinus to Erixon. SE 8:35.
[34] Letter of 16 September 1953 from Dr. Ernst Baumann to GHR. MNATP: ORG. DIV. CIAP Comptabilité 1950–53.
[35] See letter of 17 July 1953, from van Gennep to Erixon. SE 8:35.
[36] Letter of 20 December 1952, from Erixon to Sommerfelt. SE 8:35.
[37] Letter of 26 March 1953, from Erixon to Marinus. SE 8:35.
[38] Letter of 27 April 1953, from van Gennep to Erixon. SE 8:35.
[39] Correspondence from December 1952 until spring 1953, mostly letters from Marinus to Erixon and Foundoukidis, and Erixon to Marinus. SE 8:35.
[40] Letters of 27 April and 21 May 1953 from Marinus to Erixon and to Foundoukidis. SE 8:35. There is also a large administrative correspondence on these issues in several archives.
[41] Letter of 10 June 1953, from Erixon to Marinus. SE 8:35.

[42] Letter of 12 June 1953 from Erixon to Marinus, SE 8:35.
[43] Letter of 29 June 1953, from Marinus to van Gennep. SE 8:35.
[44] Letters of 12 June and 29 June 1953, from Marinus to van Gennep. Letter of 13 June 1953 from Marinus to Erixon. SE 8:35.
[45] Letter of 18 June 1953 from Erixon to Marinus. SE 8:35.
[46] MNATP: ORG. DIV. CIAP Comptabilité 1950–53. See also UNESCO: ICFAF Reg. 39 A01.
[47] See e.g. letters of 11 July 1953 from Erixon to van Gennep; of 17 July 1953 from van Gennep to Erixon; of 7 August 1953 from Erixon to Marinus. SE 8:35.
[48] Letter of 25 August 1953, from Erixon to Lid. SE: 8:35.
[49] Letter of 23 July 1953 from Erixon to Marinus. SE 8:35.
[50] See Caillot 2011, especially pp. 189ff.
[51] Letter from Erixon to van Gennep, undated (September 1953, during his travel in France), possibly the only one in French from his own hand.
[52] Letter of 17 July 1953, from van Gennep to Erixon. SE 8:35. To his disappointment, the painting was from 1856, and not from 1756, as van Gennep had believed. See undated letter (September 1953) from Erixon to van Gennep, SE 8:35.
[53] In several archives: MEERTENS (35: 870); MNATP (ATP CIAP Assemblée générale, Paris 1954; CIAP (1953) Namur).
[54] MNATP: CIAP (1953) Namur.
[55] Letter from G. H. Rivière to Jorge Dias of 19 November 1953. MNATP: CIAP 1953–57. Instances.
[56] Rapport confidentiel du trésorier à l'Assemblée Générale de la CIAP (Paris, 3 juillet 1954): MEERTENS 35: 870; See also *Laos* 1955 vol. III.
[57] Thompson, who met Foundoukidis on a couple of occasions, has rendered his impressions in his biography, see Thompson 1996:274–75.
[58] Letter of 5 January 1954, from Erixon to Stith Thompson. SE 8: 35.
[59] Letter of 11 December 1954, from Erixon to Rivière. SE 8:35.
[60] MNATP: CIAP Assemblée générale, Paris 1954.
[61] Letter of 17 April 1954, from Rivière to Erixon. SE: 28.
[62] SE 8:35; MNATP: CIAP Assemblée générale, Paris 1954; NF boks 84.
[63] SE 8:35; VIENNA: box 02; See also *Laos* 1955, vol. III.
[64] MEERTENS 35:870.
[65] Printed in *Laos* vol. III:176–180.
[66] Letter of 25 December 1954, from Rivière to Erixon. SE 8:35. Rivière here underlines the role of UNESCO and their "advice".
[67] Ibid.
[68] Letter of 27 July 953 from Erixon to Marinus. SE 8:35.
[69] Circular of 8 May 1954. MNATP: CIAP Assemblée générale, Paris 1954.
[70] Letter of 11 April 1950, from Erixon to Berg. SE 8:36.
[71] Cf. e.g. Christophe *& al*. 2009.
[72] See correspondence in April and May between Erixon and van Gennep on the profile of Laos. SE 8:36.
[73] See debate in *Conférence de Namur …*, pp. 84–87, 80–89.
[74] See SE 8:29a Protokoll från CIPSH-mötet i Paris 1953. Anteckningar om Laos och dess problem, CIAPs anslag och ansökningar; SE 8:29b Fortsättning på föregående volym; See also the stenographic minutes from Namur, September 1953, section 31–32/1. MNATP: CIAP (1953) Namur.
[75] Erixon 1955:7. See also letter of 5 January 1954 (SE 8:35), from Erixon to Stith Thompson, where Erixon explains that UNESCO simply refused to support journals "of the usual kind" and that vol. III would have to be devoted entirely to the international activities of CIAP – and that III would be the last volume.

[76] For a more detailed presentation, see Rogan 2012.
[77] See letters and reports in SE 8:29b.
[78] Erixon's introduction in Namur, as printed in *Laos* (Erixon 1955c) varies in some details from the version printed in *Conférence de Namur* (1956).
[79] A large part of the debate and the interventions are published in *Conférence de Namur*, pp. 49–79.
[80] See for instance Weber 2009 for a brief survey.
[81] Tätigkeitsbericht der "Commission for international Cartography". Unsigned and undated report (Erixon, 1961), also in a Swedish draft. SE 8:31. See also Bratanić 1965.
[82] Tätigkeitsbericht …, see the above footnote.
[83] Tätigkeitsbericht … See also Lerche & Steensberg 1980:15.
[84] Tätigkeitsbericht …
[85] Report of 25 August 1961 (Ein Komitée für "an international conference on ploughing implements …"); also a draft in Swedish: SE 8:31.
[86] The dictionary is commented upon in *CIAP Information* no. 2, July 1948.
[87] See Erixon 1955f:20.
[88] See the CIPSH Bulletin 1950:50.
[89] Letter from Erixon to Marinus of 17 April 1952. SE 8:35.
[90] Correspondence from December 1951 to April 1953 between Erixon, Liljeblad and Lid. SE 8:35. Erixon's lecture at the Stockholm congress in 1951. SE 8:27.
[91] Letters from Erixon to Marinus of 10 June, 23 July and 7 August 1953, SE 8:35. Undated note from Erixon, SE 8:29B.
[92] Letter of 23 July 1953, from Stigum to Erixon (SE 8:35), also printed in *Laos* vol. III.
[93] See correspondence and reports in SE 8:28, SE 8:31, SE 8:35.
[94] SE 8:31. See alto MNATP: Peeters 3 and 5.
[95] MNATP: CIAP 1953–57 Instances. Letter no. 122 from J. Dias.
[96] Invitation letter of January 1955. ARNHEM 558 General correspondence. For the planning and organization of the congress, see correspondence in ARNHEM 557 Invitations and 558 General correspondence.
[97] Circulars of 8 February 1955. ARNHEM 557 Invitations and 558 General correspondence.
[98] Programme. ARNHEM 561. See also Compte-rendu du congrès international …, MEERTENS 35:1131.
[99] See correspondence in MNATP: CIAP 1953–57 Instances.
[100] The discussions are not published, but there exists a taped and transcribed version. ARNHEM 558 General correspondence.
[101] Printed e.g. in *Actes du Congrès* …, pp. 137–139; Erixon 1955–56.
[102] See correspondence in January–February 1956. MEERTENS 35:1131.
[103] See correspondence between Marinus and Meertens, December 1956 to March 1957. MEERTENS 35: 1131.
[104] Some contacts were established in the late 1950s with Czechoslovakia and Hungary concerning cartography and atlas work. In 1955 in Arnhem Professor Xavier Pywocki (Warsaw) was elected to the Board of CIAP, but with the subsequent decline of the organization he probably did not participate in any activities.
[105] Letter of 9 September 1955 from Steinitz to Roukens. MEERTENS 35:1131.
[106] See taped and transcribed version of the discussions. ARNHEM 558 General correspondence.
[107] Compte-rendu du congrès international …, MEERTENS 35:1131.
[108] See correspondence, MEERTENS 35:1131; Arnhem 558 General correspondence. See also Steinitz's response in *Deutsches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* II (1956)
[109] Pro Domu. MEERTENS 35:1131.
[110] Letter of March 12, 1956, from Steinitz to East European colleagues. MEERTENS file CIAP letters 1956–1961.

[111] MNATP: CIAP 1953–57 Instances. Letter no. 136 from J. Dias.
[112] MNATP: CIAP 1955 à 1961.

Lost in Intersemiotic Translation?

The Problem of Context in Folk Narratives in the Archive

Pertti Anttonen

Oral traditions have mainly become accessible to modern scholarship through collections. Collections are a result of the act of collecting and the systematic organizing of that which has been collected. It is a standard idiom in folklore studies to talk about collecting folklore. Folklorists collect folklore, and in the mind of the folklorist, folklore calls for collecting. Folklorists collect folklore when they make collecting trips or do fieldwork for their own research. Folklore archives collect folklore when they organize collecting campaigns and competitions or ad hoc surveys with sets of questions that people respond to, for example, by writing about their individual reminiscences of particular cultural practices and ways of living. For generations, amateur collectors of folklore have donated their materials to archives. The Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society (SKS) announce on their website that "Everyone interested in recording folk tradition is welcome to send us material." (http://www.finlit.fi/english/kra/coll_guide.htm)

Finnish folklore scholars have in recent years shown increasing interest in examining conventional ideas and practices involved in folklore collecting. This interest has concerned, among other things, the role of archives in the organizing of folklore collecting as well as the role and impact of individual collectors. Questions that have been asked include the following: what kind of instructions have been given to the collectors, what kind of standards have been established for collecting, what are the criteria for an authentic document or for authentic folklore, what should or should not be collected, what kind of contextual information should be gathered, which folklore genres have been preferred, etc. When using collected materials in research, it is now a common aspect of source criticism to show awareness of the ways in which the instructions given by the organizers of a collecting campaign influence the presentation of personal reminiscences, cultural practices, and ways of thinking. This has prompted Jyrki Pöysä (1997:39) to state in a social constructivist mode that folklorists do not actually collect anything ready-made, since folklore is not

something that is discovered but produced in interaction between the informant and the researcher. A number of other scholars cite him in this, indicating thus that it is a shared tenet.

As part of the new interest in examining the conventions of folklore collecting and especially the history of such conventions, special interest has been shown in those individuals in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century who did not receive any training in collecting practices, or any kind of schooling whatsoever. They are called self-taught collectors, meaning that they taught themselves to read and write and then started documenting traditional life and local practices. Today's research is especially interested in the question of how these self-taught collectors contested the conventions set by archival authorities, the representatives of the cultural and academic elite. The conventions that were contested include ideologies of collecting as well as the criteria for authenticity in the collected materials.

This kind of interest in the history of folklore collecting is part of what has been termed history from below, or writing from below. This is a current trend in humanistic and social scientific research that mainly concerns the social history of literacy, or more specifically, the roles played by the written word in the everyday lives of people in the lower strata of society, those with little or no formal education. As put by the historian Martin Lyons in a recent article and book, the new trend is about "lower-class writers", "ordinary writers" or "the scribal culture of the subordinate classes" (Lyons 2013a; see also Lyons 2013b:252–255). Lyons characterizes it as a new form of cultural and social history which differs from its intellectual ancestors, the Annales School and the British neo-Marxist social history, in focusing on the reading and writing practices of common people as individuals and as active agents in the shaping of their own lives. The new history from below re-evaluates individual experiences and treats people as agents in historical change, rather than as representatives of collective mentalities.

The most recent publication in this area of research is *White Field, Black Seeds: Nordic Literary Practices in the Long Nineteenth Century*, edited by Anna Kuismin and M. J. Driscoll, and published by the Finnish Literature Society in 2013. It is in this book that Martin Lyons's article appears. Yet, the most relevant contribution in the book for the present topic is Kati Mikkola's article "Self-Taught Collectors and their Challenge to Archival Authority" (Mikkola 2013). This is about two amateur collectors and their relationship to academic researchers, which Mikkola has studied through their archived correspondence. For the most part, the correspondence between collectors and the archive consisted of requests by the collectors for paper and envelopes or for payments given in cash or books, but there are also letters that contain lengthy accounts of the day-to-day work of collecting and the challenges that the amateur collectors faced when seeking materials to

be collected. According to Mikkola, these letters reveal a wide range of attitudes that the collectors expressed towards their academic counterparts, ranging from humility and deference to familiarity and friendliness (Mikkola 2013:147). Mikkola contends that folklore collecting can be seen as "an arena made up of two sets of actors: the ordinary people who wrote down the data and the representatives of the cultural and academic elite who organized the work and subsequently analysed the material that was sent to the archives" (Mikkola 2013:148). Especially after the establishment of the Folklore Archives at the Finnish Literature Society in the 1930s, the classification of the data was systematized with regard to its authenticity and scientific value. Mikkola writes that "Archivists carefully screened newly received folklore materials to ensure that no items deemed spurious or to have come from unreliable sources were mixed up with the so-called authentic data" (Mikkola 2013:148).

Ulla Mannonen, the other of the two collectors examined by Mikkola, received a letter from the Folklore Archive in 1939 with the following warning:

> We have asked some of our collectors to give up collecting because their contributions contain an excess of unreliable and useless data for research; these materials will surely be tossed into the waste-paper basket, or simply lumped together with other bits of erroneous data and labelled as such. (Mikkola 2013:151)

Mikkola describes how the doubts cast on the value of Mannonen's efforts and the reliability of her data left Mannonen distressed and disheartened. Yet, Mannonen would challenge the archivists' judgement and persist in arguing that her materials concerning contemporary practices will have ethnographic value in the future. She would defend her work as representing the contribution of her home region, the Karelian Isthmus, to the building of the Finnish nation and to the collecting of folklore as a joint national effort. She would also defend the authenticity of the materials obtained from her informants by asserting that "They are all simple people, from the deepest strata of the folk, and I do not believe that any of them have added anything of their own" (Mikkola 2013:153). The key idea here is the claim of textual fidelity between the folklore record and that which has been uttered by the members of the folk.

Similar dialogues between amateur collectors and members of the folkloristic elites have been examined by Tuulikki Kurki in her dissertation from 2002. This work deals with Heikki Meriläinen – a "tradition collector", as Kurki calls him – who lived between 1847 and 1939 in Sotkamo in Eastern Finland. Meriläinen collected over 3,000 items of descriptions of folk magic and charms in northern Finland, Lapland, Russian Karelia and northern Sweden during the 1880s and 1890s. In addition to his collections, Meriläinen wrote 26 novels and short stories and an autobiography. According to Kurki, the novels by Meriläinen were mostly "realistic descriptions of

people's life, featuring elements of folk poetry, folk customs and Meriläinen's personal life" (Kurki 2002:284).

Kurki focuses on Meriläinen's relationship with the Finnish Literature Society, for which he made his folklore collections. This relationship was a problematic one. The personnel at the Society gave Meriläinen credit for his extensive collections of folk magic, but he was accused of relying too much on his memory. In addition, the authenticity of some of his folklore descriptions was questioned. Kurki examines the correspondence between Meriläinen and the representatives of the Literature Society as negotiation about what counts as folklore and what are the appropriate ways for representing people and their oral traditions. She formulates this as follows: "Meriläinen's authority as an ethnographer was established during the negotiations, as one of the aims was to determine who can write ethnographically valid descriptions or literary descriptions of folklore" (Kurki 2002:285–286).

When describing such negotiation, Kurki writes: "On the one hand, Meriläinen adjusted oral speech and his own observations into the approved genre-categories. On the other hand, by his suggestions he 'stretched' the existing genre-categories in order to make the common people's knowledge fit into the categories of 'magic', 'charms', or 'belief'" (Kurki 2002:286). Consequently, according to Kurki, "The result of the negotiations, the written text, is therefore an emerging document written by one person only but still containing many voices of and perspectives on tradition. Yet it is not retraceable to any single perspective held by the individual negotiators" (Kurki 2002:286). Kurki's point is, on the one hand, to emphasize the multivocality of the materials that the Finnish Literature Society obtained from amateur collectors such as Heikki Meriläinen. On the other hand, her point is to find ways to enhance the usability of the collected materials for present-day cultural historical analysis and reconstruction. This she does through what she calls an "ethnographically informative reading", by which she means assembling all the texts written by Meriläinen and reading them as an intertextual whole in which other voices may emerge. "In this way," writes Kurki, "the canonical or commonly agreed conceptions of folklore maintained by folklorists, scholars or by the majority may be put into perspective" (Kurki 2002:291). By this she means that Meriläinen's novels and short stories can provide contextual information for his folklore descriptions; in other words, these are about "the everyday life in which tradition was actually realized" (Kurki 2002:291). Kurki writes that "this information was often left out of the folklore texts," and she concludes that "The other voices therefore provide a means to reread the texts saved in folklore archives and open them up for new interpretations" (Kurki 2002:291). New contextual interpretations, consequently, provide for new insights into cultural historical reconstructions. The context of folklore is discovered from

materials that are external to the folklore documents per se but are seen as aligning with them within an intertextual whole.

Kurki's perspective on the discovery of contextual information is well-founded, but the question of context can also be approached somewhat differently, examining the folklore text as a textual product that is contextual in itself. To be sure, this approach can to some extent be found in Kurki's work as well. She writes how Meriläinen was criticized by two assessors from the Finnish Literature Society's line of experts for not being successful in transforming his observations and oral speech into a folklore text (Kurki 2002:83). Meriläinen claimed in return that he had written down everything in the way in which he had heard it from "the mouth of the folk". Kurki concludes that this is one example of the negotiation on the question of how oral tradition is transformed or translated into a written text and especially into an ethnographically informative text (Kurki 2002:83). Here Kurki uses the terms "inscription" and "transcription", borrowed from Clifford Geertz (1973) and James Clifford (1990), and describes how Meriläinen's folklore descriptions were detached from the intertextual whole into which he had himself placed them in his own works, and attached to new textual contexts in the archive and archival publications. The texts would make up new representations of tradition, suitable for their new purposes. They would refer to their origins, but still be adjusted to the researchers' manner of speaking about traditions and made abstract enough to yield for classification, comparisons, and reconstructions (Kurki 2002:183). Accordingly, one of Kurki's concluding points is that "The texts in the folklore archives or in the literature therefore contain only certain types of agreeable, conventional and selected representations of folklore" (Kurki 2002:291).

Such insights into textual representations of oral communication and their archival classifications are not necessarily novel in this day and age, but they are still highly relevant and, in fact, have not been taken to their full advantage. They represent and continue an ongoing discussion which gained momentum from the publication of the book *Writing Culture* (Clifford & Marcus 1986) and other works emerging from the rise of literary consciousness to ethnographic practice. Not surprisingly, the critical examination of the history of folklore collecting in Finnish folklore studies makes occasional references to Clifford and Marcus.

One such occasion is the book *Kansanrunousarkisto: Lukijat ja tulkinnat* (The Folklore Archive: Readers and Interpretations), which contains ten articles on the use of archival materials in research, written by mostly young Finnish folklore scholars. The book was published in 2004, and was edited by Tuulikki Kurki. She writes in her introduction that in its entirety, the collection of articles links with the debate in recent decades on the partialness and negotiability of knowledge as well as problematics in the textualization of culture. The references given here are *Writing Culture* (Clif-

ford & Marcus 1986) and Kenneth Gergen's *Social Construction in Context*, from 2001. In the same volume, Ulla-Maija Peltonen, today the director of the Literary Archive of the Finnish Literature Society, begins her discussion on the concept of the good collector by making a reference – via the work of Tuulikki Kurki – to James Clifford's article "Notes on (Field)notes" and the concept of inscription. In Clifford's discussion of ethnographic documentation and representation, inscription – which Clifford acknowledges as having originally adopted from the hermeneutics of Paul Ricoeur via Clifford Geertz – is one of three distinct moments in the constitution of fieldnotes (see Clifford 1990). By inscription Peltonen refers to the selecting of that which is traditional from discourse and observations, and the writing down of that which is selected as text and made into an archival document (Peltonen 2004:199; cf. Geertz 1973:19–20). Peltonen's article is very informative as to the criteria of authenticity employed in the Literature Society's Folklore Archive in the past decades, but textual production is mainly seen here as an issue of selecting between the authentic and the spurious. Unlike in Kurki's work, there is no mention of Clifford's two other stages in the constitution of fieldnotes, which are transcription and description. It is noteworthy that when citing Kurki on the transformation of oral texts into writing, Peltonen uses the term translation in quotation marks. This means, in my understanding, that according to Peltonen, presenting an oral expression in written form is translation metaphorically speaking. Kurki does not use quotation marks when speaking about such translation; indeed, to present an oral expression in written form is for her translation theoretically speaking.

Text, Context, and Performance

The relationship between archival documents and literary culture continues to be a debated topic in Finnish folklore research in two ways. First, as discussed above, literary influences in archival texts have been seen as contamination caused by careless collectors, who have added "embellishments" to that which has been faithfully recorded from "the mouth of the folk". Indeed, "from the lips or the mouth of the people" has been a key metaphor for ethnographic reliability, while literary representation has practically speaking equalled intentional deception. The demand for textual fidelity has, for example, continued to inform folklore scholars in their positioning against the editorial practices by Elias Lönnrot in his compiling of the *Kalevala* epic (see Anttonen forthcoming). Second, the written materials obtained in collecting campaigns and competitions organized by archives today have become so popular in research and in student assignments that the concept of folklore has been expanded from oral tradition as traditionally defined to also cover thematic writing on popular traditions. Yet, the topic

of the archival document as a literary representation of orality is still only marginally discussed, even though it does play a rather significant role in Kurki's dissertation (see also Anttonen 1993:81–85; Anttonen 2005:54–57). The interest in the history from below or writing from below and the position of the amateur folklore collector vis-à-vis the academic elite seems to be mostly oriented towards politics rather than poetics; concerning social hierarchies rather than textuality and the production of the textual document.

Here I will deal with a particular issue in the production of the textual document in the archive, focusing on the question of its context. To be sure, text-context relationship is an old topic in folklore research, discussed at great lengths in the 1980s and early 1990s for example by Dan Ben-Amos and Charles Briggs (see Briggs 1988:12–16; Ben-Amos 1993). Still, I find it necessary to bring it up again and juxtapose it with some conventional conceptualizations of the archival document.

When describing the work of Tuulikki Kurki above, I made a reference to her interest in finding the context of folklore from texts external to the folklore document but internal to the intertextual whole in which the folklore document, according to her analysis and understanding, is part of. Without in any way belittling her critical points, what she suggests can be regarded as the rather standard procedure and analytical goal in folkloristics: to put a document of folklore "back in context".

What lies behind such a goal is the fairly common notion that the archival document has a fundamental deficiency due to lacking context, since it has been detached or severed from its context. In Finnish folklore studies, the notion of the archival text lacking context is often expressed with a reference to Lauri Honko's argument that the folklore text in the archive lacks meaning (see e.g. Honko 1984a, 1984b, 1985, 1987, 1989). Honko discusses this viewpoint in conjunction with his own formulation of a theory of meaning, with links to semiotics, hermeneutics, and pragmatics.

Honko's views on the meaning of folklore at least partially emerged from the so-called contextualist approach, which since the 1960s came to question what was termed as the text-centred paradigm in folklore study. For Honko, context is a presence of meanings. A context is a particular situation comprising the presence of people with particular mutual relations, experiences of previous events, future hopes and fears, expectations concerning the ongoing event, and expressions and reactions of the participants. Such factors, according to Honko, "create a field of forces where meanings are continuously born and messages conveyed" (Honko 1984a:276). A particular folklore item, be it a proverb or a narrative, is recalled from memory and performed in a situation which attaches varieties of meaning to the folklore item. Outside such situational contexts, according to Honko, folklore is in a latent, inactive state void of meaning, empty. Thus, in Honko's view, a text

is loaded with meaning only in context. Meanings exist and come to play only in the performance of a particular folklore item, emerging from the intentions of the speaker and the reactions of the audiences. Outside such performances, folklore texts have no meaning.

Honko was rather categorical about the lack of meaning in the archived folklore text:

> Folklore archives are nothing but collections of dead artifacts, arbitrarily limited texts, that were generated under rather special, mostly nonauthentic circumstances and immediately placed outside that system of communication which maintains folklore. These limitations may be overcome by better documentation (sound, film, etc.) of authentic folklore performances, but only to a degree. Archived data remain at best momentary reflections of living folklore." […] Of the possible research strategies, what remains then is a hard look at the performance situation, where folklore becomes – for a moment – accessible to empirical observation. (Honko 1989:33).

In consequent folkloristic discourse, such a viewpoint on the context-lacking archival text has been seen to open up only two possible ways to proceed in research: to move away from studying archival texts altogether, or to look for contextual information from other sources. Kurki's work, discussed above, follows the latter option, while the performance-centred approach has been regarded by many – especially by its opponents – as signifying the former. Indeed, at least partially because of Honko's radical statement, performance orientation came to be viewed by most, if not all, Finnish folklorists in the 1970s and 1980s as representing a direct opposite to the study of archival texts (for a recent study on the topic, in Finnish, see Heikkilä 2012). Honko himself called for "detailed reports on folkloric communication in natural speech situations", and suggested that folklorists "become both observers and informants and document their own folkloric experiences" (Honko 1984b:130).

The causal relationship between the emergence of the performance-centred approach and the popularity, or lack thereof, of studying archival materials is a complicated issue. Here I shall comment on it only briefly, relying mainly on Richard Bauman, who in a very recent article writes as follows:

> The foundations of performance-oriented perspectives in folklore lie in the observations primarily of folktale scholars who departed from the library- and archive-based philological investigations that dominated folk narrative research to venture into the field to document folktales as recounted in the communities in which they were still current. (Bauman 2012:95.)

A number of similar statements are available in literature (especially by Bauman), calling for a move away from a text-centred approach to studying verbal art "in the contexts of its production" (Tedlock 1983:4). In addition to the influence from sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology, such statements can be aligned with the growing interest in the 1960s and 1970s

in conducting fieldwork in folkloristics. However, it is not that evident that *theorizing* on folklore as communication in small groups (see Ben-Amos 1972) would by definition go against the use of archived materials in folkloristic research. It seems that Honko's conclusion about the contextualist approach rendering the archival text useless has been granted too much weight as if an argument *by* a performance theorist.

What is more evident, though, is that performance scholars began to pay attention to questions of documentation and transcription as intersemiotic translation, concerning "the problematics of rendering oral texts in print" (Bauman 1986:ix; see also Foley 1995). Intersemiotic translation is a concept that, to the best of my knowledge, was introduced to folklore studies via Roman Jakobson through such works as Elizabeth Fine's *The Folklore Text: From Performance to Print* (Fine 1984:8, 96). In his article from 1959, Jakobson lists three kinds of translations. Intralingual translation or *rewording* "is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language"; interlingual translation or *translation proper* "is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language", and intersemiotic translation or *transmutation* "is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal sign systems" (Jakobson 2000:114). Following Jakobson, Bauman defines intersemiotic translation as translation between sign systems: "a shift from the encoding of a message in one sign system (code) to another", from playscripts and musical scores to their presentational renditions or "from performed action to transcribed text", a transcript from speech to text, a transcription of an orally performed folktale into written form (Bauman 1992:41–42). Fine discusses the folklore text "as an intersemiotic translation of performance to the print medium" (Fine 1984:89), defining "any movement of speech into writing, or vice versa, as an intersemiotic translation" (Fine 1984:96).

Examining intersemiotic translation enables the folklore scholar to deal methodologically with the relationship between oral performances and written documentation – a relationship that is characterized by both necessity and a sense of inevitable loss. Since scholarship is in fundamental ways a literary activity, oral tradition must be studied through written documents, which are literary representations of orality – even though they are not necessarily seen as constituting literature in the proper sense of the term. It has also been customary for folklore scholars and amateur folklore enthusiasts to edit such literary representations into printed publications for the reading public. Although such activities are often recognized for bringing folklore into the attention of those who would not have access to it had it not been collected and edited for distribution in print, there is also a shared notion that a textual document of folklore does not live up to the real event from which the document was created. There is always something missing in the document.

Richard Bauman expresses this notion as follows: "The texts we are accustomed to viewing as the raw materials of oral literature are merely the thin and partial record of deeply situated human behaviour" (Bauman 1986:2). In a similar fashion, John Miles Foley states that "any oral poem, like any utterance, is profoundly contingent on its context. To assume that it is detachable – that we can comfortably speak of 'an oral poem' as a freestanding item – is necessarily to take it out of context. And what is that lost context? It is the performance, the audience, the poet, music, the specialized way of speaking, the gestures, the costuming, the visual aids, the occasion, the ritual, and myriad other aspects of the given poem's reality. To put the matter as directly as possible, an oral poem's context is nothing more or less than its language, most fundamentally and inclusively construed. And when we pry an oral poem out of one language and insert it into another, things will inevitably change. (Foley 2002:60).

Yet, even though it must be acknowledged that a folklore document can never equal folklore as performance, not all information is necessarily lost in the documentation. This is especially the case when the documentation is conducted methodologically as intersemiotic translation. This is also confirmed by John Miles Foley, who writes as follows: "If as audience or readers we are prepared to decode the signals that survive intersemiotic translation to the medium of text, and whose recognition will require some knowledge of the enabling referent of tradition, then performance is still keyed by these features." (Foley 1992:292; see also Foley 1995:61–66). Such a perspective can be said to also characterize Dell Hymes's work on ethnopoetics (see e.g. Hymes 1975, 1981). Hymes's use of line units, strophes and stanzas for the indication of the presence of structure and rhythm in an archived narrative functions as intersemiotic translation that aims at representational mimesis between the oral and the written (see also Anttonen 1994).

The Context within the Archival Document

Instead of privileging fieldwork and contemporary topics, on the one hand, or lamenting about the archival documents as lacking context, on the other, I wish to argue here that the archival text is not without context. To be sure, archival texts are not necessarily contextual in the sense that we could use them to historically reconstruct or resurrect the particular social event that gave birth to the act of documentation. We cannot go back in time. Yet, if this is a problem, it is because we are asking context-oriented questions concerning social situations and interactional elements which the creator of the archival text for one reason or another did not consider relevant for inclusion in the textual document. Our desire for what we regard as context, which often equals background information, is a new

question from a new interpretative entrance point. However, we tend to think that this is something that should have been included in the textual document in the first place but is lacking because of failure by folklore collectors of previous generations.

As transcripts, archival texts are at best reproductions in another medium. Even when they contain the exact wording of a given oral performance, archival documents do not enable the reproduction or reconstruction of the original performance. What can be accomplished with the textual document is a reproduction, in intersemiotic translation, of some of the performative elements of the original oral performance. Archived folklore texts may or may not be regarded as faithful textual recordings of oral tradition, but in any case they are literary productions that not only carry referential meanings vis-à-vis oral tradition, but also contain indexical meanings within a text-audience relationship. These indexical meanings are produced through entextualization practices that can be examined as registers of representation, that is, as following particular conventions of textual documentation and production. These include linguistic aspects such as grammatical, lexical and syntactic forms that anticipate reception and interpretation, as well as ideological aspects concerning, for example, what qualifies as an archivable folklore text, what is usable in research and yields to classification, comparisons and reconstructions.

In many cases, folklore texts in the archive are intentionally stripped of their referentiality vis-à-vis the original event of interaction and its performer-audience relationship in order to function as metonymic representations of collective tradition. An archival text has folkloristic value when it is seen to apply to any imaginable traditional communicative event, thus embodying a given tradition rather than a particular communicative moment within that tradition. Paradoxically, an archival text is an ethnographic document that has to be abstracted from its ethnographic function of local reference and significance in order to simulate the continuation of cultural practices similar to that documented in the archival text. Its lack of context thus constitutes its context.

Even though the archival text is a specimen of a given folklore genre, it is at the same time a specimen of its own genre, that of the archival document, which has a given function in the representation of both traditionality and orality. An archival document is, therefore, not detached or severed from "its context", but formulated in textual performance into the context in which it is to be received as a textual document. As such, it constitutes an abstracted reference to the original setting of oral performance and its cultural surroundings, but my point here is that it is indexical vis-à-vis the context of its reading and interpretation – as well as its adoption into series of new contexts of reading and interpretation.

Scholars do not necessarily reflect upon their reading of archival texts. Reading and comprehension of an archival text is usually taken for granted. Yet, instead of being self-evident, the act of reading an archival document is an interpretative process both anticipated and prepared for by the creator of the archival text. An archival document of, say, an oral narrative is a text that contains its collector's understanding of that which warrants inclusion in order for the reader to receive it as a documentation of an oral narrative. Thus, the collector, the author of the written text, contextualizes the story and enables its transportation as a textual entity to new contexts of reading, including archival use. Researchers and other users of archival texts can comprehend these textual documents for the very reason that they have been written in particular ways that make them comprehensible. This constitutes an accomplishment in textual performance.

Thus, a context is not only a social situation in which a particular story was told by someone to someone. The archival texts are not very often contextual – or rather, rich in information – in reference to the communicative events that provided the source of documentation. Yet, they are contextual because we can read them and because they were made to be read. The texts are contextual in reference to their communicative function as textual representations.

Let us look at an example that is a representation on many levels. It is taken from an English-language scholarly publication by Finnish folklorists, with the textual layout adapted from that used in the publication. The text is an English-language translation of an archival document written in Finnish, having been edited into an archival document from the original field notes made by the collector.

A serving girl saw a witch going, as was her custom, into the sheep barn to bewitch the sheep. While the witch was in the barn, the girl firmly locked the door from outside. Thereupon the witch let forth a torrent of words:

"Open the door and I will give you bread for life and a red skirt!"

The stupid girl fell for the promise and opened the door.

Having thus escaped, the witch plunged the sharp shears into the girl's stomach. The girl thus died and got a skirt dyed red by her own blood.

– Woman of 80. Rauma. Noted down in 1935. (Jauhiainen 1989:214.)

The scholarly article in which this was published as a specimen of Finnish belief legends makes references to a great number of issues that can be examined using such legends as research materials. These include class relations, gender relations, stereotypical images of men and women, cultural structures, cultural concepts and their relation to established laws, belief traditions and their relationship to Christian doctrines and institutions, confrontations between supernatural and natural worlds, themes of good and evil and right and wrong, as well as sanctions and punishments, supernatural beings and transcendental events of "our forefathers", stories as reflections

of Finland's recent past, topics of belief legends and the types of supernatural beings, the distribution of migratory legends and the geography of their migration. The possibilities for social and cultural historical contextualization are almost unlimited.

Yet, such contextualizations hardly address the folklore text as what it is: a highly formulated piece of verbal art that has been traditional (that is, replicated and replicable) for the very reason that it is highly formulated. To be sure, it is traditional also in the sense that it can be linked with an almost unlimited array of social and cultural discourses. Yet, its replicability is in its form, not in its referential meanings.

The folklore text presented here is a good – and rather typical – example of an archival document that is meant to evoke a particular belief tradition as a collection of legends rather than evoking a particular social occasion in which this belief tradition is brought to the attention of those present and used as cultural reference. In other words, it is meant to be a record of a given tradition (a belief tradition, a legend tradition) rather than a record of a situated manifestation of the existence of this tradition. The specimen thus functions as a means to convince its readers that the given tradition contains numerous legends of a similar kind, and that the specimen is therefore metonymically indicative of this traditionality. Such traditionality constitutes the text's cultural context. Even though the cultural context is not explicated in the text, the possibility and expectation to put the text "back into context" is written into it.

The author of the article uses this particular text specimen in her discussion of Finnish belief legends on women's sins to make only one point: "In addition to being a greedy thief the troll may be an unscrupulous killer" (Jauhiainen 1989:214). What is significant in the legend for the author is thus its motifs in relation to motifs in similar legends within the same belief and legend tradition. Motifs and themes are certainly important for our understanding of belief legends and their cultural background, but there is more to be said about textual units such as this one. In addition to using it as a means to reconstruct or resurrect historical references and cultural discourses, we may also examine it in terms of how it functions in its role as an archived folklore text, since that what it is made for.

A few remarks will suffice here: The use of punctuation, such as commas, periods and semi-colons, is the first aspect of indexicality – the production of a context of meaning in the reception of the utterance/text – that draws our attention. These do not point to the original oral performance, but function as indexical signs in the text–audience relationship. They are clear indications of a literary style of representation that departs from the reproduction of oral communication for the communicative purpose of facilitating comprehension by reading. The same applies to the elements of layout, including indentation. The grammatical constructions are also highly literary,

formal, and educated, rather than of a colloquial style. The text is structurally cohesive, suggesting that this cohesion is an end result of the work of editing, including here the interlingual translation. There is also coherence as to the text's semantic elements, such as the literal and metaphorical meaning of the red skirt, which can be assumed to have constituted a fundamental basis for the original oral story. This could be taken as a key to performance. Yet, no other signs of orality can be discerned in it, such as reflections of vernacular speech patterns and forms of talk. The text is edited into a literary and an ideal representation of an oral legend – for the comfort of the reading subject.

It needs to be stressed that when drawing attention to the literary character of the text, it is not my point to argue for its inauthenticity as folklore. Such a statement would concern its ethnographic reliability, while my intention is to argue that its highly literary character is utterly meaningful when it is examined in its text–audience relationship. There is a strong sentiment in folklore studies that archival texts are to be trusted as ethnographically reliable, since so much effort has been put into ensuring their accuracy against the misinformation occasionally provided by amateur collectors (see above). In addition, folklorists have their designated inauthenticities such as Lönnrot's *Kalevala*, Macpherson's *Songs of Ossian*, and the Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, in relation to which documents in the archive "must be" authentic. My point here, however, is that even though the archival text can be regarded as ethnographically reliable, it is by necessity a textual production. I rely here on Bauman and Briggs, who use the term "image of intertextual fidelity" to refer to the conventional notion that "texts created through transcription, translation, and editing should bear a direct and intrinsic connection to their sources, such that the former are extensions or synecdoches of the latter" (Bauman & Briggs 2003:212–213). Regarding the Grimm brothers and their illusions of fidelity, Bauman and Briggs also point out that the textual manipulation of that which is collected is a prerequisite in the achievement of a sense of authenticity – and consequently, of textual authority (Bauman & Briggs 2003:206–14).

The fact that the text discussed here is a literary rendition does not make it "fake", since there is no way an oral performance could be presented in print without making it into a literary rendition. What counts in analysis is the kind of text-making – including its audience orientation – that produces the rendition. Following Elizabeth Fine, we can make a distinction between reporting and recording. Drawing on Dell Hymes, Fine uses the term *report* "to describe a rendition in which an informant fails to assume responsibility for performance", while a *record* "attempts to preserve the formal features of the live performance in another medium. Rather than explaining, or summarizing, the record attempts to 'say again' or repeat the signals constituting the live performance" (Fine 1984:94–95). A written document of folklore,

especially when it is designed in its layout to evoke its performative elements, is a record rather than a report – albeit a "thin and partial record", as Bauman notes above. It is not, however, a record only because it refers back to what has been orally performed and purports to "say again" its signals, but also because this "saying again" constitutes another performance, but now in another sign system. It is the archive that assumes responsibility for this performance.

The particular text that I have presented here is a specimen of a belief legend. Even though it lacks a reference to an interactional context in oral communication, it is not quite accurate to say that it has been detached or severed from its context. On the contrary, it has been built into a context, which is the context of archival representation. In this, it serves as a metonymic representation of the tradition of belief legends, on the one hand, and a literary rendition in a text-audience relationship, on the other. In order to function in this context, it contains elements that enable its de- and recontextualization (see Bauman and Briggs 1990), that is, its replicability in textual form in unlimited new contexts, including translation to other languages. It has been entextualized for this purpose even though this particular aspect of use has not necessarily been in the mind of the collector or the person who edited the original field note for archival use. As such a product, it is a specimen of oral poetics. According to Briggs, "Poetic texts are specifically designed to be extracted from the settings in which they are produced" (Briggs 1993:408). This is a basic feature of oral poetics, and, I would add, a basic aspect of folklore in general – even though Honko chose to argue against this tenet by insisting that "The *purpose* of performance cannot be decontextualization" (Honko 1998: 150).

All in all, we can conclude that lamenting the lack of contextual information in archival materials misses the point, as no information would be sufficient for resurrecting the original event of interaction. Then again, this gives us no reason for discarding archived materials as useless or meaningless, either, as any textual document serves as a document of something, at least of itself. The price that we'll have to pay for having the document in the first place poses a methodological challenge – and contains a methodological blessing. The long tradition of folklore collecting has been keen on establishing a sense of authenticity for the created documents on the basis of their alleged verbatim accuracy in rendering that which was spoken. The texts that are seen as literary renditions have been deemed problematic, but this is a mistaken dichotomy. The use of archival materials in the study of folk narratives will be greatly facilitated by the insight that all archival texts are literary renditions rather than unmediated reproductions. Instead of making more or less artificial or quasi-scientific distinctions between authentic and spurious textual documents, more attention should be paid to the

intersemiotic translation of oral texts and the act of folklore collecting as a form of textual production and reproduction. Wider interest in issues of translation in folklore scholarship has already re-emerged (see Haring 2012).

Pertti Anttonen, Ph.D., University Lecturer, Docent
Department of Philosophy, History, Culture and Art Studies / Folklore Studies
P.O. Box 59
FI-00014 University of Helsinki
Finland
email: pertti.anttonen@helsinki.fi

References

Anttonen, Pertti J. 1993: *Tradition and Its Study as Discursive Practice. Modern and Postmodern Perspectives on Folklore Research*. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania. Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Dissertation Services.

Anttonen, Pertti J. 1994: Ethnopoetic Analysis and Finnish Oral Verse. *Songs Beyond the Kalevala. Transformations of Oral Poetry*. ed. Anna-Leena Siikala & Sinikka Vakimo, pp. 113–137. (Studia Fennica Folkloristica 2.) Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Anttonen, Pertti J. 2005: *Tradition Through Modernity. Postmodernism and the Nation-State in Folklore Scholarship*. *Studia Fennica Folkloristica* 15. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Anttonen, Pertti forthcoming in 2014: The *Kalevala* and the Authenticity Debate. *Authenticity and Forgery*, ed. János Bak, Patrick Geary and Gábor Klaniczay. Leiden & Boston: Brill.

Bauman, Richard 1986: *Story, Performance, and Event. Contextual Studies of Oral Narrative*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bauman, Richard 1992: Performance. *Folklore, Cultural Performances, and Popular Entertainments*, ed. Richard Bauman, pp. 41–49. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bauman, Richard 2012: Performance. *A Companion to Folklore*, ed. Regina F. Bendix and Galit Hasan-Rokem, pp. 94–118. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Bauman, Richard & Briggs, Charles L. 1990: Poetics and Performance as Critical Perspectives on Language and Social Life. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 19: 59–88.

Bauman, Richard & Briggs, Charles L. 2003: *Voices of Modernity. Language Ideologies and the Politics of Inequality*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ben-Amos, Dan 1972: Toward a Definition of Folklore in Context. *Toward New Perspectives in Folklore*, ed. Américo Paredes and Richard Bauman, pp. 1–15. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Ben-Amos, Dan 1993: "Context" in Context. *Western Folklore* 52: 209–226, No. 2/4, Theorizing Folklore. Toward New Perspectives on the Politics of Culture.

Briggs, Charles L. 1988: *Competence in Performance. The Creativity of Tradition in Mexicano Verbal Art*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Briggs, Charles L. 1993: Metadiscursive Practices and Scholarly Authority in Folkloristics. *Journal of American Folklore* 106:387–434.

Clifford, James 1990: Notes on (Field)notes. *Fieldnotes*. *The Makings of Anthropology*, ed. Roger Sanjek, pp. 47–70. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Clifford, James & Marcus, George E. (eds.) 1986: *Writing Culture. The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Fine, Elizabeth C. 1984: *The Folklore Text. From Performance to Print*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Foley, John Miles 1992: Word-Power, Performance, and Tradition. *Journal of American Folklore* 105:275–301.

Foley, John Miles 1995: *Singer of Tales in Performance*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Foley, John Miles 2002: *How to Read an Oral Poem*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Geertz, Clifford 1973: *The Interpretation of Cultures. Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz*. New York: Basic Books, Inc.

Haring, Lee 2012: Time for a Dialogue? AFS Review. Essays. Posted 17 September 2012. URL: http://www.afsnet.org/news/103004/Time-for-a-Dialogue.htm.

Heikkilä, Mikko 2013: *Performanssiteorian tulkinta suomalaisessa folkloristiikassa*. Pro gradu. Folkloristiikka, tammikuu 2013. (Unpublished MA thesis, University of Helsinki, Department of Philosophy, History, Culture and Art Studies / Folklore Studies. January 2013.) Online address: https://helda.helsinki.fi/handle/10138/38625?locale-attribute=en or: http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fe201303272643

Honko, Lauri 1984a: Empty Texts, Full Meanings. On Transformal Meaning in Folklore. *Papers I. The 8th Congress for the International Society for Folk Narrative Research, Bergen, June 12th–17th, 1984*, ed. Reimund Kvideland and Torunn Selberg, pp. 273–281. Bergen: Universitetet i Bergen, Etno-folkloristisk institut.

Honko, Lauri 1984b: Tyhjät tekstit, täydet merkitykset. Folkloren transformaaleista merkityksistä. *Sananjalka* 26:99–130. Turku: Suomen Kielen Seura.

Honko, Lauri 1985: Empty Texts, Full Meanings. On Transformal Meaning in Folklore. *Journal of Folklore Research* 22:37–44.

Honko, Lauri 1987: Tomma texter, fulla betydelser. Om folklorens transformella betydelser. *Folklorens betydelse. Föredrag vid NIF:s fjärde ämneskonferens på Hässelby slott 24.–26.2.1984*, ed. Bengt af Klintberg, pp. 44–81. Stockholm: Norstedts.

Honko, Lauri 1989: Methods in Folk Narrative Research. *Nordic Folklore. Recent Studies*, ed. Reimund Kvideland and Henning K. Sehmsdorf, pp. 23–39. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. Originally published in *Ethnologia Europaea*, 1979–80.

Honko, Lauri 1998: *Textualising the Siri Epic*. (FF Communications No. 264.) Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

Hymes, Dell 1975: Folklore's Nature and the Sun's Myth. *Journal of American Folklore* 88:345–369.

Hymes, Dell 1981: "*In vain I tried to tell you". Essays in Native American Ethnopoetics*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Jakobson, Roman 2000 (1959): On Linguistic Aspects of Translation. *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. Lawrence Venuti (ed.), pp. 113–118. London and New York: Routledge. Originally published in *On Translation*, ed. Reuben Brower, pp. 232–239. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959.

Jauhiainen, Marjatta 1989: The Sins of Women in Finnish Belief Legends. *Studies in Oral Narrative*, ed. Anna-Leena Siikala, pp. 210–220. (Studia Fennica 33.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Kurki, Tuulikki 2002: Heikki Meriläinen ja keskusteluja kansanperinteestä. (Heikki Merilaïnen and discussions on folklore). (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 880.) Helsinki: SKS (Finnish Literature Society).

Lyons, Martin 2013a: A New History from Below? The Writing Culture of European Peasants, c. 1850 – c. 1920. *White Field, Black Seeds. Nordic Literary Practices in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Anna Kuismin and M. J. Driscoll, pp. 14–29. (Studia Fennica Litteraria 7.) Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Lyons, Martin 2013b: *The Writing Culture of Ordinary People in Europe, c. 1850–1920*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mikkola, Kati 2013: Self-Taught Collectors and their Challenge to Archival Authority. *White Field, Black Seeds. Nordic Literary Practices in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Anna Kuismin and M. J. Driscoll, pp. 146–157. (Studia Fennica Litteraria 7.) Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Peltonen, Ulla-Maija 2004: Kalevalan riemuvuoden kilpakeruu ja hyvän kerääjän käsite. *Kansanrunousarkisto. Lukijat ja tulkinnat*, ed. Tuulikki Kurki, pp. 199–217. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Pöysä, Jyrki 1997: Jätkän synty. Tutkimus sosiaalisen kategorian muotoutumisesta suomalaisessa kulttuurissa ja itäsuomalaisessa metsätyöperinteessä. (The Birth of the Lumberjack. The historical formation of a social category in Finnish culture and Eastern Finnish folklore about lumberjacks (jätkä). *Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia* 669. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Tedlock, Dennis 1983: *The Spoken Word and the Work of Interpretation*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

DISCUSSION

Why Should Folklore Students Study "Dead"[1] Legends?

(A Round-Table Discussion Held at the 16th Congress of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research, in Vilnius, Lithuania, 29th June 2013.)[2]

Introduction
"The Long-Term Legacy of the New Perspectives?"

Terry Gunnell (University of Iceland)

It might be said that the roots of this round table go back a couple of years to a gifted young student of Folkloristics visiting my office to discuss possible subjects for her BA essay. She stated that among other things she was interested in the folklore of the past and especially the folk legends and beliefs she had encountered in a couple of courses. When I suggested that this field might provide a good subject for her dissertation, she looked at me in wonder and asked whether such an approach was still possible? Wasn't that sort of subject a thing of the past? Old fashioned? At least that was the impression she'd gained from many of her fellow students and some classes she had taken: The legends and wonder tales found in the archives and published folk tale collections had all been collected wrongly and for the wrong purpose, as part of an elite-controlled national-romantic agenda, and could only really be looked at from that viewpoint. Besides which, they were collected from a rural "minority". It seemed to her that the only folklore that *mattered* now (if it could really be called "folklore", since that itself was becoming a "bad word", as antiquated as "survival", "tradition" and "text") was what the students collected ourselves, ideally in an urban environment. (Similar ideas are reflected in Skott 2008, 17-26, and Skott's "Response" included below).

It was around the same time, although I cannot remember where or when exactly, that I heard another lecturer in Folkloristics/ Ethnology say that it was definitely useful for students to read the work of the folklorists of the past, but essentially because it "gives them something to kick against".

Both of these statements gave me cause for several sleepless nights, not least working in a department which has been following the approaches encouraged by Alan Dundes in which there is no clear division between "*etnologi*" (which is slightly different from ethnology) and "folkloristics", and in which the study of the past and older materials found in folk legend collections, museums and archives has been seen as being equally important to the study of the present. Folk narratives, beliefs and traditions are studied alongside (and in relation to) material culture; and the culture of the city and the countryside are both seen as having value. We stress the need to study the international alongside the local, but are not afraid of either, not least because the international offers comparison and context to the local, just as the local offers focus and relevance to our students and the tax payers who pay our wages. This has hitherto been an effective formula: our student numbers over the last few years have been growing up to the point at which we have been taking in 40 or 50 new BA students a year (many of them stating that their interest stems from the folk tales they read when they were younger). In this context, the statements noted at the start provided food for thought about the slightly ominous directions in which some scholars and teachers have been taking the field, and what the future holds for the subject (and our students' interest in matters of the past).

What worries me most is the implication behind the statements of the student and the teacher that some areas of our field are more old-fashioned and less "cutting edge" than others, and that we don't "do" them anymore; implications that the work of the present is comparatively perfect while the work of the past is so faulty it can be ignored (see also Honko 1989, 33; and the article by Anttonen elsewhere in this volume); the implication that the past is such a "foreign place" that we do not go there anymore except to sneer; and essentially the implication that the folktales and legend collections of the past which opened up our field (and attracted so many of us into the field) are now viewed by many as being "just folklore" (to borrow a useful expression from Elliott Oring [2012]), in other words "dead" museum artifacts, unworthy of serious study by modern students of Folkloristics.

That this sort of development has indeed been taking place over the past few years can be seen by a cursory glimpse over the courses on offer in American and European (and especially Nordic) universities where the European legends of the past (like the legends and myths of the Native Americans in the States) tend to receive little attention any more, outside courses dealing with the history of the field (even in Folkloristics and *etnologi* departments). It can also be seen in the ever-decreasing number of articles in folklore journals dealing with legends, beliefs and the storytellers of the past, and it is particularly clear in this year's SIEF programme where lectures dealing with narratives of any kind were few and far between: those

few that *were* presented dealt naturally with the present, and most particularly with the subject of immigration (in other words, "politically correct" narratives dealing with foreign minorities in urban society today which are seen as somehow more relevant than the rural "minorities" of the past were). At the same time, ever-increasing numbers of departments of Folkloristics and Ethnology have either been closed down or found themselves swallowed up by large amalgamations of Cultural Studies, sometimes owing to reductions in the numbers of students, but also partly because of the lack of respect of university authorities who are not totally sure how our subject differs from cultural anthropology[3] or cultural studies, and, perhaps, even our own fear of the use of the word "folklore" (Oring 2012: 306-316). Whether the two developments are related is something worth considering.

The roots of the change in approach to the archives, the past, and earlier materials *per se*, were, of course, reflected most clearly by the arrival of the so-called "New Perspectives" in Folkloristics in the 1960s and 1970s (see especially Paredes and Bauman 1972), which questioned the "text" and value of "tradition", underlining "context", "artistic communication" (Ben-Amos 1971, 13; also Honko 1989) and the "event" (Georges 1969 and Bauman 1975), stressing the idea that " 'folklore is folklore only when performed' " (Abrahams 1971, quoted in Wilgus 1971, 243; see also Gabbert 1999). This was not totally as new as it purported to be (studies of narrative performance had been going on for some time), but it was without question a useful approach. It nonetheless had important long-term implications, not least because of the way it introduced a strong element of "us" and "them". As Linda Dégh noted in 1994:

> we are encouraged not to read, but to forget the past, to start afresh on the wings of borrowed methodologies. Old classifications are useless and so are the archives storing improperly collected texts, fossils of no use. What's the use of compiling more variants when we already have too many (Dégh 1994, 243).

It is particularly interesting to look back at the forewarning given in Donald Wilgus' early comments on the "New Perspectives" forty years ago at the American Folklore Society in 1972: Noting in passing the potential dangers that "we may adopt some of the same infelicities of language and dubious methodology of other disciplines" (Wilgus 1973, 243), Wilgus writes:

> What concerns me most is not the productions of the current crop of scholars, but the effect their current work may have on folklore scholars and folklore scholarship to follow if certain absolutist tendencies develop. I have already observed the symptoms. 'Text' is rapidly becoming a dirty word, and 'thing-orientated' a favorite pejorative expression" (Wilgus 1973, 244).

He notes validly: "The behavioral approach is 'now-oriented' […] in asking questions whose answers require investigation of current 'events'" (Wilgus 1973, 244), and proceeds to raise the following famous statement:

> … if a school of 'behavioural folklorists' determines that its questions are the only valid ones and that its findings cannot be applied to materials of previous researchers, then the results will not be revolutionary, but catastrophic. To be blunt, we might as well burn the archives, for what behavioural information they contain is far too limited and too lacking in disciplined methodology to be of much use" (Wilgus 1973, 243-244; on this question, see also af Klintberg 1979).

Bearing these words in mind, it is interesting to jump back to the present situation, in which the huge folklore archives of Scandinavia now lie largely dormant and dusty, unused by folklorists.[4] Some of these archives are in danger of being moved into cellars. Our students are seldom encouraged to go there, and many of those who do go have difficulty in reading the handwriting. As Fredrik Skott notes below, the sole saving grace for the archives has been the arrival of the historians and a few literary scholars interested in wonder tales (primarily as literature).[5]

Considering this present "state of the art", it is perhaps time for us to make a clear decision about whether we are really ready to give all of this material away to historians and literary scholars who tend to have little experience of dealing with orality and all that it involves. In short, do historians and literary scholars really know how to "read" materials of this kind which do not involve "facts" of the kind they are used to dealing with? Similarly, are we really saying that we as scholars and teachers taking part in a conference on research into Folk Narrative no longer have any interest in this archival material outside its misguided role in the history of our subject on its fervent way into the theoretically charged Social Sciences? Are we really no longer interested in our connections with the Humanities and meeting the interests of those students who have been attracted by the folklore of the past and the world inhabited by their grandparents and great-grandparents. If so, so be it. To my mind, however, this material is far from useless, and I believe that it still has a highly useful and productive role to play in studies and teaching within our field. I also believe that the heart of what we have been looking at from the start is "tradition" of various kinds, which we all know is changeable but is also rooted in connections with the past. For me, as for Richard Schechner (2013, 28-29), all folklore, like all performance, is essentially a form of "restored behaviour" something which underlines the same connections. For these reasons alone, I believe we should work to retain our bridges with the Humanities (alongside those with the Social Sciences) and continue to encourage our students to examine these earlier recorded texts, not least in the light of the intrinsic context that we and our predecessors have always known they have had. This, in short, was the reason for calling this present round table, which involves a range of respected scholars from a range of countries who are not totally ready to throw matches at the archives in spite of the now near canonical nature that the "New Perspectives" have attained.

For my own part, I would like to start by stressing what was stated above about the fact that "context" has always existed in (or alongside) the records, and that the same applies to the idea of the "event". Furthermore, while many of the nineteenth-century scholars and collectors might have had a nationalist agenda, the same cannot be said of those who told them the legends. For them, the legends they told and passed on as part of conversational events (however they were recorded) had a wide range of other purposes (just like the anecdotes we tell). All of these can easily be analysed today if we can be bothered and know just where to look, and if we know how to use other available contextual information to assemble valid "thick corpuses" of the kind Lauri Honko suggests (Honko 2000, 15-17). Yes, these people may have been rural, but exactly what is wrong with that? Are they any less valid than the present minority groups under consideration?

Over and above this, we should not belittle the fact that this was the first time that the voices, lives and culture of the lower classes were being credited as a form of art worth presenting in leather-bound books to the settled middle and upper classes. The accounts these books contain (like the other later materials in the archives) also provide a highly valid insight into the spiritual and social worldview of the storytellers, and the ways in which cultures transcend temporal and political boundaries. Anyone who has ever looked at the contextual information found in the framed legends published by Peter Chr. Asbjørnsen in Norway (see Asbjørnsen 1848-1859) and Crofton Croker in Ireland (see Crofton Croker 1831); or examined in any detail the ways in which the first collectors built up an understanding of the ways in which these oral "texts" were essentially different from written works, and not least the ways in which they varied by event, performer, surroundings and audience will know that the early collectors were far from ignorant of the idea of the "event" and the ways in which the so-called "texts" functioned as part of it. I think we also need to be very careful when we praise the comparative perfection of our own approaches, in which audience members and performer storytellers have to sign waivers before trying to deal with microphones, film cameras and bright background lighting. All forms of recording have their weaknesses and Heisenburg-noted effects on their research materials. All cutting edges grow blunt within days. We should beware of arrogance and also be aware that in future we too are likely to be criticised strongly for our own blindness and ham-handedness, not least by students who need poststructuralist-jargon-dictionaries to try and decipher what we have been saying in our articles and lectures.

I should stress that I have nothing against examining the nature of the earlier folklore collection or the role of performance past and present. Far from it. I too have written articles about the political nature of the introductions to the early folk legend collections that attempt to give them an

interpretative framework, and the context of this collection work (Gunnell 2010, 2012 a and b). I have also been very involved in analysing the performative sides of folk narrative, festivals (past and present), folk drama and stand-up (Gunnell 2006, 2007, 2010b; and Gunnell and Ronström 2013a).

However, I also work with what I call "performance archaeology" whereby earlier recorded written texts are analysed first and foremost *as* living performances in context (Gunnell 1995 and 2013b). As researchers, we know what the texts would have sounded like, and (using other archival materials as Barbro Klein [2007], Jürgen Beyer [2011], Timothy Tangherlini [2008] and John Lindow [2008] among others have recently demonstrated),[6] we can find out a great deal about where the written recordings were made, who the storytellers were, who their audiences are likely to have been, and where their performances are likely to have usually taken place in space. We can stand in these settings. We can listen to the acoustics. We can consider the probable lighting, smell and accompanying sounds. And we can apply our own experiences and the fieldwork notes of our colleagues to these facts. When it comes down to it, these historical texts are not much more foreign to us than those we hear when we head off to India or South America to carry out fieldwork. The records may not be as close to the exact wording of the occasions as we might like them to be, but there again, as both Asbjørnsen and Moe soon discovered, if you were interested in the *stories* rather than the nature of the linguistic discourse, there was actually little point in writing everything down word by word: The next time the account was told in a different situation it would be totally different. In short, these are folkloric texts with all that that involves, and I believe they can be effectively read, and experienced in context like any other narratives, if only we learn to read behind the print and the agenda - just as those who replace us (if we are replaced) will have to read behind the jargon of our own present agendas when they consider our work in the future.

To be able to do this effective reading, however, our students have to be taught *how* to read this material, and they need to be introduced to it in an unbiased fashion. But there again, isn't folkloristics teaching supposed to be about teaching people how to consider the "lore" and fluid "tradition" that lives around us, in other words, teaching students to consider the nature of not only the present but also the past that feeds into it, providing the foundation that all our present day performances play off? To my mind, it is time we find the dusty archive keys that have been left on the shelf and reopen the doors before someone else moves in and we find ourselves in the dumpster.

Response 1: "On New Theories and Old Texts"

Elliott Oring (California State University, Los Angeles)

Like Terry Gunnell, I would like to begin with an anecdote. Not too long ago, a student came to talk with me about a project concerning jokes – more specifically, a project concerning a body of largely sexual jokes that a collector had excluded from a major published collection in the 1920s. This student was not one of mine. I had retired from teaching sometime before. The student was very advanced and knew of me because of my own work on jokes. The student was bright, organised, disciplined, and had already done a great deal of work sifting through this large collection of materials. The texts had been entered into a computer database with information about informants, dates, cross references, and what not. We discussed the work for some time, but before we parted, the student asked me, "So how do you think I should approach this? Should I use Foucault?"

This seemed to me a very odd question. Without framing a specific set of problems that were raised by the materials, how could one choose any particular author or turn to any theoretical approach? What was puzzling about the materials? What questions did the materials raise that this student wanted to answer? Looking back, I now assume the student's logic ran something like this: the dirty jokes were left out of the larger published work because the publication of such materials was not acceptable at that time. Other folklorists – Francis James Child, Vance Randolph – had also suppressed or sequestered the raunchier materials in their collections. Since the question of why these jokes were not published posed no real problem – the times would not permit it – the inquiry would turn to showing how this joke collection was another yet another episode in the history of sexuality in the West and the disciplining of that sexuality.

Here was the flip side of the presumption of thinking that legend texts sitting in archives are of no value. After all, the student had found these obscene joke texts in an archive, although not a folklore archive. The presumption, however, was that by aligning oneself with a theory with an illustrious pedigree, the research might yield an equally illustrious conclusion.

I am certainly not against theory, but I am not in favour of adopting a theoretical proposition and setting out to show how it subjugates new facts or facts newly encountered. Theory should not be merely a template for subduing an intractable world. The relationship with theory should be confrontational. Rather than amassing facts and searching for a theory with which they accord – or worse, employing a theory with which only a few of the facts are in accord but which is nevertheless used because the theory is an eminent one – the point should be to amass data that, on first sight at least, *do not* seem to fit the theory at all. Theories are propositions that are meant to be continually tested, and facts are the means by which we test them.

Rather than ask the question of what theory can we use to corral our facts, it would be better to ask what facts make our current theories unpromising. What we have lost in our scholarly discourse is the word *hypothesis*. It is one that needs to be reintroduced, for it emphasises the idea of a proposition that needs to be *tested* (see Oring 2003, 41-57; 2004; 2011a).

And so we are led back to problems of legend texts sitting in archives. To no small extent, the devaluation of old legend texts is a consequence of an overvaluation of theory - perhaps an arrogance of theory. Folklore theories since the 1960s have emphasised the importance of context to the understanding of folklore texts. Performance approaches went further and dissolved the boundaries between text and context so that in any performance event, text and context were considered co-emergent and mutually constitutive. Early archival materials often lack rich contextual description, and certainly such texts are hard - though not impossible to use in representing the dynamics of a performance (see, however, Gunnell 1995). Of course, it is more difficult to resurrect a performance from an archival text than it is from a multimedia recording of a recent event. It is good to remember, however, that performance approaches are fundamentally beholding to the invention of audio and video recording technologies which early folklorists did not possess.

Also, the texts of the past were collected and stored in archives when very different assumptions about the definition and nature of folklore prevailed. When folk songs and folktales were understood to be artefacts that survived from "time immemorial", little interest was directed towards the individual peasants who possessed them. These artefacts reflected the life and thought of a distant past. To expect folklorists back then to attend to the personal circumstances or performance styles of peasant singers and narrators would be akin to expecting archaeologists to consider the television viewing habits of the owners of the backyards in which the stone and bone tools being studied were dug up (Oring 2012, 6-12).

In any event, performance approaches address only a narrow range of folklore questions. There are many other important questions that can be addressed by perusing old texts in archives. Indeed, comparative research depends on archival materials. To cite only one of many examples, sociologist Christie Davies explored the question of which groups get characterised as canny and stupid in contemporary ethnic jokes and why they are characterised in this way (Davies 1990). The answer to this question did not depend upon the close description and analysis of one or more performance events. The answer depended upon looking at joke texts in books and joke archives in a range of different societies to see if there were any principles that seemed to govern the assignment of smartness and stupidity to particular ethnicities. Performance analysis has not been central to my own understandings of Israeli jokes (Oring 1992, 41-52), elephant jokes (16-28), dis-

aster jokes (29-40), blonde jokes (Oring 2003, 58-70), or narrative jokes (Oring 2013), although it has been relevant in my discussions of Freud's jokes (Oring 1984), joke glosses (Oring 2003, 85-96), and joke aesthetics (Oring 2011b).

Performance approaches are less worrisome than other tendencies in the current theoretical literature. Performance approaches are, at root, matters of close ethnography. They focus on the single event and generally are not comparative in nature. I am more concerned about approaches which ultimately question the integrity of knowledge and the possibility of representation. In such scenarios, lore is not the expression of some folk but an outgrowth of the imagination, desires, and power of those who record and represent it. The problems inherent in these perspectives are: (1) reason and truth do not exist but are merely epiphenomena of time, place, and power. Science, consequently, is but one discourse among many with no claims to privilege. (2) Those who adopt these critical stances necessarily find their work implicated in the same web of knowledge and power relations as those they would critique. Like Archimedes, they find themselves with no firm place to stand. (3) There also seems to be no way of falsifying the perspectives. They seem philosophically rather than empirically true. The matter, consequently, is only to show how the perspectives necessarily operate in any particular instance. While I have no problem with the interrogation of the processes of textual production in folklore, I do have a problem when the texts that have been produced become dismissible *a priori*. It would seem that folklore texts can only speak to the ideological and power relations that engendered them and to nothing else. When that view prevails, history, anthropology, sociology, and folkloristics become impossible. Folklore studies, which began with a scrutiny of epic poetry, end in musings on epistemology.

I think that despite these tendencies, archives will remain important. (After all, what wouldn't scholars give for an archive of tales, song, and sayings written down from the mouths of ordinary people in Scandinavia a thousand years ago?) I don't care much whether it will be folklorists, historians, or sociologists that use the archives. New questions will be asked of the materials and new ideas and techniques will be devised for extracting information from old texts (see, for example, Tangherlini 2010a). For the moment, the question about archives is essentially a practical one: how do we preserve them during periods when many people seem sure that they are of little value. Of course, there is no easier way to introduce students to archives than to give them assignments in which they are asked to use archival materials in some significant and hopefully creative way. There is also a great need to digitise archival materials, make them searchable, put them online, and make them downloadable for statistical analyses. They need to be translated or abstracted into international languages

so that access does not devolve exclusively to local populations with the requisite language skills. This, of course, will require a good deal of money.

I once asked Alan Dundes, "Do you know what your most enduring work will be?"When he asked what, I said, "The volumes of photocopy lore that you published with Carl Pagter." He immediately grasped my point. The materials of folklore will last a lot longer than the theories with which folklorists are allied. Folklorists will return to those five volumes of Dundes and Pagter again and again in the effort to grasp something of the mentality of late twentieth-century America. They will turn to them as we still turn to the tales and legends published by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, the ballads compiled by Francis James Child, or the school lore amassed by Iona and Peter Opie. Theories, on the other hand, change every decade or so. And once they go, they really do seem to go. They are revisited mainly in history books. Our own theories will go that way as well as and much sooner than we think. Ultimately there are no dead legends. Every legend is capable of reanimation. Dead theories, on the other hand, tend to stay dead as do the folklorists that first propounded them.

Response 2: "Thoughts on Archives, the New Perspectives, and Folkloristics Today"

Barbro Klein (Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study, Uppsala)

It seems to me that in some sense we are today revisiting the "dialogue of dissent" between the philological/literary strands on the one hand, and the social-scientifically oriented ones on the other, strands that were important in forming the study of folklore. Although Rosemary Zumwalt (1988) confines her famous analysis to the United States, the dialogue did not take place only there: variations of it have been played out in many parts of the world ever since folkloristics, ethnology and their cousins became thinkable as disciplines. In Sweden, for example, it took the form of a decades-long squabble between the folklorist Carl Wilhelm von Sydow and the ethnologist Sigurd Erixon (Bringéus 2009, based on the Swedish original from 2006). I think it useful to frame our present discussions with these debates.

As regards the statements made in the "Introduction" (see above), in many ways, I agree. There is indeed a naive "presentism" and lack of historical awareness on the part of many folklorists today, not least in North America and northern Europe. As noted in the "Introduction", instructors think (with some justification) that it would be easier for them to reach introductory students, if they concentrate on worlds that are familiar to them and encourage them to conduct fieldwork in their immediate surroundings. I also agree that folklorists do not sufficiently criticise their current, seemingly "perfect" approaches. This is not least true of recent introductory text-

books, such as *Living Folklore* by Martha Sims and Martine Stephens (2011).

Thirdly, of course I agree that archives are mainstays in folkloristics; they are materialised testimonies of our past efforts and rich sources which we can utilise critically in a multitude of ways. At the same time, it must be remembered that there is always a risk of misunderstanding when we speak about "archives" in general. Folkloristic and ethnological archives come in a variety of shapes; there is no formula that unites them and their methods of collecting, selecting, and organising their materials. At the University of California, Berkeley, the archives are built on student collections, while in northern and eastern Europe they often consist of written responses to national calls for materials. Some archive collections were made in order to survey and control colonised peoples, such as those created by the British in India (Raheja 2000; and Naithani 2010), while others have been essential to the maintenance of people-hood and identity. This is not least true in the Baltic countries. The YIVO archives which were once formed in Vilnius or Vilna have become a crucial source of knowledge of East European Jewish culture (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2010).There can be no argument: folklore archives are central institutions to individuals, groups, nations, politics, and researchers.

Having said this, I would like to mention some points of disagreement. I do not agree with the assumption that our problems essentially arose in the United States with "the new perspectives" and with the sociolinguistically and ethnomethodologically-oriented scholars who were influential at the time (see Paredes and Bauman 1972). Nor do I agree that the views and methods of this group of scholars have become "near canonical" in folkloristics around the world to the extent that such central concepts as "text" and "tradition" have turned into dirty words among today's confused students. Furthermore, the description given is, to my mind, problematic, with regard to the representation of the past fifty years of folklore study. I would therefore like to spend a little time commenting on this history and on the reasons why we have arrived at the present state of affairs. The developments I briefly sketch in the following are my own version of events that are well familiar to North American folklore scholars; I suspect that they are less known in other parts of the world, and that it might be useful to rehearse them here.

Let us go back to the academic year of 1961/1962 at Indiana University. There we were, a group of eager graduate students from Turkey, Israel, Sweden, Finland, Pakistan, Egypt, the United States and other countries. In the group of beginners were Dan Ben-Amos, Richard Bauman, Hasan El-Shamy, and I. Alan Dundes, Elli Köngäs-Maranda and Robert Georges were finishing graduate school. Most of us were fascinated with stories and songs (the Archives of Folk and Traditional Music being an important attraction at Indiana University), although some of us were also interested in

material culture. Several of us, however, found some of the teaching sterile and unchallenging. The type- and motif indexes were presented as the only true methodological tools at the folklorist's disposal. Important terms and concepts were "texts", "items", "collections", "versions", "variants," "motif numbers", "tale types", and "diffusion", whereas words implying real people and human agency, such as "narrators" and "narrating", were mentioned only in passing.[7] I don't deny that I found it useful to learn to use the type- and motif indexes and that I thought it was fantastic to find out that some types and motifs were widely spread around the earth. It should also be remembered that this was not all there was to teaching at Indiana University in those days. There were courses on such subjects as North American Indian and Russian folklore. The doors were thus opened to comparative research in ways that were new to me, and the Summer Institute of 1962 (in which structuralism was introduced) was exciting. Nevertheless, the atmosphere in folklore studies at Indiana University at that time remained stiff and unbending with regard to what one could or could not do and say in the study of folktales and other verbal traditions. Among some students quiet rebellion was brewing.

Not many years later, new ideas began appearing in conference papers and journals; many of them were written by my old class-mates. To me and many others, Dan Ben-Amos' new definition (1971,13), that "folklore is artistic communication in small groups," was truly liberating, as was Richard Bauman's thinking on the emergent nature of performance, on the social base of folklore, and on the ethnography of speaking (Bauman and Sherzer 1974). Now there was a way of studying folklore as a social accomplishment. The sense of liberation was even more reinforced when the centre of gravity in American folklore studies moved from Indiana University to the University of Pennsylvania. It felt as if the field had been reinvented in new ethnographic and theoretical directions. What is more, this new field seemed to have become an important player within the wider American academic landscape, when a constellation of wonderful scholars from different disciplines gathered together and inspired each other at the University of Pennsylvania, among them Erving Goffman, Henry Glassie, Dell Hymes, Ray Birdwhistell, Sol Worth, William Labov, Dan Ben-Amos, Kenneth Goldstein, and, slowly, also a number of women: Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Susan Stewart, Amy Shuman, Katharine Young, Margaret Mills, Deborah Kapchan, and others.

One aspect about this period is often misunderstood, however. It is sometimes felt that many of the American scholars involved in the "new perspectives" no longer emphasised the differences between genres, in particular older genres. On the contrary, many were literary or historical in their orientation and worked intensely to refine and rethink oral genre theory in the light of the new insights about the ways in which oral genres are and

have been communicated in social life (Abrahams 1976, originally published in 1969). A great deal of new knowledge was now formulated about genres, performances, creativity, tradition, agency, and about the philosophy and politics of texts, regardless of historical period(s).The new discoveries were then connected to new insights about the ways in which the study of folklore was and is profoundly linked to issues of nation, social class, race, ethnicity, and gender. At the same time, folklorists began recognising some of their own biases with regard to gender, race and other issues. In this context, archives also came to be seen as problematic. Some researchers were convinced that the materials found in the archives and in older published collections "had all been collected wrongly and for the wrong purpose" and a few scholars wished to abolish the archives altogether. However, this soon proved to be ill-advised and it was widely recognised that folklore cannot be studied without its historical sources, faulty as they may be. This point was brought home when the American Folklife Center was ratified in 1976.

While I think that it is right that we need to be far more critical than we are of the "new perspectives" and of the approaches that are rooted in ideas launched at that time, I am also convinced that the theory- and method-building during that period has been crucial, not only for the study of folklore but also for the survival of our field. The "new perspectives" made possible a merging of the literary and social science strands that was up until that time unprecedented in the history of folkloristics.

It should, of course, be remembered that American folklore study was not the only field that was being re-figured in the 1960s and 1970s; comparable developments were taking took place all around in the social and human sciences. In Swedish ethnology (which includes folkloristics), for example, many young scholars were restless and questioned the old "Erixonian" taxonomising and diffusionistic approach to folklife research. In a move that, in hindsight, seems parallel to the "new perspectives" in the United States, a Swedish kind of "cultural analysis" stormed into Nordic ethnology under the leadership of Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren (1986; originally published in Swedish in 1979). One message of "cultural analysis" was that the materials housed in the folklife archives give a fragmented, sanitised and romanticised view of peasant culture (Frykman 1979). It was emphasised that to conduct cultural analysis, researchers need to work not only with archive materials but with a multitude of historical and contemporary sources, including a new kind of ethnography.

Although archive materials have been questioned and criticised from time to time since the 1970s, the Swedish ethnological archives have more or less continuously played a role among folklorists and ethnologists.[8] Furthermore, as several scholars have emphasised, to a great extent, it was neither the people who wrote down their reminiscences nor the collectors who ro-

manticised and sanitised the past. Instead, it was often the archivists and researchers who, via heavy editing, "improved" peoples' texts and then published a white-washed folklore heritage in which people are deprived of agency and voice (see af Klintberg 1979; Lilja 1996; Nilsson 1996; and Klein 2007).Thus, it must be remembered that it is sometimes the scholars themselves who have created "dead" legends. Even though many "older" folklorists, ethnologists, and archivists in the late twentieth century resisted "cultural analysis" and other new approaches to the study of folklore and ethnology, far-reaching quarrels resembling those between von Sydow and Erixon never erupted. The archives have remained quite well entrenched in Swedish life and scholarship and researchers are now making important discoveries regarding the collectors who shaped the holdings (Skott 2009). Indeed the materials housed in the archives are increasingly important to researchers in many disciplines.

To sum up, I personally don't believe the situation is as dismal as the "Introduction" indicates, at least with regard to the position of the existing archives and with regard to the research that is carried out in them. Folklorists in different parts of the world are conducting innovative research involving legends and other historical texts, as can be seen in the work of Timothy Tangherlini, among others (see Tangherlini in this volume). Indeed, historic-geographic research is now being conducted in novel and critical ways as Jason Baird Jackson has demonstrated in his recent article, "The Story of Colonialism, or Rethinking the Ox-Hide Purchase in Native North America and Beyond" (Jackson 2013). Furthermore, as was noted above, scholars representing diverse fields are taking a new interest in folklore materials. One example is historian David Hopkin (2012), who is concerned with the culture of peasants and workers in nineteenth-century France. Another is anthropologist Michael Puett (2002) who utilises what we would call folklore materials in his astounding studies of rituals and imagined worlds in ancient China. It is a great asset for folkloristics as a discipline (and not something to bemoan) that our archives and printed collections can offer exciting materials to scholars representing diverse fields, as Kimberly Lau emphasised in the discussion at the ISFNR round table. Finally, there is growing interest in critical debates involving archive materials, as Dorothy Noyes and Margaret Mills demonstrated a few years ago with their project and conference on "Culture Archives and the State: Between Socialism, Nationalism, and the Global Market" (2007). By the same token, as Kay Turner observed during the discussion that followed the round table in Vilnius, it must be seen as somewhat remarkable that folklorists have not theorised their archives more than they have. To do so would be truly important in the light of the ongoing intense discussion in the academic world regarding the role and configuration of archives in a digital age.

Theorising the archives is thus an urgent task for folklorists today. Another urgent task is that of exciting students about the legends of the past, and convincing them that the past is no less fascinating than the present and that history is not just a springboard to or from a "now". We need to engage students in a range of approaches, from detailed analyses of ancient and contemporary materials to broad cultural and political analyses. Let me once again underline that the study of folklore would have remained barren indeed without the critique and upheavals during the "new perspectives" and "cultural analysis" periods. The insights formed then are critical to us now. Of course, there is also reason for those insights to be criticised and questioned. Let us, on the bases we have, go on shape a field that includes broad horizons as well as detailed analyses. And let us not allow ourselves and our students to be stuck in debates that would seem to pit "older" literary-philological-historical scholarship and "newer" social scientific-ethnographic work against each other. Having to take sides on these matters would be futile and counter-productive in today's academic and political landscape with its demanding new technologies and its necessary ambitions to work across inherited disciplinary and national boundaries.

Response 3: "Why I Teach 'Dead Legends' "

John Lindow (Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study/ University of California, Berkeley)

Let me begin by saying that there are no dead legends. The legends and other materials in archives record the fears and aspirations, the hopes and dreams, of people who lived and breathed, just as we do; and the plots of the stories they told and listened to, even without the context and original wording - sometimes even without the identities of the storytellers and any potential audience members - are keys to understanding the society and culture of these people who lived before us, and thus ultimately our own. Nevertheless, the term "dead legends" certainly has rhetorical power, so I will use it here.

I just have a few brief points to contribute to this discussion. The first involves the use of proverbs as a means of thinking analogically about the study of legends, old and new. We all recognise proverbial language when we hear it, and one way to study this phenomenon is through close observation of what people say and how listeners react in actual performance contexts. From such observation we could construct a definition of the proverbial, and we could describe its use in specific speech acts in specific contexts by specific people. Given a sufficient amount of fieldwork, we could document specific constructions that different speakers use and re-use, thus satisfying the requirement for multiple occurrence that attaches to any definition of the traditional or the folkloric. And yet, as folklorists, we are also

committed by the history of our discipline to seek out not just spatial breadth but also temporal depth – just as the field of linguistics, which I am using as a clear analogy here, has both field-based and historical analysis.

Ideally, in analysing a genre or construction, we need *both* the close analysis of performance *and* the deeper historical context. Should we throw away all the old proverb collections because they provide no context? We could, but it makes a lot more sense to pose different questions to the older collections – the proverb archive – than we do to field work conducted according to today's standards. It's obvious, but I'll point it out anyway: today's standards may not be tomorrow's, and there is no guarantee that the electronic archives we amass today will be able to answer the questions we haven't thought of yet. So the issue is not that legends in archives cannot be used to answer certain questions; instead it is that they can be used to answer certain other questions. This is true of all scholarship: we can only seek to answer questions that our data will support.

I will move on now to specific examples:

I teach the "dead legends" of two subaltern populations in the north, the Sámi and the Greenlanders. I use the published record, and my focus, to a certain extent, is on what gets recorded and published, and why. This is particularly interesting in the Sámi case, where my students read the materials set down in the early part of the twentieth century by Johan Turi and arranged and published in two quite different ways by Emelie Demant (later Demant-Hatt). Demant arranged much of Turi's material into the book that credits him as author, *Muitallus sámiid birra* (see the translation in Turi 2011). Some material, however, was withheld and published in *Lappish Texts* (Turi 1918-1919). Just looking at what found its way into each collection tells my students a lot about attitudes toward the "shamanic" past and its relationship with the Christian present, especially in the area of healing. For Greenland, we read two collections: Hinrich Rink's now somewhat canonical attempt at "rescuing" pre-contact traditions, made available in English translation in 1875, alongside Gustav Holm's presentation, edited by William Thalbitzer, of East Greenlandic traditions essentially at the moment of contact in 1883-1885. Again, students see before their eyes the interchanges, the give and take, that goes into representations of minority cultures by colonial officials. The most amusing example, and a very teachable moment, is when Holm indicates in a footnote to a story in which a knife proves useful that he had recently bought a knife from the man telling the story.

Through reading and studying these particular legends, my students also see the use of folklore in the nineteenth-century nation-building in a different light. The legends used for this project were those of the rural countryside, and as we all know, intellectuals thought to find in them the old heritage of the people. But there were also these legends from the subaltern

Greenlanders, published in Danish and intended for consumption in the Danish book market (so Rink) or within the scholarly community (Thalbitzer's publication of Holm's collection). While it might be tempting to draw a parallel between the bringing of these legends to Copenhagen in the nineteenth century and the kidnapping of the Greenlanders Poq and Quiperoq in 1724 and their transportation to Copenhagen, where they took part in a celebration of royal power and empire, the parallel would miss the nuances that can be heard in the multiple voices and points of view in the legends (indeed, my paper at this Congress addressed precisely this issue, even though it restricted itself to a single story). In the Sámi case, too, the comparison with the nation-building project is highly instructive, since the impetus for the recording of the materials my students read resulted from a partnership between a Sámi would-be author (Johan Turi) and a Danish ethnographer (Demant), and the result has turned out, a century later, to be part of the Sámi nation-building project.

The concerns and attitudes that can be elicited from this older legend material, from these narratives retained in archives without their performance context, are in fact precisely among those that we seek to isolate in contemporary field work: issues of power relationships within society, the abrogating by those with power of cultural goods from the powerless. At the same time we get to contemplate the displacement of shamanism in two widely varying contexts.

Another reason to continue to teach the older legends is for the light they shed on other narrative traditions, namely fairy tales and ballads. While it may be possible to read both genres with a sort of universalist psychological methodology (so Bengt Holbek's 1987 book, an absolutely fundamental work for fairy tales, and Villy Sørensen's smart 1959 analysis of ballads), it is also true that the people who told, listened to, sang and sometimes danced these texts, lived in a specific narrative environment with a specific world view regarding the supernatural. In that environment they heard many more legends than fairy tales or ballads, and the attitude toward the supernatural in legends was the attitude they brought to the other narrative genres. I have tried to show how legend tradition could illuminate Holbek's method and even tell us more about his cherished example, the fairy tale "Kong Lindorm" (Lindow 1993), but the proposition is obvious. From the perspective of teaching, if we are going to teach fairy tales and ballads, we must also teach legends from the archives.

Finally, let me point out that modern scholars of legends are to some extent victims of the choice Jan Brunvand (or his publisher) made to market today's legends to the reading public, namely "urban legends" (Brunvand 1981, 1984, 1986, 1989, 1993). I won't try to deny that many of the older legends were rural, but so was most of Nordic society in the nineteenth century. Asbjørnsen could effectively set a framed legend sequence in

Kristiania (as in "En gammeldags juleaften": Asbjørnsen and Moe 1995, I, 82-93), even though no one would call the legends included in it "urban" and it would be more than a little redundant to call them "rural legends". Nor will the term "contemporary legends" do. All legends are contemporary for the people who tell and hear them. The legends in the archives were just as contemporary in their performance contexts as are today's legends (see also af Klintberg 1990). They have a great deal to teach us, and we ignore them at our peril.

Response 4: "The Book of Legends and the Study of 'Dead Legends' in Israel"

Haim Weiss (Ben Gurion University of the Negev)

I will try to offer a different perspective on what appears to be our main question - the question of students' attitudes towards ancient literary narratives, or, as Terry Gunnell has called them, "dead legends". In his "Introduction" Gunnell suggests that modern students of folklore like to conduct interviews, and like to engage with the theories they consider innovative, up-to-date, and especially politically correct. He says they seem less inclined to study the "dead legends", which they have come to consider unworthy of serious modern scholarly attention. It is argued that many of their teachers harbour similar attitudes; for them, these early narratives represent a dark folkloristic past steeped in arrogance towards "the Other" and expressive of objectionably strong national or even nationalist sentiment. For those who harbour such attitudes, Gunnell's account continues, the old scholars who collected these early narratives merit nothing but resistance; as one of the professors Gunnell quotes puts it, they are merely "something to kick against".

As the title of our round-table discussion indicates, the question of our general attitudes towards archives and archived literary materials involves a much larger question: that of our attitude today towards those literary and cultural representations that are described here as "dead legends". Looking at things from the viewpoint of modern folklore studies in Israel, I would like to present a view that is fortunately slightly different from Terry's image of an almost total rejection of early literary traditions with roots in orality. In my view, contemporary Israeli attitudes towards these traditions and their academic study using folkloristic methods reflect some interesting social and political changes which, far from rejecting the folk narrative traditions of the past, have actually served to re-legitimise them.

It was a little over a century ago, in Odessa, that Haim Nahman Bialik and Yehoshua Hana Ravnitzki put together their famous anthology of folktales, *Sefer ha-Aggadah* ("The Book of Legends"), a work which to this day remains among the most influential of its type in Israel.[9] As Tsafi Sebba-Elran has shown, Bialik and Ravnitzki were facing a problem similar to the one

we have been discussing here: they feared the loss of an entire literary corpus - in their case, even older material: the corpus of the ancient Rabbinic sages, written in the first centuries A.D. (Sebba-Elran 2009).[10] Their fear was motivated by two reasons, one pragmatic, the other more principled. Their pragmatic worry was that the tales were not sufficiently accessible to potential modern readers. The tales were scattered across various sources without apparent order, unorganised by theme or category. In the face of such obstacles, Bialik and Ravnitzki viewed themselves as archivists whose role was to classify, organise, and translate the texts - in other words, to present them to their readership in Hebrew, sorted into themes and other relevant categories, accompanied by a well-organized index to facilitate keyword searches.

The more principled motivation behind *Sefer ha-Aggadah* was the worry that in a secularising Jewish society largely organised around modern nationalism, the records of the oral literature of the ancient sages would soon be viewed as irrelevant, insignificant, or even worse, a representation of a diasporic past the obliteration of which formed part of the project of creating the "new Jew" (for example, Boyarin 1997 and Gluzman 2003).

The success of both the early abbreviated edition of the anthrology, published in 1908, and the first full edition, published in 1911, was beyond the editors' hopes. Considering the relatively limited size of the era's Hebrew-speaking readership, the anthology became a bestseller. However, the book's enormous popularity also served to underscore its readers' complex attitudes towards the source materials, in other words, the ancient Rabbinic literature itself. Among other things, it highlighted the fact that the original Rabbinic literature remained unread by modern readers. *Sefer ha-Aggadah* became a substitute for that literature and thus, paradoxically, hastened its disappearance from modern view, the existence of the anthology making it no longer necessary to refer to the original texts. This was especially significant since, as in all archival projects, the act of classification and organization was charged with cultural and political meaning. According to their introduction, Bialik and Ravnitzki wished to adapt the ancient Rabbinic literature to what they termed "the spirit of the people". Content deemed unsuitable for this purpose, including provocative sexual content and excessive reference to magic and sorcery, was excluded entirely, or relegated to marginal segments of the anthology, exiled to the out-of-reach, out-of-sight corners of the textual archive.

For many years, *Sefer ha-Aggadah* remained the primary mediator between modern Israeli society and the ancient Rabbinic literature. The original ancient texts remained on one hand the exclusive domain of academic scholars, and on the other orthodox students studying in traditional study houses (*yeshiva*). For educated secular Israelis, *Sefer ha-Aggadah* thus became synonymous with the literature of the ancient sages. In many cases,

scholars, writers, and poets who imagined they were referring to the original texts were actually quoting from the modern anthology, unwittingly echoing its cultural, theological, and political biases.

Interestingly enough, recent decades have seen a fascinating cultural turn in the form of a return to the original Rabbinic sources, without the regimenting mediation of the archive created by Bialik, Ravnitzki and others. In Israel, this turn has taken its most dramatic forms outside academia, though academic scholarship has been affected as well, albeit in different ways. The ancient Rabbinic texts have become a vibrant arena in which various social groups have been vying for ownership of the early Jewish traditions. Groups with different, often conflicting interests have come to voice their political, territorial, and theological concerns by reference to the original texts. In the last two decades, the growing contribution of the ancient traditions to the shaping of individual and national identity in Israel has also led to the flourishing of many diverse centres for the study of Judaism. Targeting different populations with varied, often conflicting theological and national interests, these institutions of learning have attempted, each in its own way, to turn the old "dead legends" into identity-forming texts. The proliferation of *batei midrash* (study houses) catering to different audiences - secular Jewish Israelis, high school students facing military service, women,and so on - is just one instance of this phenomenon. This return to the original texts after generations of silencing - an effort to treat the original ancient sources as legitimate instruments of identity-formation - constitutes, in my view, an attempt to test the limits of the hegemonic Zionist discourse and even challenge its legitimacy.

Parallel developments in academia have taken a somewhat different, less intense character. Nevertheless, beginning in the last decades of the twentieth century, studies first by Dov Noy and then later by Galit Hasan-Rokem, Eli Yassif, Dan Ben-Amos, Dina Stein and myself have applied folkloristic rather than historical-philological methods to the rabbinic tales, revealing the dominance of folk voices within these ancient sources.[11] In the case of most scholars, the application of folkloristic methods has been part of a new critical, scholarly and political agenda which stresses previously neglected aspects of the texts, considering in particular their attitudes towards various kinds of "Other" such as women, children and foreigners. This development has not always met with approval among academics, especially in Israel where the new agenda has stirred much controversy and debate. Nevertheless, the growing interest of the Israeli public in the original ancient Rabbinic sources has helped promote interest in academic circles as well. Students of folklore see these texts as legitimate source material at all academic levels. In order to fulfil the students' not altogether misconceived desire to attach social and political relevance to their folklore studies of those ancient texts, further thought about the applicability of critical theories, both older

and more recent, may well be effective. Developing folkloristic models of critical analysis based on the legacies of the Frankfurt School, and Neo-Marxist, psychoanalytical, structuralist, feminist and post-colonial perspectives may serve this purpose well, in addition to being powerful tools to eliciting meaning out of culture in general.

To return, then, to the initial example given in Terry Gunnell's "Introduction", it seems to me that in modern-day Israel the suggestion that a student write a paper on the allegedly "dead" texts would probably elicit more curiosity and interest than resistance.

Response 5: "Are Archived Legends 'Dead' "?

Ülo Valk (University of Tartu)

The historical roots of folklore are in orality but the roots of folkloristics are in literacy and writing - in documenting vernacular traditions, arranging and analysing the collections and reflecting upon them from different perspectives. Such perspectives include the comparative philological and typological approach which focuses on the migration and history of folk narratives (see, for example, Taylor 1922; and Bruford 1980); studying them as documents of social relations and political debates (see, for example, Lindow 2005; and Tangherlini 2008, and 2010a); or considering them as evidence of cultural change resulting from the spread of the printed word (see Beyer 2011; and Valk 2012a and b). Documentation of the spoken word is based on the belief that it is possible not only to store the form of expression but also to capture and convey the meaning. Writing is a magical tool allowing participation in something that is distant in time and space. I agree wholly with Pertti Anttonen who in his plenary lecture at the current ISFNR congress in Vilnius (published elsewhere in this journal) demonstrated not only that archival texts are charged with meanings, but also that it is possible to revive them and with analytic reading generate new understandings for them. Our academic folkloristic preparation helps us to avoid drowning in the total freedom of readerly interpretation, enabling us to look for contexts that are relevant for understanding the people involved in textual production (that is, the participants of the field interviews). By means of critical analysis of the contexts of documentation, considering the social and ethnic background of tradition carriers, reflecting on the dominant systems of beliefs and values, and studying genres as traditional expressive forms we should be able to see pieces of folklore, past and present, in their relationship to the larger whole. Following the principle of the hermeneutic circle, reading archival records as parts of a wider extensive web of textual production, in other words as fragments of something broader which both encompasses and embraces these texts, means that they can become doorways into vast cultural landscapes. As a result, legends about encounters with the forest

spirit can shed light not only on supernatural beliefs but also on the daily lives of the hunters and farmers who lived in forested areas. Witch-trial records from the early modern period that reflect upon beliefs and legends concerning the co-operation of witches with the Devil, nocturnal celebrations in the wilderness, and transformations into werewolves reveal the wider belief system of suspicion and fear which grew out of the synthesis of clerical demonology and folk beliefs. Warning legends about the intervention of the Devil as a consequence of drinking, card-playing or rampant dancing can be seen as an expression of the old ideals of Christian piety.

The expression "dead legend" used in the title of this round-table discussion is, of course, an oxymoron, a paradox. If a text lacks a reader to breathe life into it, how can we know anything about it: how can we even say that we are dealing with a legend? A text without a reader is like a space in complete darkness, a closed room. Many folklorists past and present have documented, analysed and interpreted folk narratives, and have agreed that they manifest certain distinctive features that reveal their belonging to the system of genres. The scope of scholarly literature on the genre taxonomy of folklore is too extensive and its contents are too convincing for us to simply overlook it as part of our teaching and research. Many questions about genres are still being discussed: what constitutes genres, how spoken word and textualisation participate in the making of genres and how genres co-operate in producing meanings, - but generally folklorists have agreed about the existence of genres and their significance both for tradition carriers and for research. Applied to a text, the term "legend" reveals its genre-specific features, such as the element of belief or the rhetoric of truth, as demonstrated by Elliott Oring (2013). Even if the details concerning the original performance situation have been lost and an archived text gives us little or no clues of the persuasive rhetoric that was once applied to it, textualised legends nonetheless remain legends. Identifying a text as a legend is thus not only an act of classification but an act of interpretation helping us to understand the verbal construction of out-of-the-ordinary or explicitly supernatural experience that forms the core of this genre. The mere act of identification brings it to life and places it in comparative context.

In addition to involving us looking deep into the text, identifying a text as a legend brings us to its inter-textual environment. It revives a web of associations with other similar stories in local and international circulation; and we can immediately see its connections with expressive tradition. Frequently, the social and historical contexts become visible, because their essential elements tend to be documented. Even if there is no indication of the time of recording we might be able to locate the story on a temporal scale, thanks to our knowledge of changing social and cultural realities, belief systems and tradition dominants. The national-romantic agenda of nineteenth-century collectors of rural folklore does not make their work less valuable than

that of contemporary folklorists who are studying inter-cultural and inter-ethnic communication in an urban setting. As we all know, ideologies will always be at work somewhere, and these will shape the textual production. Besides which, as other participants of this round table have noted, who, other than the folklorists, have the necessary knowledge and analytical tools to be able to study the archival sources created by our predecessors? Historians, sociologists, literary scholars and others are certainly welcome to make their contributions but if folklorists cease working in the archives, a great deal of potential knowledge about the past is going to remain dormant (if not disappear).

One of the benefits that modern folklorists have is connected with our recent disciplinary history, and has been prepared by the same developments that have carried us away from the comfortable archival environment to the synchronous study of contemporary folklore. Documenting performances, participating in festivals, observing the social life of folklore in mass media, in internet communication and everyday culture has provided us and our students with valuable new perspectives and given us contextual knowledge that some of the more philologically-oriented scholars of the past did not have. The building up of typologies, the compiling of indexes and the systematizing of the archives that they carried out have nonetheless been important tasks. The next step from classification to interpretation brings us to the analytic processing of relevant contexts of legends in society and in communication, in the ideological, religious and historical environment, in the practices of everyday life, as we consider descriptions of out-of-the-ordinary situations and their reflection in generic forms.

My simple answer to the question "Why should folklorists study 'dead' legends?" is that we should do it because we can, and not least because we have more competence than ever about how to study them, how to revive their meanings and bring their hidden knowledge back to life.

Response 6: "Big Folklore: The Archive in the Age of Big Data"

Timothy R. Tangherlini (University of California, Los Angeles)

The reports of the legend's death have been greatly exaggerated. Indeed, it is hard to imagine a time when folklore researchers have had greater access to a larger number of legends in various forms from a larger number of sources than at this current time of "Big Data". If the legend – and its closely allied form the rumour – was really dead, then most social media would be empty places indeed. As Lindow notes (this volume), the categorisation of legend according to time criteria (contemporary vs. old) or place (urban vs. rural) is not only without merit but also the source of a great deal of misapprehension concerning the usefulness of folklore archives. Similarly, rec-

ognising that all examples of legend (and legend performances) are necessarily stored in some type of archival resource forces us to confront the fact that any type of meaningful folklore study - and by that I mean the rigorous analysis of cultural expressive forms as they are or have been performed - is reliant on these archival resources. Consequently, the question should not be whether to abandon the archival resources created in the past (that applies to all collections irrespective of how recently they were created), but rather how we can work with archival resources that were not created with our specific research questions in mind.

Some questions related to the usefulness of existing archives grow out of a legitimate concern related to the nature of the material that is archived: if the methods of data collection were manipulated, either deliberately or inadvertently, can we trust these materials to present an accurate picture of the overall field of study? But this is the wrong question. Instead, we should ask, given the archival resources that we have, what can we learn? Only the most nihilistic and unimaginative researcher would answer "nothing". For those who are worried about collection bias and manipulation, one need not look far to realise that this is hardly a problem that only accrues to folklore. It is impossible to imagine any collection that is not fraught with bias. Rather than abandon the field altogether - a logical step if we truly want to reject the legitimacy of the fieldwork endeavour and its product the archive - it is far more rational, and certainly more productive, to ask how we might work with existing archives, accepting that there are irregularities, biases, and lacunae in these resources. Essentially what we have in the folklore archives, both public and private, is multilingual, heterogeneous, noisy data or, in other words, exactly the type of data that information specialists have been focusing on with increasing intensity in recent years. Consequently, I believe that the field of folklore will be best served if we look at the archive with all its shortcomings as a research challenge rather than an impediment to folklore study. Framing the question as an information challenge brings us to the realm of computation and big data. This, in turn, delineates a clear path forward for the exploration of these archives. Computational approaches to folklore data (read the archive) can allow us to address in a rigorous fashion complex questions related to the folkloric process.

What happens to folklore archives when we consider them as examples of big data, particularly if we are able to digitise our folklore collections? With Edward Snowden's leaks concerning government surveillance programs, the power of computational approaches to large imperfect datasets has garnered a great deal of attention. Apart from the interesting stories and rumours that have accompanied Snowden's leaks, folklorists can learn some lessons from the NSA's data collection and data mining projects. Big data analysis is predicated on statistical approaches to heterogeneous and often quite noisy collections, where the collection process itself has often ham-

pered data collection. The statistical approaches devised for these data sets are designed to reveal latent patterns that an individual cannot readily discern simply by looking through the data.

The discovery of patterns is not the only use of these computational methods. Once discovered, patterns can be interrogated on a more precise level, by "drilling down" to the underlying data. Returning to the NSA and projects such as Prism, what the intelligence community did with all the data that they harvested from various internet and telephony services, not to mention news feeds, blogs, tweets, email, and other forms of communication, was to develop a representation of complexity which they could explore at differing levels of resolution. In so doing, they essentially developed a "macroscope" tuned to a model of the global population's communications and online interactions. By way of analogy, the folklore archive allows folklorists to imagine a similar, albeit far more modest and far less nefarious, enterprise. With a digital archive, and various computational tools, we can model the folk expressive culture of a historically situated cultural group. Some of the same approaches derived for pattern discovery on the internet can be applied to the very large folklore archives that exist throughout the world.

Building on earlier work in "computational folkloristics" (Abello, Broadwell and Tangherlini 2012), I have proposed that we work toward building a "Folklore Macroscope" (Tangherlini 2013a). This system, predicated on the notion of complexity, facilitates both Moretti's (2000, 57) concept of "distant reading" and the more traditional forms of "close reading" that have characterised folkloristic enquiry for decades. The macroscope allows researchers to explore questions and test hypotheses from the macro scale down to the micro scale, and everything in between. In the words of Katy Börner, the macroscope:

> provide[s] a "vision of the whole", helping us "synthesise" the related elements and detect patterns, trends, and outliers while granting access to myriad details. Rather than make things larger or smaller, macroscopes let us observe what is at once too great, slow, or complex for the human eye and mind to notice and comprehend (Börner 2011, 60).

It is my contention that a folklore macroscope should be the goal of our efforts in digitising and analysing the archives, as it will offer researchers exactly the type of environment that can answer hypothesis-driven research as espoused by Oring (this volume).

The requirements for developing a folklore macroscope are not nearly as unattainable or expensive as some may believe. I use, as an example, the archives of Evald Tang Kristensen (1843-1929), a large collection created by a single individual, but one that is relatively small when compared to national archives. My work over the past decade to digitise many of the archival resources and connect them together into a dense, networked representation of the collection is one step in the direction of a folklore macroscope. Simi-

lar work by Terry Gunnell on Icelandic folklore (Gunnell 2010c) and Theo Meder on Dutch folklore (Medler 2010) are but two additional examples of this type of preliminary work. As with any folklore collection, we can think of Tang Kristensen's collection as consisting of meta-data (people, places, dates) and data (songs, riddles, proverbs, jokes, folktales, descriptions of everyday life, and legends). In the case of the Tang Kristensen collection, there are approximately three and a half thousand informants, ten thousand locations, and sixty-five thousand recordings of various genres. By wedding these components of the collection to each other, we can develop a rich, navigable representation of the archive - something that is impossible to do in analogue form.

Structuring data properly allows a researcher to work with the material at many different scales of resolution and reorder the material to facilitate research questions that were not considered at the time the collection was created. This type of flexibility is in fact a hallmark of the new computational approach to the archive. Rather than being limited by the classification systems and organisational or collection principles that informed the creation of a collection, a multimodal representation of the data allows for shifting perspectives on the archive. Consequently, the questions we can ask - and answer - are different from those of the past. For example, in some of our recent work on the Tang Kristensen collection, we have developed complex probabilistic story classifiers using network methods; this has allowed us to discover unexpected affinities between ghost stories and legends about *nisse* (Abello, Broadwell and Tangherlini 2012). In other work, we have used topic modelling to map topic hotspots in Denmark, revealing that stories about witchcraft still cluster around Breum kilde, the site of Denmark's last witch burning (Broadwell and Tangherlini 2012). Other work on mapping collecting routes has revealed Tang Kristensen's propensity to collect in northern and eastern Jutland despite his public declarations of the west Jutlandic origins of his collections (Tangherlini 2010b). The macroscopic approach allows us also to look at single recordings of legends, and explore the politics of censorship that lies between the act of collecting and the act of publishing (Tangherlini 2008). Importantly, the archival data can be correlated to historical and demographic trends including politics, economics, social developments, religious movements, and even things like disease and mortality. With these correlations, we can develop a better understanding of the role storytelling plays in people's everyday lives.

Ultimately, viewing the archive as folklore's answer to big data means that we need to compute the archive (rather than abandon it). Organised properly, archival data can reveal intriguing trends for further exploration and latent patterns that can tell us about the lives and hard times of the people whose stories and experiences are recorded there. We can drill-down to the level of the individual, and set these people and their stories in a thick

ethno-historical context, interrogating motivations for performance. This description is not science fiction – an operating version of a folklore macroscope can be found at http://www.purl.org/danishfolktales/, and a more elaborated version is included in my recent book (Tangherlini 2013b; and Tangherlini and Broadwell 2014). We continue to develop this work, and the research results from approaching the archive as an information problem in big data are encouraging (Broadwell and Tangherlini 2012; and Tangherlini 2010). What is perhaps most exciting about the "Big Folklore" approach to the archive is discovering just how much can be learned about people and their cultures through these algorithmically driven explorations.

Our group is not alone in these experiments and the drive toward exploring expressive forms in the context of big data. A recent call for papers for a special issue on Computational Folkloristics for the *Journal of American Folklore* drew more than twenty inquiries and resulted in numerous submissions from countries around the world. What these scholars have in common is an interest in developing new, computational methods for exploring large, archival resources. The age of "Big Folklore" is upon us. Rather than abandon the archive, I suggest we embrace it.

Response 7: "Folkloristics and the Folklore Archives"

Fredrik Skott (Institute for Language and Folklore, Department of Dialectology, Onomastics and Folklore Research in Gothenburg [DAG])

Have the folklore archives been abandoned? Aren't the huge folklore collections used anymore? In many ways, I agree with Terry Gunnell's initial comments in the "Introduction", although as a researcher employed at a folklore archive, I tend to look upon the issues in question from other perspectives. Building on a brief historical overview of the Swedish folklore archives and their relationship to the ethnological-folkloristic research conducted today at Swedish universities, I would like to initiate a discussion concerning the future role of these archives. My perspective is Swedish, although parallels to the Swedish situation can naturally be found in many other countries.

Most parts of the Swedish folklore collections are products of the twentieth century. Developing out of initially being something that had primarily interested an educated elite (in the late nineteenth century), a constantly increasing proportion of the Swedish population began to take interest in folklore after 1900. In the space of a single decade, several archives were founded with the direct purpose of safeguarding folklore, in Lund (1913), in Uppsala (1914) and in Göteborg (1919). Government funds were allocated to these archives, and during the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s, hundreds of thousands of records containing information about people's beliefs, rituals, narratives and music came to be incorporated into the folklore collections of

these archives. At the same time, the Nordiska museet in Stockholm was intensifying its own collecting activities.

In this period, the folklore archives were closely connected to the folklore research that was being conducted in the universities. The archives thus functioned not only as a continuously growing database, but also as "nurseries" for new generations of folklorists (Skott 2008, 14; and Lilja 1996). In the early 1900s, lectures in folklore research were also being given in the universities of the aforementioned cities. In Uppsala, however, it was also possible to study folk-life, a discipline that was similarly represented with a professorship in Stockholm (Bringéus 1988; 2006, 82-83; 2011; and Skott 2011). During the inter-war period, lively discussions took place about whether the two disciplines should be joined or not. Supporters of the former position got their way; at the end of the 1940s, folklore research was incorporated into the discipline of folk-life research. Remnants of the former division nonetheless remained visible in the descriptions given of the various professorships. In Uppsala, the label "especially in the field of folkloristics" ("*särskilt folkloristisk*") followed the title of the professorship in "Nordic and Comparative Folk-life Research" ("*nordisk och jämförande folklivsforskning*"); while in Lund, the corresponding professorship had the additional label "in the field of ethnology" ("*särskilt etnologisk*"). In 1972, the name of the discipline in both cases changed once again, now to "*Etnologi*,[12] especially European" ("*etnologi, särskilt europeisk*") (Bringéus 1988). Today, the discipline of "*Etnologi*" has generally become a smaller branch within larger departments in Swedish universities. So far, however, only the University of Göteborg has gone further. There it seems that *etnologi* is about to be merged into the field of Cultural Analysis ("*Kulturanalys*") along with the existing departments of "Cultural Studies" ("*Kulturstudier*") and "Children and Youth Culture" ("*Barn- och ungdomskultur*").

Nowadays, the folklore archives in Göteborg, Umeå and Uppsala all form part of the Institute for Language and Folklore (*Institutet för språk och folkminnen*), a government authority. Recently the archive in Lund was also separated from the discipline of *Etnologi*, although it still forms part of Lund University. Even if none of the Swedish archives are organisationally linked to the university discipline of *Etnologi* today, ties between the two remain strong. For example, most of the collecting activities carried out by the archive are conducted with contemporary or future *etnological* research projects in mind: to a great extent, questionnaires are still carried out on the direct initiatives of individual *ethnologists* who are working as researchers or teachers at the universities. Recruitment to the folklore archives mainly involves *etnologists*, and almost all of those currently employed as archivists have studied *Etnologi*. I am the only researcher at a Swedish folklore archive with a PhD-degree in another discipline.

It can thus be said that the Swedish folklore collections have been produced within a jointly *etnological*-folkloristic context. This applies to the start of the twentieth century as much as it does to the start of the twenty-first. On the whole, the nature of the archives have also changed along with the nature of the discipline, although in practice the archives are lagging behind the discipline. In the 1940s, the folklore archives in Lund changed its name to The Folk-Life Archives (*Folklivsarkivet*). Even though the archives in Göteborg, Umeå and Uppsala have kept the word "folklore" (*folkminnen*) in their names, they now largely serve as *etnological* documentation centres.

When it comes to the older folklore collections created on the initiative of folklore scholars during the inter-war period, the situation is different. Modern Swedish *etnologists*, especially those of the younger generation, seem, with very few exceptions, to be fairly uninterested in this material, and in particular in records of legends, folk tales and other forms of verbal folklore. Although texts are occasionally used as "illustrations", few scholars approach these collections seriously. I would argue that the number of larger *etnological* studies from the last decade based on the older folklore collections could be counted on one hand. Significantly, studies of the collecting activities of the archives are now more common than studies based on the folklore records themselves.

As I see it, there are several parallel explanations for this development. As Terry Gunnell points out in the "Introduction", attitudes to this older material and the processes behind its collection offer a partial explanation (see also Skott 2008). However, more important are the changes in the discipline as a whole and the sharp break made by its representatives with the history and the traditions of the discipline. As Barbro Klein notes in her response (see above), during the late twentieth century, *Etnologi* in Sweden changed rapidly from being a historically-oriented discipline to becoming a cultural science with a focus on modern society. Nowadays, historical perspectives are comparatively absent in many *etnological* projects, and the same applies largely to the older research traditions of the discipline. Several older ethnologists have been questioning the sharp break that has occurred within the discipline, some suggesting that the gap between the "old" and the "new" has become an abyss (see Skott 2008,14-26). Professor *emeritus* Nils-Arvid Bringéus commented: "Tänk om arkeologerna slutade gräva och historikerna vände sig bort från de skriftliga källorna. Det är ju egentligen något motsvarande som skett bland de yngre etnologerna" ("What if archaeologists stopped digging and historians turned away from written sources? Something similar has happened among the young *etnologists*": Bringéus 1993, 216).

At the same time, it should be borne in mind that, at least in my opinion, the archives have not done enough to adapt their collections and search indexes to meet the changes and new perspectives that have occurred within

the discipline of *Etnologi*. Tellingly, the means of searching the older folklore collections today have changed little since the 1930s; the archive-indexes were designed to facilitate the folklore research of the interwar period, not the *Etnologi* of today. Furthermore, the digitisation of the collections has only recently begun. If one needs to study every folklore record concerning a particular subject, one has to visit the archives in Göteborg, Lund, Umeå and Uppsala, and preferably also the Nordiska museet in Stockholm. Another way to make the collections more attractive for modern *etnologists* would be to connect different kinds of archival material, and contextualise the folklore records in the way suggested by Beyer (2011) and Tangherlini (see Tangherlini's response in this volume). For example, letters and field diaries which are often fairly hard to find today, commonly contain valuable additional information about the folklore collectors and their meetings with informants. Ideally, parts of the folklore collections should also be typed and most preferably translated. Many of today's young students have difficulties reading the handwritten records, and as the material contained in this round-table discussion demonstrates there is great international interest in parts of the older folklore collections. However, as with other cultural organisations in the present economic climate, the financial situation of the archives is very strained. Just recently, in the spring of 2013, a proposal was made to close down the Department of Dialectology, Onomastics and Folklore Research (*Dialekt-, ortnamns- och folkminnesarkivet*) in Umeå and relocate its activities.

Nonetheless, the fact that few modern Swedish *etnologists* pay attention to our older folklore collections does not mean that the collections are lying dusty and unused. Fortunately, the void is being filled by representatives of other disciplines as well as the interested public. As noted above, organisational links between the archives and the discipline of *Etnologi* no longer exist. Most Swedish folklore archives now form part of the government-run Institute for Language and Folklore (*Institutet för språk och folkminnen*). This authority is expected to cooperate with, and address itself to both the universities and the interested public. Nowhere in the instructions of the Institute for Language and Folklore is there any statement suggesting that they should turn their attention to or cooperate with *etnologists* in particular. The folklore collections are now more commonly used by representatives of local history societies, school children and general enthusiasts. Along with the few university *etnologists* that appear, the collections are also being used by students and researchers from within the fields of Conservation, Comparative Literature and Religious Studies. More recently, students from various kinds of Cultural Heritage programmes have also discovered the folklore collections. Historians, too, are becoming increasingly common visitors to the archives.

Previously regarded almost as pariahs, both uninteresting and unscientific, the older folklore collections are slowly but surely being reassessed to gain a place within the discipline of History. The growing interest in the material may have arisen out of the discussions involving historical anthropology which took place in Sweden in the 1980s and 1990s. Nonetheless, it has only been since around 2000 that historians have seriously begun approaching the collections. In Göteborg alone, a number of papers based on folklore records are now being written annually by students of History. In recent years, a number of theses partly based on this material have also been published in Sweden: for example, Kristina Tegler Jerselius' *Den stora häxdansen: Vidskepelse, väckelse och vetande i Gagnef, 1858* ("The Great Witch Dance: Superstition, Revival and Knowledge in Gagnef, 1858": Tegler 2003), Monica Weikert's *I sjukdom och nöd: Offerkyrkoseden i Sverige från 1600-tal till 1800-tal* ("In Sickness and Need: Early Modern Votive Church Offerings in Sweden": Weikert 2004); and Mikael Häll's *Skogsrået, näcken och djävulen: Erotiska naturväsen och demonisk sexualitet i 1600- och 1700-talens Sverige* ("The Forest Nymph, the Neck and the Devil: Erotic Nature Spirits and Demonic Sexuality in 17th and 18th Century Sweden: Häll 2012). These theses all deal with issues that in earlier years would primarily have interested folklorists. My own thesis was also written in History. In *Folkets minnen: Traditionsinsamling i idé och praktik 1919-1964* ("Popular Memory: Folklore Collection in Theory and Practice, 1919-1964": Skott 2008), I tried to add nuances to the widespread notions that lie behind the folklore archives of the early 1900s being bourgeois political projects.

From the viewpoint of the archives themselves, the fact that representatives of other disciplines have discovered the folklore collections is an opportunity rather than a threat. It is suggested in the "Introduction" to this roundtable that historians might not have the knowledge and tools to understand the folklore records properly. It is also questioned whether they can "read" material of this kind which, for the main part, doesn't involve facts? Undoubtedly there is some truth in the fact that the majority of historians have very little experience of dealing with orality and oral sources. Furthermore, few of them have ever conducted their own interviews, something that gives a clear advantage in understanding the older records. In short, understanding the older folklore collections is easier if you not only have extensive experience of fieldwork but have also reflected on the effect you yourself have on this experience.

One might nonetheless raise a similar question in this regard concerning today's *etnologists*: have those young *etnologists* coming out of universities today enough knowledge to understand the older folklore collections? Is not an intimate knowledge of the society and the historical period in which the folklore was "alive" necessary for understanding the older records? How

many of them now have any experience of working with archive material? It should be emphasised that I am not questioning the ability of the young *etnologists* of today to use the folklore collections but rather underlining that representatives of different disciplines have different problems to overcome when approaching the archival material.

Now and then I receive questions about the status of folkloristics in Sweden from representatives of other disciplines and from researchers in other countries. It is sometimes even claimed that folklore research no longer takes place in Sweden. I usually answer that it depends on how you define folkloristics and where you look for it. Folklore research is still being conducted within the field of *Etnologi*. My opinion is also that interest in "folkloristic" perspectives has increased in recent years, especially with regard to narratives and performances. Nonetheless, the field of Folkloristics in Sweden seems to have followed the development of its companion field, *Etnologi*. Research projects within this field deal with our contemporary society, are largely based on the scholars' own interviews, and deal with other topics than before. As Inger Lövkrona notes in a recent issue of *Rig: Kulturhistorisk tidskrift*: "Folklorister studerar idag etnicitet, kön, klass, kropp, hälsa, familj, arbetsliv och institutioner, dvs. samma teman som etnologer och kunskapsmålet är i bred mening detsamma - att bidra till och att förklara och förstå samhället" ("Folklorists are now studying ethnicity, gender, class, body, health, work and institutions, which are the same themes as *etnologists* and the learning goals are broadly the same - the aim being to explain, understand and contribute to the community": Lövkrona 2013,125: my translation).

However, as noted above, if you are looking for a different type of folkloristics, for example those topics, problems and time periods that interested older scholars such as Hilding Celander, Gunnar Granberg, Martin P:n Nilsson, Dag Strömbäck, Bengt R. Jonsson or even Carl Wilhelm von Sydow, you also need to look outside the discipline of *Etnologi*, in other words, among those representing other disciplines. As noted above, studies that might in an earlier time have been produced within the fields of folklore or folk-life research are today also found in other disciplines such as History, Comparative Literature, Nordic Languages or Religious Studies. This, however, is no innovation: Folklore research in Sweden has always had a multidisciplinary character. It might be borne in mind that several of the scholars noted above had an active background in other disciplines (see Hellspong and Skott 2010; and Rogan and Eriksen 2013).

With regard to the future, I believe that it is very important that the former cooperation between the folklore archives and the discipline of *Etnologi* should not only be continued but deepened. Ideally, the links between the collecting activities of the archives and ongoing research at universities should be increased. It should also be the rule rather than the exception that

both folkloristic and *etnologically*-related interviews made by students and researchers at universities be incorporated into the archive collections. As I see it, both the archives and the discipline of *Etnologi* have a great deal to gain from reawakening the interest of young students in the older folklore collections. For both sides, it would be deeply unfortunate if future generations of *etnologists* lacked both knowledge and experience of dealing with the original material.

In spite of this, it seems that we are unlikely to witness a new widespread interest in the Swedish folklore of earlier times within the discipline of *Etnologi*, at least over the next few decades. For the archives, I thus believe it is very important to not only strengthen our own research, but also increase cooperation with scholars and research milieus within other disciplines which ask other questions and examine the folklore collections from other perspectives than those employed by the Swedish *etnologists* of today. As I see it as an archivist, what is most important is not *who* uses the folklore collections, but rather that they are being used at all as a means of increasing our knowledge of various aspects concerning both our present and our past.

References

Abello, James, Broadwell, Peter and Tangherlini, Timothy R., "Computational Folkloristics", *Communications of the Association for Computing Machinery*, 55(7) (2012), 60-70.

Abrahams, Roger D., "The Complex Relations of Simple Forms". In Dan Ben-Amos, ed., *Folklore Genres*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 976, 193-214.

Asbjørnsen, Peter Chr., *Norske Huldreeventyr og Folkesagn.* 2 vols. Christiania: Steensballes Forlag, 1848-1859.

Asbjørnsen, Peter Chr., and Moe, Jørgen, *Norskeeventyr samlet av Asbjørnsen og Moe*. 2 vols. Larvik: LibriArte, 1995.

Bauman, Richard, "Verbal Art as Performance", *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 77 (No. 2) (June 1975), 290-311.

Bauman, Richard, and Sherzer, Joel, eds*, Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking.* London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1974.

Ben-Amos, Dan, "Toward a Definition of Folklore in Context", *The Journal of American Folklore*, 84 (No. 331): Toward New Perspectives in Folklore (Jan.-Mar. 1971), 3-15.

Bialik, Haim Nahman, and Ravnitzky, Yehosha Hanna*, Book of Legends (Sefer Ha-Aggadah): Legends from the Talmud and Midrash*. Trans William G. Braude. New-York: Schocken Books, Inc, 1992.

Beyer, Jürgen, "Are Folklorists Studying the Tales of the Folk", *Folklore*, 122 (April 2011), 35-54.

Boyarin, Daniel, *Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997.

Bringéus, Nils-Arvid, *Carl Wilhelm von Sydow: A Swedish Pioneer in Folklore*. Trans. John Irons. FF Communications, 298. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedakatemia, 2009.

Bringéus, Nils-Arvid, *Carl Wilhelm von Sydow som folklor*ist. Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adophi, 94. Uppsala: Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur, 2006.

Bringéus, Nils-Arvid, "Etnologiämnets tillkomst och examensrätt. *Rig: Kulturhistorisk tidskrift* (2009: 2), 79-88.

Bringéus, Nils-Arvid, "Lärostolen och ämnesbeteckningen". In Nils-Arvid Bringéus, ed. *Folklivsarkivet i Lund 1913-1988*. Skrifter från Folklivsarkivet i Lund, 26. Lund: Lunds universitet, 1988, 123-143.

Broadwell, Peter, and Tangherlini, Timothy, "TrollFinder: Geo-Semantic Exploration of a Very Large Corpus of Danish Folklore". In Finlayson, Mark, ed., *Computational Models of Narrative*: *Proceedings of LREC* (2012), 50-57.

Bruford, Alan, "Legends Long Since Localised or Tales Still Travelling", *Scottish Studies. The Journal of the School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh,* 24 (1980), 43-59.

Brunvand, Jan Harold, *The Baby Train and Other Lusty Urban Legends*. New York: Norton, 1993.

Brunvand, Jan Harold, *The Choking Doberman and Other "New" Urban Legends*. New York: Norton, 1984.

Brunvand, Jan Harold, *Curses, Broiled Again! The Hottest Urban Legends Going*. New York: Norton, 1989.

Brunvand, Jan Harold, *The Mexican Pet: More "New" Urban Legends and some Old Favorites*. New York: Norton, 1986.

Brunvand, Jan Harold, *The Vanishing Hitchhiker: American Urban Legends and their Meaning*. New York: Norton, 1981.

Börner, Katy, "Plug-and-Play Macroscopes", *Communications of the ACM*, 54(3) (2011), 60-69.

Crofton Croker, Thomas, *Legends and Stories of Ireland*. Dublin: W. F. Wakeman, 1831.

Davies, Christie, *Ethnic Humor Around the World: A Comparative Analysis*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990.

Dégh, Linda, "The Approach to Worldview in Folk Narrative Study", *Western Folklore*, 53 (No. 3) (July 1994), 243-252.

Eli, Yassif, *The Hebrew Folktale: History, Genre, Meaning*. Trans. Jacqueline S. Teitelbaum. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.

Frykman, Jonas, "Ideologikritik av arkivsystemen", *Norveg: Tidsskrift forFolkelivsgransking: Journal of Norwegian Ethnology*, 22, 1979, 231-241.

Frykman, Jonas, and Löfgren, Orvar, *Culture Builders:A Historical Anthropology of Middle Class Life*. Trans. Alan Crozier. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1986.

Gabbert, Lisa, "The Text/Context" Controversy and the Emergence of Behavioral Approaches in Folklore", *Folklore Forum*, 30: 1/2 (1999), 119-128.

Georges, Robert A.,"Toward an Understanding of Storytelling Events Author(s)", *The Journal of American Folklore,* 82 (No. 326) (Oct. - Dec. 1969), 313-328.

Gluzman, Michael, *The Politics of Canonicity: Lines of Resistance in Modernist Hebrew Poetry*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003.

Gunnell, Terry, "Clerics as Collectors of Folklore in Nineteenth-Century Iceland", *Arv: Nordic Yearbook of Folklore*, 68 (2012), 45-66.

Gunnell, Terry, "From Daisies to Oak Trees: The Politics of Early Folktale Collection in Northern Europe", *Folklore*, 121.1 (2010a), 12-37.

Gunnell, Terry, "Introduction: Performance Stages of the Nordic World", *Ethnologia Europaea*, 40.2, (2010b), 5-13.

Gunnell, Terry (ed.), *Masks and Mumming in the Nordic Area*. Acta Academiae Re-

giae Gustavi Adophi, 98. Uppsala: Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur, 2007.

Gunnell, Terry, "Narratives, Space And Drama: Essential Spatial Aspects Involved in the Performance And Reception Of Oral Narrative", *Folklore, An Electronic Journal*, 33 (2006), 7-26. (See also: http://www.folklore.ee/Folklore/vol33/terry.pdf)

Gunnell, Terry, "National Folklore, National Drama and the Creation of Visual National Identity: The Case of Jón Árnason, Sigurður Guðmundsson and Indriði Einarsson in Iceland". In Timothy Baycroft and David Hopkin, eds., *Folklore and Nationalism in Europe During the Long Nineteenth Century*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2012, 301-323.

Gunnell, Terry, *The Origins of Drama in Scandinavia*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1995.

Gunnell, Terry, "Sagnagrunnur: A New Database of Icelandic Legends in Print", *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore*, 45 (2010c), 151-162.

Gunnell, Terry, "Vǫluspá in Performance". In Terry Gunnell and Annette Lassen, eds., *The Nordic Apocalypse Approaches to 'Vǫluspá' and Nordic Days of Judgement*. Brepols: Turnhout, 2013, 63-77.

Gunnell, Terry, and Rönström, Owe: "Folklore och Performance Studies - En introduction". In Owe Rönström, Georg Drakos and Jonas Engman, eds., *Folkloristikens aktuella utmaningar: Vänbok til Ulf Palmenfelt*. Visby: Högskolan på Gotland, 2013, 21-55.

Hasan-Rokem, Galit, *Web of Life: Folklore and Midrash in Rabbinic Literature*. Trans. Batya Stein. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000.

Hasan-Rokem, Galit, *Tales of the Neighborhood: Jewish Narrative Dialogues in Late-Antiquity*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003.

Hellspong, Mats and Skott, Fredrik, eds. *Svenska etnologer och folklorister*. Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi, 109. Uppsala: Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur, 2010.

Holbek, Bengt, *Interpretation of Fairy Tales: Danish Folklore in European Context*. FF Communications, 239. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987.

Honko, Lauri, "Methods in Folk Narrative Research". In Reimund Kvideland and Henning K. Sehmsdorf, eds., *Nordic Folklore: Recent Studies*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989, 3-11.

Honko, Lauri, "Thick Corpus and Organic Variation: An Introduction". In Lauri Honko, ed., *Thick Corpus, Organic Variation and Textuality in Oral Tradition*, Studia Fennica, Folkloristica 7. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2000, 3-28.

Hopkin, David, *Voices of the People in Nineteenth-Century France*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Häll, Mikael, *Skogsrået, näcken och djävulen. Erotiska naturväsen och demonisk sexualitet i 1600- och 1700-talens Sverige.* Stockholm: Malört förlag, 2013.

Jackson, Jason Baird, "The Story of Colonialism, or Rethinking the Ox-Hide Purchase in Native North America and Beyond", *Journal of American Folklore*, 126 (No. 499) (2013), 31-54.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Folklore, Ethnography, and Anthropology". In *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe* (online: http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org). Copyright: YIVO, Institute for Jewish Research, 2010.

Klein, Barbro, "Folklore Archives, Heritage Politics and Ethical Dilemmas: Notes on Writing and Printing". In Bente Gullveig Alver, Tove Ingebørg Fjell and Ørjar Øyen, *Research Ethics in Studies of Culture and Social Life*. FF Communications, 292. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 2007, 114-136.

af Klintberg, Bengt, "Do the Legends of Today and Yesterday belong to the Same

Genre?". In Lutz Röhrich and Sabine Wienker-Piepho, eds., *Storytelling in Contemporary Societies*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1990, 113-123.
af Klintberg, Bengt, "Varför samlar man folklore", *Norveg: Tidsskrift for Folkelivsgransking: Journal of Norwegian Ethnology*, 22 (1979), 223-229 (especially 226-229).
Kolovos, Andy, "Contextualising the Archives", *Folklore Forum*, 35: 1/2 (2004), 18-28.
Lilja, Agneta, *Föreställningen om den ideala uppteckningen. En studie av idé och praktik vid tradtionssamlande arkiv: Ett exempel från Uppsala 1914-1945.* Skrifter utgivna genom Dialekt- och folkminnesarkivet i Uppsala, B:22. Uppsala: Dialekt- och folkminnesarkivet i Uppsala, 1996.
Lindow, John, "Changelings, Changing, Re-Exchanges: Thoughts on the Relationship between Folk Belief and Legend". In Terry Gunnell, ed. *Legends and Landscape: Articles based on Plenary Lectures Presented at the 5th Celtic-Nordic-Baltic Folklore Symposium, Reykjavík, 2005*. Reykjavík: University of Iceland Press: Reykjavík, 2008, 215-234.
Lindow, John, "Notes on Bengt Holbek's Interpretation of Kong Lindorm". In Michael Chesnutt, ed., *Telling Reality: Folklore Studies in Memory of Bengt Holbek*. Copenhagen Folklore Studies, 1; NIF Publications, 26. Turku: Nordic Institute of Folklore, 1993, 59-71.
Lövkrona, Inger, "Rec. av *Folkloristikens aktuella utmaningar*", *Rig: Kulturhistorisk tidskrift* (2013:2), 119-125.
Meder, Theo, "From a Dutch Folktale Database towards an International Folktale Database", *Fabula*, 51(1-2) (2010), 6-22.
Moretti, Franco, "Conjectures on World Literature", *New Left Review*, 1 (2000), 54-66.
Naithani, Sadhana, *The Story-Time of the British Empire: Colonial and Postcolonial Folkloristics*. Jackson: Mississippi University Press, 2010.
Nilsson, Bo G., *Folkhemmets arbetarminnen: En undersökning av de historiska och diskursiva villkoren för svenska arbetares levnadsskildringar*. Nordiska museets handlingar, 121. Stockholm: Nordiska museet, 1996.
Noy, Dov, "The Talmudic-Midrashic 'Healing Stories' as a Narrative Genre", *Koroth,* 9 (1988), 124-146.
Oring, Elliott, "Contested Performance and Joke Aesthetics". In Ray Cashman, Tom Mould, and Pravina Shukla, eds, *The Individual and Tradition: Folkloristic Perspectives.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011b, 365-385.
Oring, Elliott, *Just Folklore: Analysis, Interpretation, Critique*. Los Angeles: Cantilever Press, 2012.
Oring, Elliott, *The Jokes of Sigmund Freud: A Study in Humor and Jewish Identity.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984.
Oring, Elliott, *Engaging Humor.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003.
Oring, Elliott, "Legendry and the Rhetoric of Truth." In Elliott Oring, *Just Folklore: Analysis, Interpretation, Critique*. Los Angeles: Cantilever Press, 2012b, 104-152.
Oring, Elliott, "Parsing the Joke: The General Theory of Verbal Humor and Appropriate Incongruity", *Humor: International Journal of Humor Research*, 24, 2011a, 203-222.
Oring, Elliott, "Risky Business: Political Jokes under Repressive Regimes", *Western Folklore,* 63, 2004, 209-236.
Oring, Elliott, "What is a Narrative Joke?" Unpublished paper presented at the 16th Congress of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research, Vilnius, Lithuania, 15th July 2013.

Paredes, Américo and Bauman, Richard, eds., *Toward New Perspectives in Folklore*. Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1972.

Puett, Michael, *To Become a God: Cosmology, Sacrifice, and Self-Divination in Early China*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Raheja, Gloria Goodwin, "The Illusion of Consent: Language, Caste, and Colonial Rule in India". In Peter Pels and Oscar Salemink, eds., *Colonial Subjects: Essays on the Practical History of Anthropology*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2000, 117-152.

Rink, Hinrich, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo: With a Sketch of their Habits, Religion, Language and Other Peculiarities*. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood and Sons, 1875.

Rogan, Bjarne and Eriksen, Anne, eds.: *Etnologi og folkloristikk: En fagkritisk biografi om norsk kulturhistorie*. Oslo: Novus forlag, 2013.

Schechner, Richard, *Performance Studies: An Introduction*, 3rd edition. London and New York: Routledge, 2013.

Sebba-Elran, Tsafi, *From "Sefer Ha-Aggada" to "The Jewish Bookshelf": The Aggadic Anthologies and their Place in the Configuration of Judaism in Modern Hebrew Culture*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Tel-Aviv University, 2009.

Sims, Martha C. and Stephens, Martine, *Living Folklore: An Introduction to the Study of People and Their Traditions*. Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 2005.

Skott, Fredrik, *Folkets minnen: Traditionsinsamling i idé och praktik 1919-1964*. Avhandlingar från Historiska institutionen i Göteborg, 53. Göteborg: Institutet för språk och folkminnen samt Göteborgs universitet, 2008.

Skott, Fredrik, "Folkminnesforskning: Göteborgs högskola", *Ljusgården* (2011), 41-43.

Stein, Dina, *Maxims Magic Myth: A Folkloristic Perspective of Pirkei deRabbi Eliezer*. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2005.

Sørensen, Villy, *Digtere og dæmoner: Fortolkninger og vurderinger*. København: Gyldendal, 1959.

Tangherlini, Timothy R., "The Beggar, the Minister, the Farmer, his Wife and the Teacher: Legend and Legislative Reform in Nineteenth-Century Denmark". In Terry Gunnell, ed., *Legends and Landscape: Articles based on Plenary Lectures Presented at the 5th Celtic-Nordic-Baltic Folklore Symposium, Reykjavík, 2005*. Reykjavík: University of Iceland Press, 2008, 171-195.

Tangherlini, Timothy R., *Danish Folktales, Legends and Other Stories*. New Directions in Scandinavian Studies. Seattle: University of Washington Press; Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum (2013b). In press.

Tangherlini, Timothy R., "The Folklore Macroscope: Challenges for a Computational Folkloristics", *Western Folklore*, forthcoming(2013a).

Tangherlini, Timothy R., "Legendary Performances: Folklore, Repertoire and Mapping", *Ethnographia Europaea*, 40 (2010b), 103-115.

Tangherlini, Timothy R., "Will Work for Food: Legend and Poverty Legislation in Nineteenth Century Denmark", *Western Folklore*, 69 (2010a), 65-83.

Tangherlini, Timothy R. and Broadwell, Peter 2014. "Sites of (re)Collection: Creating the Danish Folklore Nexus", *Journal of Folklore Research*, forthcoming (2014).

Taylor, Archer, "Northern Parallels to the Death of Pan", *Washington University Studies,* X, Humanistic Series, (No. 1) (October, 1922), 3-102.

Tegler Jerselius, Kristina, *Den stora häxdansen: Vidskepelse, väckelse och vetande i Gagnef 1858*.Studia Historica Upsaliensa, 209. Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2003.

Thalitzer, William, and Holm, Gustav, *Legends and Tales from Angmagsalik*. Trans. Johan Pedersen. Containing the Ethnological and Anthropological Results of G. Holm's Expedition in 1883-85 and G. Amdrup's Expedition in 1898-1900, 5; Meddelelser om Grønland, 39.5; Ammassilik Eskimo: Contributions to the Ethnology of the East Greenland Natives, ed. W. Thalbitzer, 1. København: Reitzel, 1912.

Turi, Johan, *An Account of the Sámi: A Translation of Muitalus sámiid birra*. Ed. Mikael Svonni. Transl. Thomas A. DuBois. Chicago: Nordic Studies Press, 2011. (First published as *Muittalus samid birra: En bog om lappernes liv. Af den svenske lap Johan Turi. Udgivet med dansk oversaettelse af Emilie Demant*. Stockholm: Nordiska bokhandeln, 1910.)

Turi, Johan and Per Turi, *Lappish Texts*. Ed. Emelie Demant-Hatt. Det kgl. Danske videnskabs selskabs strifter, 7. Række, historisk og filosofisk afd, 4.2. København: Høst, 1918-1919.

Valk, Ülo, " 'Sad and Evil News….' On Legendry in Folklore and Early Estonian Newspapers". In Cornelius Hasselblatt and Adriaan van der Hoeven, eds., *Finno-Ugric Folklore, Myth and Cultural Identity. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium on Finno-Ugric Languages in Groningen, University of Groningen, June 7-9, 2011.* Studia Fenno-Ugrica Groningana 7. Maastricht: Shaker Publishing BV, 2012a, 241-250.

Valk, Ülo, "Thunder and Lightning in Estonian Folklore in the Light of Vernacular Theories". In Frog, Anna-Leena Siikala and Eila Stepanova, eds., *Mythic Discourses: Studies in Uralic Traditions*. Studia Fennica Folkloristica 20. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2012b, 40-67.

Weikert, Monica, *I sjukdom och nöd: Offerkyrkoseden i Sverige från 1600-tal till 1800-tal.* Avhandlingar från Historiska institutionen i Göteborg, 38. Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, 2004.

Weiss, Haim, "*All Dreams Follow the Mouth*"*? A Literary and Cultural Reading in the Talmudic 'Dream Tractate'*, Beer-Sheva: *Heksherim* Research Centre, 2011 (Hebrew).

Wilgus, D. K. "The Text is the Thing", *The Journal of American Folklore*, 86 (No. 341) (July-Sept. 1973), 241-252.

Zumwalt, Rosemary Lévy, *American Folklore Scholarship: A Dialogue of Dissent*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988.

---

[1] The use of the word "dead" here stems in part from the title of an introductory handbook commonly used in university courses on Folkloristics, *Living Folklore* (Sims and Stephens, 2005). The title naturally underlines that some aspects of Folkloristics are more alive (and worthy of discussion) than others. A similar idea appears in Lauri Honko's earlier suggestion that "folklore archives are nothing but collections of dead artifacts" (Honko 1989, 33) (see further the article by Pertti Anttonen in this volume). I would like to thank Júlíana Magnúsdóttir and Eva Þórdís Ebenezersdóttir for their help in researching the following introductory paper: Terry Gunnell.

[2] Those physically at the discussion were Terry Gunnell, Elliott Oring, Barbro Klein, John Lindow, and Haim Weiss. Ülo Valk's paper was read aloud (since he had to be at another simultaneous session). Timothy Tangherlini's presentation was given by way of Youtube. Fredrik Skott had been invited, but was unfortunately unable to come. However, he kindly agreed to send a response for this publication.

[3] In recent years, I have heard one eminent Icelandic anthopologist state at a department meeting that he could see little difference between the fields of anthropology and folkloristics. To his mind, we were doing the same thing.

[4] I should stress that I also use the word "folklorists" for ethnologists, since I see little real difference in the form of the oral or demonstrated "lore" that is passed on by a story-teller, a *gymnasium* student, a cook or a boat-builder.

[5] As Andy Kolovos notes, "The increased interest in social, cultural and oral approaches to history by historians, especially the adoption of the oral interview as a viable historical methodology, changed perceptions of what kinds of materials had historical value" (Kolovos 2004, 24).

[6] See further Tangherlini's and Lindow's "Responses" above.

[7] In actual fact, legends were not really on the agenda at this time; they became important with the arrival of Linda Dégh a few years later.

[8] The threats against the Swedish ethnological and folkloristic archives are nonetheless more acute at this point in history than they were in the 1970s (see further the article by Skott in this volume).

[9] For an English translation of the book, see Bialik and Ravnitzky 1992.

[10] Bialik and Ravnitzki referred only to canonical material, mostly the Babylonian Talmud, the Palestinian Talmud and *Midrashic* literature.

[11] See, for instance, Noy 1988; Hasan-Rokem 2000 and 2003; Yassif 1999; Stein 2005; and Weiss, 2011.

[12] As noted by Terry Gunnell in the "Introduction", *etnologi* in the Nordic countries is more closely connected to folk-life than "ethnology" in English, which is a wider concept (see, for example, the "Scottish ethnology" taught in the School of Celtic and Scottish Studies in Edinburgh, or the "ethnology" taught in American Universities).

Book Reviews

The Introduction of Christmas Cribs in Sweden

Hans Ahlfors: Julkrubban i Svenska kyrkan. Julkrubbans reception i Stockholms, Göteborgs och Lunds stifts gudstjänstrum fram till 1900-talets slut. Lunds universitet, Centrum för teologi och religionsvetenskap, Lund 2012. 435 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss.

Hans Ahlfors has submitted this doctoral dissertation in ecclesiastical history at Lund University, studying the introduction of the Christmas crib in church interiors of the state Church of Sweden during the twentieth century. He has selected the three dioceses of Stockholm, Gothenburg, and Lund, which include the cities of Stockholm, Gothenburg, and Malmö. The introductory chapter deals with the aim, the state of research, material, method, theory, and terminology. The first main chapter describes the earliest evidence of Christmas cribs in the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. These cribs did not occur in churches but in bourgeois homes, vicarages, and church institutions in Stockholm, such as the diaconal institutions of Ersta and Stora Sköndal. This chapter can be described as a background, while the following three chapters are the core of the dissertation. There the author examines the introduction or, as he calls it, the reception of the Christmas crib in churches. He takes one diocese at a time, beginning with the diocese of Stockholm 1923–2000. The parishes are presented in the chronological order in which they accepted the Christmas crib. At the end of each of these chapters there are distribution maps, one for each decade. After Stockholm comes Gothenburg and then Lund. These three chapters fill some 300 of the dissertation's 435 pages and they are primarily descriptive in character. A subsequent brief five-page chapter (pp. 369–373) presents three diagrams showing the innovation process in the three dioceses with accompanying commentary. A summarizing analysis and a comparison between the three dioceses make up the final chapter (pp. 375–384). Thirty-one colour pictures are placed together at the end of the book. The dissertation is number 53 in the series Bibliotheca Historico-Eccelesistica Lundensis. This reviewer was the opponent at the public defence of the dissertation in Lund on 19 December 2012.

The dissertation is an innovation study. Similar studies have a long history in research on church customs, although it is a long time since any such study was performed. Those studies focused on the 1960s and 1970s, with the ethnologist Nils-Arvid Bringéus as the leading exponent. Then there was a long break in the 1970s when Swedish ethnologists were highly sceptical about performing distribution studies with the aid of difussionist ideas and cartography.

Recently, however, a new research trend has arisen, "ethnographic return". This means taking up earlier research fields which have lain fallow for a time. This trend can be studied, for instance, in *Etnografiska hållplatser*, which was published in 2011 with the ethnologist Kerstin Gunnemark in Gothenburg as

editor. The question concerns whether it is relevant to return to old research fields and consider them from new methodological and theoretical perspectives. New material may also have arisen. A comparative perspective over time becomes essential.

When the critique of diffusionism was at its harshest, cartography was also scorned in culture studies. Here too there has been a reassessment, not least in ethnology's neighbouring disciplines. I would especially single out the professor of Scandinavian Languages in Umeå, Lars-Erik Edlund. He took the initiative for a symposium arranged by the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy in Uppsala in 2006 on the topic of "Maps in the Service of Research". The book from the symposium, *Kartan i forskningens tjänst*, appeared in 2008. Outside Sweden too, cartography has recently seen a revival. The Société Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore (SIEF) has a special commission for the study of cartography, the International Ethnocartography Network. In 2011 the book *Ethnographic Atlases: Regions, Borders, Interferences* was published in Budapest. I would categorize Ahlfors's dissertation as an example of ethnographic return.

The author states as his goal to "*describe* [my italics] the course of events by which the custom of the Christmas crib was implemented in the three 'big-city dioceses' of the Church of Sweden" (p. 14). Here I would also have liked to see the verb *analyse*, which is crucial in a scholarly dissertation. The *how* of description should be accompanied by the *why* of explanation. Some analytical reasoning is interspersed in the descriptive presentation of the material. A subsidiary aim of the dissertation is that it should serve as a reference work (p. 13), which I find contrary to the intention of a doctoral dissertation, where analytical reasoning about presented facts must be central.

The author has chosen to study the introduction of the Christmas crib in church interiors, which is a late phenomenon. The Christmas crib had a long history before that, having occurred in urban bourgeois homes and in vicarages, as well as in church institutions in Stockholm. In other words, the development has gone from the private sphere to the public sphere that the church interior constitutes. The Christmas crib could have been discussed in terms of the *private–public* dichotomy. It took time to introduce the Christmas crib in churches. It would be of great interest to analyse the factors behind this lag. Did fear of Catholicism play any part here? Did Lutheranism attach such importance to the preaching of the word in the church that visual presentations were not considered necessary?

The author calls the earliest Christmas cribs in bourgeois homes and vicarages a "tradition within the tradition". I find it more relevant to describe these as forerunners of the churches' Christmas cribs. Another term we encounter already in the title of the dissertation is *reception*, which the author sometimes varies with *implementation* in the text. I would have replaced these English-influenced terms with the Swedish words *införande* (introduction) and *accepterande* (acceptance), which are more in line with earlier research on innovation.

Ahlfors has selected the three dioceses which include the three biggest cities in Sweden. One may wonder whether the contrasts between these three dioceses are sufficiently prominent. When making a selection, the criteria should be carefully discussed, and it is an advantage to juxtapose contrasting things. One wonders what the author could have gained by comparing a big-city diocese with one of a quite different character, such as one in Norrland, or the diocese of Visby, or why not Skara where there is an early example from the rural parish of Händene in 1885/1886? Do innovations come later to rural areas?

The author calls his dissertation a macro study (p. 11). The diocesan level that he has selected may be said to concern the *macro* level. It is often important to proceed from macro studies to find the broad outline of a custom. It is then possible, as in this study, to see the patterns of spatial distribution. The questionnaires from the Archive of Church History in Lund have been sent to all parishes in Sweden every six years since 1962, and the response frequency has been very high, enabling studies on a macro level. These constitute the author's primary source material. He has used the responses to questionnaires distributed in 1962, 1968, 1974, 1980, 1986, and 1995. These provide information about the year of introduction of the Christmas crib. As regards source criticism, there is a minor source of error when different questionnaires from the same parish in some cases state different years for the introduction. These discrepancies of one or two years do not matter so much, however, since the author analyses the material by decade, not by year.

If we instead come down to the local and personal level one can talk about the *micro* level. There one can see more clearly that the material artefact, in this case the Christmas crib, is dependent on human actions and values. One way to get at the local level is to study material in the church archives. That the author has performed some searches is evident from the list of unpublished sources. In this connection the researcher has to make a strategic selection. The author's treatment of material in the archives of St Peter's Church in Malmö is relevant in view of the fact that this was where the Christmas crib was first introduced in the Diocese of Lund, in 1929 (p. 233f).

Yet another way to examine the local level in depth is to visit different parishes to take photographs and conduct interviews. According to the list of unpublished sources, the author has done just two interviews (p. 420). One wonders why these two informants were chosen. A similar question can be asked about the 31 photographs published here, 17 of which were taken by the author. The remainder are archive pictures. Are these 31 pictures supposed to illustrate different crib designs? Can one see any development over time in the outward form of the cribs? Questions like this receive no answer in the dissertation.

The makers of the Christmas cribs can be divided into three categories. First, there were some prominent *large-scale manufacturers* in Sweden who produced many cribs for a large number of parishes and sometimes did so over a long time. We may mention the artists Birger Frohm and Lena Börjesson in Stockholm, the clergyman Ragnar Sundin in Malmö, the potter Ulla Frick of Billinge in Skåne, and the sculptor Eva Spångberg in Småland. Ragnar Sundin made 39 wooden Christmas cribs for the Diocese of Lund between 1947 and 1977. As a reader one would be interested in knowing more about these large-scale makers and any archival material they may have left behind. Is there any written communication surviving between the clients and the makers of the Christmas cribs? Were any specific wishes expressed by the parishes? Did the makers do any marketing? We get no answer to any of this in the dissertation.

Quite a few Christmas cribs were *locally made* by youth groups in the different parishes. One wonders to what extent these cribs differed in design from those produced by professional large-scale makers. On this point the author could have been more explicit.

The third category of Christmas cribs was acquired *from abroad*. They came from Catholic countries (Germany, Austria, and Italy) or Israel (Bethlehem). According to the author, cribs from Israel and the Catholic village of Oberammergau in southern Germany were new additions in the 1960s when Swedes be-

gan to take charter trips abroad (p. 380). The former East Germany, a Lutheran country, also occurs in some cases as a place where cribs were purchased. Is it relevant that East Germany comprised the old Lutheran parts of Germany and not the Catholic parts?

Innovators are the people at the local level who play a crucial part in the introduction of innovations. In Ahlfors's dissertation we have the clergyman Gustaf Lundblad of Händene in the Diocese of Skara in 1885/1886 and the clergyman August Lind of Hjorthagen Church in Stockholm in 1923. At Össjö in Skåne in 1930 it was Emil Vöchs, who came from Austria and became churchwarden. It would have been useful to know more about these innovators. Can one find any similar features in them? What were their motives? What reactions did they encounter?

Another category of local actors are the people who bring out the crib every year, set it up and later take it down. These individuals could be called the *upholders* of the custom once it has been established. They are either paid churchwardens, people from the church sewing circle, or other volunteers. There is no detailed discussion of these upholders of the custom in the dissertation, however. The cribs were either placed at the entrance to the church, in which case the author calls them *defileringskrubbor* (cribs to view while walking past them) or in the chancel, termed here central cribs. There are examples in the material here showing that the former type was later replaced by central cribs.

It is often stated that an earlier crib was later replaced by a new one. It may be envisaged that this was out of consideration for the people who saw the crib. The old one may have been badly worn, which was sometimes the case when a children's group in the parish had made it. Another reason could have been that the parish wanted a more aesthetically pleasing and educational crib. It would have been valuable to hear a discussion of the motives for the many changes of Christmas cribs that we see in the material.

The maps in the book give a picture of the course of dissemination in the parishes, decade by decade. The author presents each diocese separately, which makes it hard to make comparisons between them. To facilitate comparison I have taken the author's figures and had a diagram compiled with the dioceses side by side. This shows a minimal spread in all three dioceses during the 1920s and 1930s. In the 1940s we see the first noticeable increase, which took place in the Diocese of Lund. In the 1950s this diocese remains far ahead of both the other dioceses. Readers would like to know more about the reasons why this diocese was in advance of the others. How relevant is it that the clergyman Ragnar Sundin made cribs? It is not until the 1960s that the increase becomes more significant in the dioceses of Stockholm and Gothenburg. In percentage the increase was much faster in Stockholm considering that there are roughly half as many parishes there (181) as in the Diocese of Gothenburg (367). The calculation should actually have been done on the basis of the percentage of the total number of parishes in the diocese and not the number of new instances of Christmas cribs. The diocese of Gothenburg is the last of the dioceses to show a rapid growth, which came in the 1970s and 1980s. There is thus a lag in the adoption of ecclesiastical novelties here, as is also attested in other innovation studies. A stage of saturation followed by a distinct decline was reached in all three dioceses in the 1990s. An interesting observation in the Diocese of Stockholm during this decade is that the three new instances of Christmas cribs in churches in the inner city refer to the church institutions which had acquired Christmas cribs a hundred years previously, but without giving them a place inside the actual churches of these institutions until a cen-

tury later. An important question concerns why these early pioneers were the very last in the Diocese of Stockholm to admit the cribs to the church interiors. A local study in more depth would have been needed here.

Within the dioceses one can see an earlier acceptance in the inner cities of Stockholm and Gothenburg than on the outskirts. In the Diocese of Lund the fastest acceptance came in the western parts of Skåne, which is in line with earlier innovation studies. In eastern Skåne and even more so in Blekinge, on the other hand, acceptance came much later. It would have been particularly interesting to hear an explanation why the acceptance of Christmas cribs in churches went slowly for so long in Blekinge. Did the influences come later, or were there forces acting against the new custom?

My final judgement is that it has been interesting to read Hans Ahlfors's dissertation, despite the critical views expressed here. The author has done extensive work and revived a research field that needed renewal after many years in the doldrums. The phenomenon of Christmas cribs in public settings has not been exhausted with what happened in the twentieth century, the period covered by the author. The custom is taking on new forms in the twenty-first century. In reality and in newspaper reports in recent years I have noticed a great interest in living Christmas cribs. They have arisen outside the church interiors and can consist of people dressed up along with live exotic animals such as camels, donkeys, and dromedaries. Outside Gothenburg Cathedral the custom has been practised since 1996, while in Grebbestad in northern Bohuslän it had its premiere in 2012. There is good opportunity here to continue the documentation and analysis down to the present day.

Anders Gustavsson
Oslo, Norway/Henån, Sweden

The Meaning of Ageing

Åsa Alftberg: Vad är det att åldras? En etnologisk studie av åldrande, kropp och materialitet. Lunds universitet, Lund 2012. 176 pp. English summary. Diss.

It seems obvious, to say the least, to regard age and ageing as Åsa Alftberg does in this new doctoral dissertation, as something that becomes relevant in certain situations but not in others (p. 12), but it is nevertheless a perspective that is highly productive because it demonstrates the importance of studying practice(s). The whole dissertation is thus borne up by one of the fundamental ambitions and intentions in culture studies.

Alftberg seeks to study ageing in the tension between culture and biology, or as she puts it: how the biological process of ageing is understood and handled culturally. The ambition is to bridge gerontology's own distinction between a biomedical understanding of ageing as a health risk and the cultural and normative understanding of age and ageing as social constructions. Instead Alftberg wants to focus her analytical gaze on the way that everyday life is affected when old people's bodies age and change, and concepts of health and quality of life are translated into the everyday reality of old people. The attempt to include biological thinking and to understand ageing on the basis of the body means, paradoxically, that Alftberg maintains a notion that ageing makes the body frailer and forces elderly people to adapt, and that it is a fact that all old people have to accept. She writes, for instance: "The ageing process entails changes to which Nils and Karin are forced to adjust, and thus their perspective on the world changes" (p. 72).

The author therefore does not avoid categorizations; on the contrary, one gets the impression that the entire study is based on an initial assumption that the biological body undergoes certain changes that make everyday life a physical and mental challenge. Rather than

considering the significance of bodily changes for identity and self-understanding, Alftberg tries to analyse how the body is involved in the maintenance of continuity and normality in everyday life. Here the dissertation seems to be greatly inspired by "the turn to the phenomenology of the body" in anthropology and sociology (Kaufman, Twigg, Leder, etc.).

Altogether the analyses place heavier emphasis on the body than on the cultural constructions, as a result of which one gets the impression that old people are prisoners of biology, not as passive victims, but in the sense that it is the body that ultimately determines how they arrange their homes and their day-to-day lives.

Alftberg has conducted interviews and done participant observation with a group of men and women aged between 80 and 90, who all live in their own homes. She also distributed a questionnaire about ageing and health through the Folklife Archives in Lund. This yields a large and highly interesting body of material that is used in the different chapters, where the author analyses how things and places are interwoven and extend the ageing body, thereby making it possible for the elderly to attain and maintain a position as active subjects. This testifies to Alftberg's competence as a cultural analyst. Yet she has a tendency to invoke a great many researchers in support of her analytical conclusions. As regards the use of time, places, and material objects in practice, it works best when Alftberg's own material is really used in depth, and it does not necessarily become more convincing or readable when she constantly refers to similar conclusions by internationally known researchers.

I am firmly of the opinion that in this dissertation Åsa Alftberg has succeeded in making a solid contribution to ethnological research on ageing.

The dissertation explores and describes ageing from an ethnological perspective, with body, objects, places, and routines as a starting point. The focus is on how cultural conceptions and physical changes together shape "lived ageing". This is its great strength. As a monograph, however, the book is less successful because the genre requirements of a doctoral dissertation (theory, method, and references) easily get in the way of the actual cultural analysis. For example, we have to read 42 pages of "scholastic exercises" before we meet the first human beings. I would therefore recommend starting with the analytical chapters where the ethnologist speaks – for she really has something to offer! The everyday perspective that she applies can surely inspire others to undertake similar theoretical and empirical investigations of "good old age" and the changes that take place during those years, as more and more people are living longer and in better health. I also hope that Alftberg will continue to contribute to Scandinavian research on ageing.

Lene Otto
Copenhagen, Denmark

Votian Folklore

Hans-Hermann Bartens: Wotische Folklore. (Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica 84.) Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2012. 262 pp.

The Votes are an almost extinct Baltic-Finnic people, who lived between the Estonians and Ingrians in a number of villages in western Ingria, south of the Gulf of Finland. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries they became Russian Orthodox Christians. Their language, Votian, is today spoken only by some sixty individuals. Hundred years ago the Votian speakers numbered around a thousand. However, even if the Votes will no longer exist in a near future, they have left a rich folklore behind them.

Hans-Hermann Bartens was commissioned to write the article "Woten" for *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*. While writing it, he found this source material so rich and interesting that he decided to treat it at book length. The result is the book that has now been published, *Wotische Folklore*. It starts with a detailed account of collectors who have recorded Votian traditions and of the informants and their language. A substantial chapter then deals with the Votian song tradition. Last comes another chapter devoted to various prose traditions, especially folktales and legends.

The first record of a song in Votian language was written down at the end of the eighteenth century. During the nineteenth century the villages were visited by a great number of Finnish folklorists and philologists, among them Elias Lönnrot. They returned to the Finnish Literature Society with a rich harvest of epic songs in Kalevala metre and laments. During the twentieth century Estonian linguist Paul Ariste did outstanding work as a recorder. The foremost Votian transmitters of tradition were women, such as Anna Ivanovna and Solo Kuzmina, both of them well-known lament singers.

In his presentation of the Votian song tradition Bartens gives special space to those songs which were performed in a ritual context. Here the lament tradition is especially abundant and interesting. As Aili Nenola Kallio has shown in detail in her dissertation *Studies in Ingrian Laments* (1982), these songs were performed not only at burials but also when a young bride left her parents' home and when young recruits went off to the wars. Other ritual occasions when songs were sung were weddings, women's excursions at Midsummer to collect herbs and gatherings around bonfires at Whitsun. Narrative songs were often sung when adolescents met in the evenings to swing in a big village swing, a pastime that has also been well known in Finland.

The account of Votian prose traditions is not as detailed as that of the song tradition but sufficient to give a representative picture of what was narrated in earlier centuries. The most frequent folktale types are presented together with ATU numbers. In the legend material the stories about famous sorcerers play a central part; the fight between a good and an evil sorcerer is a common theme. One of the legend texts rendered in the book is about a wolf that approaches some women in a field. One of them pities the wolf and gives it a piece of bread, whereupon the wolf turns into a man. He tells the woman that he had been transformed into a wolf by means of sorcery. This legend type has also been well known in Sweden and other Nordic countries.

The Votian folk beliefs and legends about domestic spirits seem to correspond with the Ingrian ones, which were analysed by Lauri Honko in his now classical study *Geisterglaube in Ingermanland* (1962). Every building on the farm – the house, the stable, the kiln, and the sauna – had its own protecting spirit. Bartens cites a legend about a horse that is badly treated because the stable spirit doesn't like its colour. The farmer exchanges it for a horse with another colour to appease the spirit. This is another legend with international spread, told in many places in Sweden.

The Battle of Narva in 1700, when a Swedish army under King Charles XII conquered a Russian army, took place only a few kilometres from the nearest Votian villages. Therefore it is not surprising that stories about the "Swedish Wars" make up an important part of the historic legend tradition. Legends about a Swedish king escaping from the fortress of Kabrio (Koporje) have been widely told among the Votes.

Hans-Hermann Bartens' survey of Votian folklore does not fail to give careful information about the peculiarities of the Votian language as compared to Ingrian and Finnish, and hence it ad-

dresses itself to both folklorists and linguists interested in Baltic Finnic culture. An extensive bibliography gives references to current folklore studies, among them articles by Ergo-Hart Västrik.

Bengt af Klintberg
Lidingö, Sweden

Researching a Rock Festival as an Insider and an Outsider

Jonas Bjälesjö: Rock'n'roll i Hultsfred. Ungdomar, festival och lokal gemenskap. Hammarlins bokförlag, Båstad 2013. 200 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss.

Let me start this review by stating my opinion that the new thesis by the Swedish ethnologist Jonas Bjälesjö on the rock festival held in Hultsfred, Småland from 1986 to 2010 is quite an intriguing book, a strange bird in the best sense of the word. What makes it odd is that it can be read in at least three different ways, with three separate cultural frameworks and research traditions being addressed. One way of reading the thesis is to place it in a cultural-historical context, reading it as *the* or *a history* of the rock festival in Hultsfred. This reading mode is not without its complications however, but it is still, I think, the most obvious way of looking at the thesis. Another way of reading the book is to see it as an example of doing ethnography in the here-and-now, in a context where the larger cultural ramifications are not that important. Instead, what happens in the festival, in the carnivalesque reality, as Bjälesjö might call it, is paramount. That way of reading is accentuated in the third section of this tripartite book (with an additional summary, in both Swedish and English), the one on the experiences among the festival goers, something Bjälesjö has studied for many years. If this phenomenological approach is at the forefront in the third part of the book, then the first can easily be read as a cultural history of the Rockparty society in which the whole enterprise was started by a group of teenagers in Hultsfred and its vicinity in the early 1980s.

But already here a further split in the storytelling occurs, because the "traditional" way of describing such activities, by rock historians and ethnologists/cultural analysts doing rock research, is to give it a strong subcultural bent, an understanding of the music field as a rock formation (Lawrence Grossberg's concept) or as one or more subcultures (see e.g. Hebdige 1979; Willis 1977; Fornäs, Lindberg & Sernhede 1988; Berkaak & Ruud 1993; Bjurström 1997). This usually means that the study focuses on questions of cultural and symbolic capital, distinction, taste (markers) and gatekeepers. But what Bjälesjö is doing in his thesis is distancing himself from this type of analytical framework, or to put it more distinctly: his big invention in the thesis is to parallel the subcultural leanings among the people he describes – both the youngsters of Hultsfred active in the festival arrangements, the rock community in Sweden and the rock'n'roll world at large and the musicians involved in the festival – with a sociological explanation of quite another type. This he does by bringing in Robert E. Putnam's social capital concept via an excursus into the Bourdieuian world of practice and cultural and symbolic capital. By this manoeuvre Bjälesjö makes it possible to establish a kind of middle ground or a negotiation space in which these key persons in the Rockparty group can balance – the single most important key word of his thesis – between the subcultural demands on one hand and the quite different ones concerned with social capital, read as the trust and resourcefulness of the whole Hultsfred community (and by extension the Swedish popular and political system at large). This manoeuvre then leads in quite a distinct way to the middle sec-

tion of his study, which is also about the growing entrepreneurial and business-like grip which the organizers of the festival are either forced to or freely choose to indulge in (a question which is clearly articulated here, but maybe actually never quite answered), which in Bjälesjö's still somewhat romantic and nostalgic storytelling spells the death of the traditional rock festival in Hultsfred. The middle section of the book is then a passage into the today quite active research field concerned with the creative industries or the experience economy, something in which Scandinavian ethnology in recent years has made several important inroads, see for instance Orvar Löfgren and Robert Willim's *Magic, Culture and the New Economy* (2005), Kirsti Mathiesen Hjemdahl's *Tur-retur-temapark: Oppdragelse, opplevelse, kommers* (2003), Robert Willim's *Industrial Cool: Om postindustriella fabriker* (2008) and a special issue about "Irregular Ethnographies" in *Ethnologia Europaea* (1:2011), edited by Robert Willim and Tom O'Dell.

Another important turn in Scandinavian ethnology informing Bjälesjö's thesis is the one his supervisor Jonas Frykman has been promoting for years, a turn towards a markedly phenomenological understanding of the ethnological work to be done. Frykman's recent book *Berörd* (2012) is a fine update as to the ideas concerning this strand of ethnological thinking. Frykman, together with Nils Gilje, has also edited an instructive volume on phenomenology and the analysis of culture called *Being There* (2003). This means that the shift can be observed more generally in contemporary Swedish ethnology, a tradition or "school" known for its anti-school-like or anti-doctrinaire nature. This "tradition", as far as I can see, is interested above all in connections and analyses to be made between questions of materiality, auto-ethnography, ethnographic close reading and observing and ethnological phenomenology. This more "existentialist" or "searching" way of doing things in Swedish ethnology can also be observed in e.g. Löfgren & Ehn's *Kulturanalytiska verktyg* (2012), especially part one of that book, and also the same duo's text "Ute på kulturforskningens bakgårdar", in *Kulturella Perspektiv* (1:2013) as well as in the volume *Tidens termik: Hastighet och kulturell förändring* (2009), edited by Anna Hagborg, Rebecka Lennartsson and Maria Vallström, which is a *Festschrift* to Gösta Arvastson.

Looking at Bjälesjö's thesis one can detect how this so-called phenomenological turn – which, as Frykman himself states in *Berörd*, is a conscious move away from the totalizing grips of discourse analysis and related forms of doing ethnological research, including the whole concept of representation – has been making inroads in his thesis along the way, a work which in Bjälesjö's case has indeed been long in the making. Back in the late 1990s this reviewer had the pleasure of being a member of the same Nordic group of researchers working in the area of child and youth studies in which Bjälesjö was also involved. He was already at that point rather well into his thesis and a piece he wrote on the Hultsfred festival, "Rockparty in Hultsfred – Young People and Local Music Life", was published in a volume from the group in question, *Younger Than Yesterday, Older Than Tomorrow* (2002). What is noteworthy in that earlier text is a lack of the material and phenomenological aspects which seem to take centre stage in his thesis. But the text in that anthology is in itself an excellent examination of the various problems a researcher encounters if he/she tries to define the concept of "youth cultures" in terms of an open spatiality, consisting, as he writes, of a complexity of interacting and social relations, a research he then can be said to both deepen and broaden in his thesis. This turn towards spatiality is perhaps the single most defining feature of his

work on Hultsfred and the youth involved in it and with it.

What I actually can see in Bjälesjö's thesis is then a split vision concerning the research done here, which if one reads the book carelessly might be difficult to spot. Given the rather long time Bjälesjö has worked on his thesis, it is perhaps almost inevitable that the end product is something of an assemblage. But one problem with the thesis is that the reader might not see this, if the reading is done from an angle which is too far away from the object under scrutiny, or taking the phenomenological approach for granted.

What Bjälesjö has done in his thesis, and done really well, is to mask this internal split, or rather several splits, which as I stated inform his work, producing a master narrative of an evolution process of this rather small rootsy kind of festival in the Swedish countryside or semi-countryside developing into a bigger and more professionally defined and streamlined type of festival. Hultsfred is a municipality in an otherwise mostly rural milieu, with some industries and a small town centre where much of the action of the festival has been played out. As an evolutionary or in this case perhaps devolutionary story with a clear pedagogical aim, Bjälesjö shows, ultimately, the strength of the older Swedish socio-political model, Folkhemmet ("The People's Home"). The musical-ideological basis for the festival and the people involved in it from its beginnings in the early 1980s is a crowd not from roots rock, but punk rock and new wave, i.e. largely "ordinary" male teenagers from the vicinity, interested in creating a festival to their own liking, a festival in which the cultural know-how of rock'n'roll – variously called cred or coolness in the thesis – is matched and balanced by a profound understanding of the local cultural values and indeed Bourdieuian (cultural and symbolic) capital to be used when composing a festival concept around the three networks or assemblages called Rockparty, the festival itself, and Rockcity. These three aspects of the festival, starting from the earliest, smallest and most amateurish, Rockparty, and progressing through the festival and its later metamorphosis into an ever more professionally administered one, can also be read as the festival becoming a less local and "genuine" event. There is a plot structure in the thesis which could almost be read as a cinematic script of sorts. In fact there is a striking resemblance to Bill Forsyth's wonderful Scottish movie *Local Hero* (1983), involving some surprising narrative parallels in Bjälesjö's storytelling with that movie! It is a story in which the place Hultsfred is the nave around which different expansions and contractions, balancing acts are taking place, something which the ethnographer has been registering along the way.

It is the mode of balancing, between the amateurishness of "authentic rock" (Bjälesjö does not problematize the concept of authenticity) and the growing professionalization of the festival organization and at the same time the deterritorialization of the whole concept which in his story brings above "the fall from grace" here, which is the end of the Hultsfred festival as a distinctly local enterprise. As he states in his summary, this has been a meeting place not only for the Swedish music community at large but also between association, community and festival and between exclusivity, lifestyle and historical rooting. This kind of balancing act led, in Bjälesjö's view, to an image being created of a phenomenon being simultaneously commonplace and exclusive. The festival was both a place where music people met to have their subcultural belonging confirmed and to show their dedication to the bands playing (a clear majority of which were always Swedish, with only one or two overall coming from the world outside of the Nordic countries or the Anglo-American sphere). And at the

same time the festival was seen as a pilgrimage and partying ground for young Swedes.

At this point it is important to pause and try to figure out what this kind of storytelling is doing and what it might have lost along the way, when the question of balancing takes centre stage and other aspects might be pushed aside, one of them being the understanding of rock'n'roll seen from a subcultural perspective, which has been a more traditional way at looking at rock, especially perhaps in the '80s and '90s. This subsuming of the subcultural mode of understanding of rock is one of the most important consequences of Bjälesjö's approach and it corresponds with his emphasis in the writing process of moving through three arenas of diffusion and professionalization of the rock culture in question. This also happens to correspond to a larger cultural shift taking place in entertainment and the creative economy, a move towards a tightening grip of economic and entrepreneurial thinking on popular cultural products and effects.

Internally this is mirrored in Bjälesjö's own positioning in his project and in the whole idea of the Hultsfred festival as a balancing act, which is one of the most interesting and potentially problematic aspects of his thesis. This is because Bjälesjö is an insider from the beginning; he was born and bred in Hultsfred, he has been working with the festival, if not from its beginning then at least for a very long time, in different capacities (see especially the Rockparty and Rockcity parts of the thesis) which gives him quite a unique position here as being both an insider (as local resident, music fan, partaking in the organization of the festival) and an outsider (a researcher). It is this Janus-like position with its many possibilities for a more profound understanding of the festival that at the same time makes it difficult for him, I think, to come to grips with the question of his own positionality and the contrasting or competing claims they make on him. Thus there is a tendency to anonymize some informants without the reader being able to understand why this is actually needed, since the end product is not in my view especially "far out" or extravagant in describing the lifestyle of the festivalgoers. On the contrary, the description of the festival in its "wholeness", including material, discursive and symbolic aspects, is done with great panache by Bjälesjö, that is, if one is interested in having a neat, well-researched, and often quite beautifully written story largely told from an eagle-eye perspective. The narrative drive in the text is then organized out of a careful consideration and alteration of various dualisms, such as rock rebels and "ordinary" rural youth, cultural innovators and commercial entrepreneurs, broad folksiness and alternative exclusivity, a carnivalesque free zone and a well-organized commercialism, a reserved and including attitude towards the local community and an overarching and open one towards the outside, arrangements which were both practice-oriented and affectively effective, and so on.

The best and most telling parts of Bjälesjö's story, both from a narrative and a phenomenological point of view, are his wonderfully complex and multisensorial descriptions of life in the festival camp, with its symbolic and discursive terrain mapped in quite an impressive way, and perhaps as the high point of the whole book, the description of the arrival of the party people at Hultsfred railway station, with all their small, practical problems and their senses of anticipation, exhilaration and anxiety. His prose depicting the mass of young people moving through the municipality from the railway station to the festival area is a real gem. Seldom have I read a piece of such almost cinematic clarity and elegance in an ethnographic study.

Unfortunately, the problems which these wonderful passages cannot hide are those of Bjälesjö's own, slightly

awkward position, which I read as showing him to have a lot of tacit knowledge which the reader can only speculate about, which makes him unable (or unwilling) to write out a story with more edges, with an interest in the odd and marginal detail, and in those who do not quite fit as the typical or mass-mediated festival youth, of which the book has some fine pictures. I would have liked to read more about the famous "Bajsmannen" (literally "the shit man", a legendary figure, fixated on the "Bajamajor", the portable toilets of the camps), of which I have heard Jonas tell stories verbally, but here the figure is only mentioned in passing. The questions of pollution and dirt are to my mind central to an investigation of ritual and festivity, and it would have made sense to try to figure out what role this person played narratologically here. And what of the teenagers who did not fit into the harmonizing picture the researcher is painting, where are they? My hunch is that these types of characteristics might be something which in this kind of research (on youth and rock culture) is generally relegated to earlier times and older people (cf. for a very readable thesis on such eccentrics, Lynn Åkesson's *De ovanligas betydelse*, 1991).

If a strong sense of narrative value resulting in a smooth story progression and a compression of the storytelling is the greatest asset of this thesis, then it must be said that the theoretical and methodological aspects here are not quite up to the same high standard as some of the quite brilliant passages of the narrative mentioned above. The thesis is in my view not well enough grounded in an analytical frame which could make an understanding and even deconstruction of the phenomenon of this rock festival possible. This is partly a result of difficult analytical tools. Especially Robert D. Putnam's theory of social capital, in my view, tends to be quite problematic and is so here too, since it easily leads to a hermeneutical spiralling of sorts from which there is no escape. That which is to be analysed is already understood from a more intuitive angle, which makes it quite difficult to come to grips with how this concept operates in real situations. Related to this is more generally an inability on the researcher's part to open up his investigation to questions of intersectionality and marginalization taking place in this kind of setting. Questions, for example, of a heavy gender bias in the whole "phenomenon" of Hultsfred, how it came to be formed and functioning, are mentioned, but not addressed more analytically. The same goes for generation and class, concepts which are used, but not dealt with vigorously enough.

If one thinks of the concepts Bjälesjö uses, such as the carnivalesque and the liminal, there are also some strange omissions of theoretical references. There is no mention of Bernice Martin's important, but at the same time rather problematic study *A Sociology of Contemporary Cultural Change* (1983), on 1960s rock'n'roll liminality, or more generally as to the ritual side of the festival, Edmund Leach's seminal research on ritual and ritual time, which is strange since the form of thinking Bjälesjö applies to his study is in my view more indebted to Leach than to Victor Turner and Bakhtin, who are the two "major" references he is using in this part of the thesis. But his use of these analytical tools is in my view lacking in depth, with a problematization that is not particularly effective.

So what we have here, I think, as so often is the case, is a piece of research which very much mirrors its maker, a beautifully written text, which at the same time poses several difficult questions for the reader, for instance the low level of self-reflexivity on the researcher's part, not only being a combination of insider and outsider (invoking images of fan, critic, researcher, "local hero", "local native", cultural professional, all wrapped in one). For a problematization

of this kind of highly ambivalent role to play as researcher I have to look elsewhere. One such place is the excellent study by Kirsti Mathiesen Hjemdahl in the issue on "Irregular Ethnographies" in *Ethnologia Europaea* (1:2011), "Twisted Field Working: Fighting for the Relevance of Being Connected".

But I still want to end on a more positive note. This is an extremely well-written and often quite thoughtful investigation, packed with illuminating details of "life in a festival mode" in the Swedish countryside. And moreover, I don't think I have ever encountered an ethnological thesis/book this beautifully made, as regards the layout, the cover and the pictures inside. Both the publisher and Bjälesjö himself must be congratulated on bringing such a well-made and informative book into the field of ethnology. Is this the definitive story of the Hultsfred rock festival? Not quite, and perhaps one shouldn't even try to write one. The book was a pleasure to read, one which also raised several questions and some objections in the reviewer along the way.

Sven-Erik Klinkmann
Vasa, Finland

A Swedish Story of War and Love

Barbro Bursell: William Grey & Brita Tott. En berättelse om krig och kärlek i stormaktstidens Sverige. Bokförlaget Atlantis, Stockholm 2012. 208 pp. Ill.

William Grey was a Scottish soldier, presumably of noble descent, who came in the early seventeenth century to Sweden, where he and Brita Tott (who was of the mere gentry despite having a name like the aristocratic Thott) fell so deeply in love that he ended up abducting her from her home so that they could marry. He continued his military career under the Swedish soldier-kings, while she looked after the children and the home, the estate and the farming. He died early, and Brita Tott then waged a long struggle to maintain herself at an acceptable social and economic level; her sister contested Grey's nobility and hence his right to the assembled estate; however the sister's claim was not accepted in the Svea Court of Appeal, the supreme judicial instance for the Swedish nobility at the time.

Brita Tott and William Grey settled on the farm of Bodarna, where the author of the book lives today. The reason for writing the book – which is as good as any other – was curiosity about the place where she lives and the people who built it during the century that is still known in Swedish historiography as the Age of Greatness. For a Danish reviewer that name has always had a special ring that the author, formerly head of the Royal Armoury who in 2007 was responsible for the excellent exhibition *War Booty*, knows better than most people. Yet her mission is not to problematize or analyse as a cultural historian or ethnologist either the couple's life and deeds, the relation of Sweden as a great power to other countries, the lifestyle of the Swedish nobility, or anything like that. Her mission is quite different.

Perhaps the intention behind the book can be summed up in the word *narrative*. That is specifically stated in the subtitle, "A Narrative of Love and War in Sweden's Age of Greatness", although I do not think the reader is given a story of "war and love" – that would really call for a pen like Tolstoy's – but much more about a couple's life and dealings in the remarkable circumstances that Sweden as a provisional great power offered to a foreign soldier of fortune like William Grey and an independent woman like Brita Tott. For me the book gave a rich, well-written picture of a couple in a specific period of Sweden's history which, although based on studies of sources and literature, does not shy away from using imagination where the sources are silent, and a splen-

did ability to get into the mind of Brita Tott in particular, rendered here and there in the text with words like: "and so I did this and that" or "I think this and that".

The book is a kind of reflexive ethnography in the past combined with biography and what is fundamentally a classic ethnological local study, which requires particularly extensive empirical knowledge to write. And the author possesses that knowledge in plenty; indeed, she almost overflows with it in places – the way she constantly refers to the main characters merely by their first names is something of a strain. Because the book is divided into many short sections, the general delight in storytelling never becomes too much.

If I may be allowed a negative note, it is striking how Swedish in all its references the book is. I do not have the background knowledge to doubt the thoroughness here, but I do notice that a knowledge of – or use of – the now rich research on the history of nobles and estates in the other Nordic countries, not to mention European studies of these topics, studied as cultural history and focusing on the first half of the seventeenth century too, does not appear to have been within the author's scope. This means that the book is decidedly Swedish and inward-looking. But again: given what I presume to be the intention, although this is formulated somewhat differently in the introduction to the book, this is fully understandable. A couple of days in the company of William Grey and Brita Tott can thus be recommended.

Mikkel Venborg Pedersen
Copenhagen, Denmark

Bringing Jocular Ballads into the Light

Gunilla Byrman & Tommy Olofsson: Om kvinnligt och manligt och annat konstigt i medeltida skämtballader. Atlantis, Stockholm 2011. 321 pp.

In this book "On Female and Male and Other Oddities in Medieval Jocular Ballads" Gunilla Byrman and Tommy Olofsson tackle a research field that has been undeservedly neglected, the jocular ballad. They simultaneously present some recently discovered material, the George Stephens manuscript collection, which was hidden away in three boxes in Växjö City Library. Some of the ballads recorded by Stephens are printed in an appendix, along with the jocular ballads previously published in the collection *Sveriges medeltida ballader*. This also makes the book into a source for those who feel inclined to do research on jocular ballads.

In the first chapter Tommy Olofsson gives a historical survey of ballad research in general and research on jocular ballads in particular. As he notes, there has not been much scholarly interest in the latter, with occasional exceptions in recent years. The jocular ballads were long perceived as an unseemly subject of research and collection. This book thus fills a gap in scholarship. Olofsson argues that the jocular ballad "Käringen på barnsöl" should be counted as a genuine ballad, even though it has six-line stanzas ending with a rhymed couplet (*balkstrof*), and not the orthodox stanzas with two or four lines. In support he cites Danish ballad scholars who have categorized it as a ballad, and he says that Swedish ballad scholars are more formalistic while the Danes are more historicizing. This may be true, but unfortunately his praiseworthy historical interpretation of the ballad – in Bakhtinian mode – is undermined by the fact that it focuses too narrowly on a medieval context. Likewise, all the parallels he cites are medieval, for example, Occitan troubadour lyric and the Eddic *Þrymskviða*, but he does not consider later jocular tales and erotic riddles with similar content and style. Although the

first recorded version of "Käringen på barnsöl" comes from 1590, thus making it fully possible that the ballad/song actually is of medieval origin, it has also been handed down in later periods and has thus been relevant for people living then. Olofsson says nothing about these contexts. Moreover, he makes it sound as if this coarse folk humour only existed in the Middle Ages, and I don't believe that is the impression he intended to give.

In the second chapter Gunilla Byrman analyses a jewel in the George Stephens manuscript collection, the hitherto unknown ballad about the enigmatic "Osteknoppen". In this ballad the king's cook is ordered to bring in the king's *osteknopp*, from which various animals and humans appear in a mysterious way. Byrman performs a careful text analysis that brings out many nuances in the ballad, and she also points out the many possible interpretations, not least concerning what an *osteknopp* actually is. She suggests a kind of platter on which cheese was served, attested in the Swedish Academy Dictionary in the form *ostknapp*, or a small cheese on the one hand, and on the other hand a symbol of a drinking bout with spirits or strong beer, via an association with *osteblomm*, a dialect word for yarrow, which was used to flavour both spirits and beer. Whatever the meaning, the *osteknopp* in the ballad is a horn of plenty, clearly associated with food and drink in the company of friends. Byrman also applies an intermedial approach, since the ballad in her opinion contains five media: dance, music, poetry, visual image, and the convivial dimension. In practice we cannot get at dance and music – the latter is not documented – but the idea is fascinating and could well have been given more space in the text.

The last two chapters concern similar themes: male and female in the jocular ballads in chapter three, written by Tommy Olofsson, and gender debate in Småland ballads in chapter four, written by Gunilla Byrman. Despite the more or less common theme, these chapters are rather different. Olofsson studies images of women and men in the ballads, especially as regards how female and male sexuality and relations between the sexes are described, and he relates this to the academic discussion of whether medieval people were more shameless than we are. Many jocular ballads seem like antitheses to the social order which ruled that woman should be subordinate to men, and female sexuality is often portrayed in a good light. Many ballads thus describe strong women full of *joie de vivre*, not ashamed of their desires, and bold enough to take what they want. What is more problematic here, as noted above, is the focus on a medieval context that recurs in this chapter too. Some of the ballads discussed here were recorded relatively late, and it seems risky to assume that they all arose in a medieval context. The actual discussion of Norbert Elias's theory of the civilization process and Hans Peter Duerr's critique of this, and Mikhail Bakhtin's ideas about the medieval culture of laughter and Olle Ferm's critique of that is well informed and entertaining, and the conclusion is that the differences between them and us are not so big.

In chapter four Gunilla Byrman studies the ballads of three female singers from Småland: Gustafva Angel (1791–1869), Catarina "Halta-Kajsa" Andersdotter (1792–1857), and Edith Samuelsson (1907–1984). Enlisting Yvonne Hirdman's theory of a gender hierarchy and a gender dichotomy, Byrman shows how power and dominance are treated in the ballads. In three of them the man is ridiculed for letting himself be pushed around by the woman, and the other three ballads portray women who refuse to do what is socially expected of them: they take their lives into their own hands and ensure their own happiness and success. Byrman relates this "Småland gender debate" to the myth of Blända, the woman who resourcefully led the

women of Värend to victory over the invading Danes. She suggests that the myth of Blända may have encouraged these ballad singers in Småland, so that they dared to challenge the social norms. It is an interesting thought, but perhaps difficult to prove, as these things often are.

In the anthology of surviving jocular ballads that ends the book, I was particularly taken by "Rävens testamente" (SMB 250), where the fox is supposed to look after the farmer's gosling when he goes off to a feast. Naturally, the fox eats the gosling, and when the farmer threatens to flay him, he asks for permission to make his will, bequeathing the parts of his body to people who might need them: toothless old women are to receive his teeth, the maids get his swift legs, and so on. The tradition of parodies of wills goes back at least to the fourth century AD, when "A Piglet's Will" (*Testamentum porcelli*) was recorded, and it is also attested from the High Middle Ages onwards, with many different animals in the leading role. This is not stated in the commentary, but it is worth thinking about, if you want to argue for the medieval origin of various ballads.

Altogether this is a thought-provoking book, although it could have done with more contextualizing as regards later periods to be spot-on. I nevertheless hope that the authors find reason to return to the topic, which deserves more research than it has seen hitherto.

Camilla Asplund Ingemark
Åbo, Finland/Lund, Sweden

A Danish Field Researcher in the Nineteenth Century

Palle O. Christiansen: Tang Kristensen og tidlig feltforskning i Danmark. National etnografi og folklore 1850–1920. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Copenhagen 2013. 300 pp. Ill.

The Danish ethnologist and cultural historian Palle Ove Christiansen has performed an in-depth study of Denmark's great folklore collector Evald Tang Kristensen (1843–1929). In the book reviewed here the author seeks to get close to Kristensen as a person and to the milieu in which he lived. The collector and his context are the focus of attention, not the people who provided him with information during his fieldwork; they have been studied in a previous publication, *De forsvundne: Hedens siste fortællere*, which I reviewed in *Arv* 2012, pp. 170f.

The source material in this study consists primarily of Kristensen's field notes and correspondence, as preserved in the Danish Folklore Archives in Copenhagen, founded in 1904. The letters Kristensen wrote during his field trips were addressed both to his own home and to scholars of folklore in Copenhagen.

From 1867 to 1888 Kristensen taught in a country school in Jutland, simultaneously undertaking his many long field trips, on foot in all weathers, especially in northern and western Jutland. Through the topographical maps in the book, one can follow the routes Kristensen travelled between the different informants. In 1888 he received continuous state subsidies for his collecting activities and no longer needed to work as a teacher to support himself and his family. He married three times and had nine children altogether. He was only 23 when he became a widower as his first wife and a newborn baby died in childbirth in 1866. During his difficult period of mourning, his mother urged him to start collecting stories from old people. He began with folksongs, both lyrics and tunes. This was the start of his lifelong collecting trips.

Kristensen's longest marriage was with his second wife, Grete, who died in 1900 after twenty-eight years of marriage. In 1905 he was married for a third time, to a former pupil, Marie, and his last child, Johannes, was born in 1906

and lived until 1994. Johannes preserved much of his father's material. Unfortunately, the letters from his wives Grete and Marie to their husband have not survived.

Kristensen's letters home discuss practical matters that had to be dealt with there and on the farm that was combined with the teaching post. Kristensen also writes about his work and his experiences in the field. There are detailed descriptions of situations arising from visits to his various informants. These were often members of the poor population, living in cramped and dirty homes. Several of the informants were visited multiple times so that the collection of material would be as complete as possible.

Kristensen started publishing his works early; they were self-published so that he could reach a broad readership. In these books he presented the material he had collected, accompanied by commentary. The first book in 1871 was about folksongs and tunes from Jutland. The series on Jutish folklore, *Jyske folkeminder*, included 13 publications from 1871 to 1897. The legend collection *Danske sagn, som de har lydt i folkemunde* was published in seven volumes from 1892 to 1901. The last published work from Kristensen's hand was the autobiographical *Minder og oplevelser* ("Memories and Experiences"), which appeared in four volumes from 1923 to 1927. His wives and children had the job of distributing these works by post to the buyers when Kristensen was away on his field trips.

In the world of folklore scholarship, the folksong researcher Svend Grundtvig was Kristensen's most important contact from 1869 until Grundtvig's death in 1883. He gave much advice about what Kristensen should collect and how the work should be done. There are also letters to other leading Danish folklorists, especially Axel Olrik (letters 1883–1917), H. F. Feilberg (letters 1873–1918), and Hans Ellekilde (letters 1911–1929). In this circle of scholars there was recurrent discussion, when Kristensen's books appeared, as to whether he was a researcher or merely or primarily a collector of material. The most common view was that he was a collector. Everyone agreed that his extensive field collections were carefully accomplished and extremely valuable as sources for scholarship. Kristensen himself wanted to be perceived as a scholar and occasionally found himself in conflict with prominent folklorists about interpretations of the collected narrative material. The disagreement with H. F. Feilberg is obvious in Kristensen's critique of Feilberg's work *Dansk bondeliv*, 1889, which he regarded as an armchair product by someone who had learned everything from books rather than by doing fieldwork of his own. There were even confrontations with Svend Grundtvig about the copyright on the material collected by Kristensen. He suffered from an uneven temper and felt injured by criticism. Among scholars it was well known that his temper grew worse over the years. He had high self-esteem, which was manifested in his awareness and emphasis of his own significance for the Danish nation, in that he had rescued the old folklore before it fell into oblivion. This accentuation of the Danish nation should be seen in the context of the humiliation suffered by Denmark's national self-esteem after the defeat in war in 1864, as a consequence of which the country had to cede Southern Jutland to Germany. Much of this area was restored to Denmark, but not until 1920, after a referendum. Kristensen's national contribution is frequently mentioned as part of his posthumous reputation. And it is in 1920 that Palle Ove Christiansen ends his study, and he uses the designation "National Ethnography and Folklore" as the subtitle of the book.

Finally, I must say that the author has undertaken a thorough scrutiny and analysis of the extant letters and notes.

The book is a major contribution to the early history of Danish folklore studies. The source material is presented in many quotations. These could have been rendered in bigger print; there is a risk that the reader will skip the quotations. This book has already had a favourable reception in the form of a prize awarded to the author by the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy in Sweden on Gustavus Adolphus Day, 6 November 2013.

Anders Gustavsson
Oslo, Norway/Henån, Sweden

The Swedish National Anthem

Eva Danielson & Märta Ramsten: Du gamla, du friska. Från folkvisa till nationalsång. Atlantis, Stockholm 2013. 252 pp. Ill.

We Swedes are just about as ambivalent to singing the national anthem as we are to celebrating our national day. The lukewarm interest is usually explained in simplified terms: "we know who we are", compared with our neighbouring countries and their shorter history as independent states. Up until 1983 we did not have any formal national day; the sixth of June was marked as "The Day of the Swedish flag". The latest attempt to do something about the celebration was the political compromise of 2005 when the sixth of June was made a public holiday while Whit Monday became an ordinary working day. That has not worked either; the national day, along with bridging days, gives a long weekend when people go to their summer cottage. Flag-waving is more common on the last day of school, and Midsummer Eve is said to be our true national holiday. One can also wonder why we are the only Nordic country which has a national anthem for which the words were set to a folk tune with a rather nostalgic and introvert tone, not an anthem for which both words and music were composed directly for the purpose. Sooner or later the Marseillaise always comes up as an unsurpassed ideal when national anthems are discussed. Like many older national anthems such as the other Nordic ones and "God Save the Queen", for example, our "Du gamla, du fria" ("Thou Ancient, Thou Free") has never been officially adopted as the national anthem. It is considered to have been accepted by tradition and therefore does not need to be confirmed by a formal decision. Until a few years ago, parties both from right and left motioned in parliament to provide this legal sanction, but the proposal has been rejected for precisely this reason.

But the overall national symbols in themselves are breaking down. The monarchy today is more a matter for the media than for the citizens, and the Swedish flag flown at home on the balcony has sometimes been used as a "patriotic" demonstration against immigration. Also in line with our complicated relationship to the symbols are our attempts to find something better. A great many alternative national anthems have been suggested or composed for the purpose, such as Hugo Alfvén's *Ställ flaggan så jag ser den* ("Place the flag so that I can see it", words by Daniel Fallström), or have been parodied in the comic newspaper *Grönköpings Veckoblad*. But now that the national anthem nevertheless seems firmly established and no longer debated, the alternatives seem to have been dismissed, and people have lost interest in the issue. Today it is seen and heard most – albeit not so often – in connection with national matches on television. Schoolchildren call it "the ice hockey song".

The history of the national anthem – from Richard Dybeck's evening entertainment in the 1840s to the criticism, the alternatives, the prize competitions, the added verses, and the parodies – is told here by Eva Danielson and Märta Ramsten as the ultimate account. The focus is of course on the song itself, but

the book is also in large measure about our relationship to national symbols in general and tributes to the royal family and the nation in times of unrest – the dissolution of the union with Norway (1905), the government crisis in 1914, the war years. For a long time there were other patriotic songs of equal status, particularly "The King's Song", "Hör oss, Svea" ("Hear Us, Svea"), "Vårt land" ("Our Land"), and the hymn "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God", which were sung on solemn occasions, often rounded off with "Du gamla, du fria". It is also interesting that, especially in the troubled years around 1910, groups on the left wing protested against national anthems by breaking into "Sons of Labour" and "The Internationale". The party-political interest in the national anthem has continued right up until our own days. In 1991 *SD-kuriren*, the newspaper of the right-wing nationalist party, the Sweden Democrats, printed two verses of the text which they claimed had been kept "secret" or censored for political reasons, verses which were later recorded by the band Ultima Thule. Yet these two verses were not in Dybeck's original version, but were written by Louise Ahlén in 1905 as just one of many additions to the text which have been written over the years.

The authors provide an exemplary survey of every conceivable angle and aspect of the Swedish national anthem: the launching of the song (and the resistance to it), the origin of the tune, the different versions of the words, earlier Swedish folksongs and national anthems, parodies and alternative texts, a number of "myths and misunderstandings" about the song, early recordings, settings of the song recommended by the Academy of Music in 1909 and 1942, and much besides. The many misinterpretations and myths still circulating about the national anthem say a great deal about our failure to come to terms with our relationship to nationalism and its symbols, whether privately or publicly. One of the myths is that the singing of the national anthem is prohibited in Swedish schools so as not to offend immigrant pupils. The government has made it clear, however, that schools can have assemblies in churches on the last day of the school year, and according to the new curriculum for compulsory school (2011), pupils have to learn the national anthem and a number of common hymns (www.regeringen.se; minister for integration Erik Ullenhag).

Perhaps we not do not realize that the tune is not as uniquely Swedish as we might believe. The authors, who are ballad scholars, clarify the background to the version that came into Dybeck's hand. The ballad began "I rode on my way through the twelve-league woods" and it belongs to a group of medieval ballads called "The Sweetheart's Death". It was in that form Dybeck first published it in *Runa* in 1845. The ballad was highly popular and was sung not just in Sweden but also in Finland, Denmark, and Norway. There are more than 250 known variants of the words and over 100 variants of the tune. Ballad scholars have discussed in detail what is "Swedish" and what is "foreign" in the tune (there is also a variant in Germany). The authors coolly conclude that it is a "North European melody type that has moved around and acquired different regional and local colouring over the centuries", and that Dybeck's variant was sung in Västmanland and can thus be said to be Swedish.

At times there may be perhaps too much focus and detail here concerning the music, words, and reception, but it is important that everything to do with the national anthem is laid on the table, to avoid more myths and misunderstandings. Anyone who wants to read in greater depth about the political background and the Swedish chauvinism of the 1890s and the time of the dissolution of the union now has a large number of biographies to read, and of course Staffan Björck's classical *Heidenstam och*

sekelskiftets Sverige from 1946. This book about the national anthem could be a foundation stone in a research project that would be worth undertaking; it could be called "Swedishness in Music". Does anyone fancy tackling that?

Henrik Karlsson
Uppsala, Sweden

Intermedial Perspectives on Medieval Ballads

Intermediala perspektiv på medeltida ballader. Lars Elleström (ed). Gidlunds, Möklinta 2011. 237 pp. Ill.

Five scholars from partly different research fields in the humanities have contributed to this volume, which is also the result of a research project that ran between 2006 and 2010. The publication begins with a short preface by Professor Lars Elleström, who describes the background and aim of the project, presented above all as an attempt to "understand the relations of the medieval ballad to other media and art forms".

The first article after this is by Lars Elleström and Sigurd Kværndrup, which seeks to explain the historical foundation of the medieval ballad in Europe and Scandinavia. Apart from this there is an interesting, although occasionally somewhat abstract, critical discussion of the ballad as concept, form, and function. It is assumed that ballads in ancient times were mainly sung (without or in combination with gestures and dance) but gradually became a more or less literary product. This development is explained as having several causes, to do with fashion, morality, politics, or knowledge. Technical reasons are also cited, as when specially directed collection efforts were unable to preserve the melodies of the ballads to a sufficient extent. Ballads are thus perceived as having lost or at least modified their fundamental meaning, and ideas prevailing at a particular time sometimes influenced the genre. This can be observed, for instance, in the romantic interest in folk art and in present-day electrified folk music. At the same time, the ballad is regarded as a multifaceted phenomenon that cannot easily be specified as a uniform art form. The authors say that the ballad as a medium consequently can be analysed according to a basic model consisting of four "modalities", namely, *material*, *sensory*, *spatio-temporal*, and *semiotic*. The same modalities are said to be suitable for analysing any medium. But since the ballad is simultaneously considered as a whole from technical, modal, and by definition "qualified" societal aspects, if we are to understand regular *intermedial relations*, it should be apprehended from two interacting perspectives. One of these perspectives consists of *combinations* and *integrations* which play a part when media overlap each other. The other comprises *mediations* and *transformations*, which operate when the medium is changed and developed.

The second article, by Karin Eriksson, deals with the potential use of ballads as *singing games*. Eriksson seeks to identify the evidence, whether strong or weak, that can be found for singing games in a number of ballads in the collection *Sveriges medeltida ballader* (SMB). There are fourteen ballads in all, distributed among ten types. All these ballads have previously been assumed to have been used in the past as *singing games* or the like – according to the author *dramatic singing games* – and the earliest written examples are from the seventeenth century. Yet another two ballads in three variants are mentioned as possible *singing games* in older times, for example, the well-known *Bonden och kråkan.* The latter, however, are labelled as "dismissed" since they are considered to be probable constructions belonging to a secondary tradition. The author argues that these ballads/singing games arose as a product of the ballad-

dance movement at the start of the twentieth century. Eriksson furthermore asks what should actually be defined as *singing game,* discussing in particular Egil Bakka's (2005) definition which consists of four dimensions: *text*, *melody*, *movement*, and *drama*. Otherwise the ballad *narrative* – what happens in the story – is treated as a way to understand ballad's dramatic performability. The article also deals with the question of whether the ballad melody can be clearly associated with the narrative function or at least help to bear it up. This is certainly a tricky question: can one tune really be replaced with a completely different one (while the words are retained) and the narrative coherence still remain relatively intact? I myself am somewhat sceptical, but the article seems inclined to assume that it is possible, since the discussion ends with the (perhaps somewhat antiquated) statement that music is a "non-narrative medium" (p. 48). Eriksson's method can partly be described as hermeneutic, since some importance is attached to interpreting or reinterpreting earlier collectors' and researchers' more emotional assumptions about the use and performance of the studied ballads. In other words, Eriksson wants to give a better and fairer picture of how the ballads may have been used as singing games. At the end of the article there is an appendix with now updated status of the studied ballads.

The third essay in the volume, by Sigurd Kværndrup, deals with *Karen Brahes folio* (KBF). This is a ballad manuscript from about 1560 and is unique of its kind. The manuscript is exceptionally old in itself, and it consists exclusively of ballads, 197 ballad types in all, in 199 versions. One result of Kværndrup's analysis is that the ballads in the folio can be assumed to be arranged according to a certain thematic system and to have been reworked from a literary point of view. The main aim of the article, according to the author, is twofold: to put the manuscript in a broader context, and to understand how it is subjected to *monoglossia*, that is, its literary revision when the language itself is centralized and made uniform. This is linked to the way the poem is expressed as written or spoken language, in other words, the transition between oral and more written tradition. Here the authors considers Mikhail M. Bakhtin's (2003) theories of how the Renaissance imposed uniformity where there had previously been polyglossia. By way of introduction the author also examines the provenance of the manuscript. This makes fascinating reading. The author cites a number of pieces of evidence which make it likely that it was Tycho Brahe's mother Beate Bille (1526–1605) who was the main editor of KBF. More doubtful is the claim that the large number of strong women portrayed in the manuscript can also be taken as evidence that the editor of the folio was a woman. Perhaps the observation has more to do with the high age of the ballads than with the sex of its compiler.

Intermedial perspectives on the legend of Stephen and Herod, the story of how Stephen sees the star and informs Herod that Jesus has been born, is the theme of the fourth article. This is by Jørgen Bruhn and Karin Eriksson, who seek to show how the medial representations appear in what is collectively referred to as the "Stephen material". The study relies heavily on structuralist explanatory models and consequently devotes much less attention to matters of content and usage. There is special focus on the French structuralist Roland Barthes and his conceptual pair *noyau – catalyse*, which the authors say they intend to develop. The approach in the article is comparative semiotics, dealing in large measure with the way different *core scenes* and *satellite motifs* relate to each other. Although no works by Lévi-Strauss are found among the references, it is easy to find associations with his theories of how similar elements occur among myths. The legend of Stephen

has been the subject of previous Swedish research, but the authors believe they have a new angle in that they also want to discuss how the different forms of expression (such as ballad and image) relate to and inspire each other, rather than regarding them as being essentially different. The latter perspective can be found instead in a scholar like Ewert Wrangel (1914). One form of the Stephen material that is well known to everyone in Sweden is the song *Staffan stalledräng*, but the folk basis of the theme is also evident from the fact that it also occurs in paintings on church ceilings and wall hangings. The material is thus heterogeneous in character and is found in a great many forms, hybrids, and combinations. A particularly interesting observation is that the legend does not seem to have been preserved at all in prose form in old manuscripts.

The fifth article is by Karin Eriksson and Sigurd Kværndrup, who analyse the folk ballad *Liten vallpiga* (SMB 182 and others). Here the ambition is to describe both texts and melodies in a number of versions, and to show how these relate to each other. At the same time, it must be noted that the exact number of versions is not presented lucidly. The authors put forward the thesis that the considerable variation that occurs in the material is due to the fact that text and melody are decidedly integrated, which also explains the differences in the way the ballad is rendered in different geographical tradition areas. The ballad, which is about a girl whose musical talent enables her to enchant a king, is found in both older and later variants. In several of the older examples there is no record of any melody, and in cases where there is one the authors discuss different problems of source criticism, such as that the melody may have been subjected to normalization, as when quarter tones occurred. The thus transformed musical notation consequently cannot be assumed to give a true picture of how the ballads were once performed. The authors observe, with some resignation, that there may never be an answer to this question, since for natural reasons we cannot travel back in time to what is called the *performance arena* of the ballad. In the discussion about the different versions of the ballad, the texts and melodies are first kept separate in different sections. The analysis of each section is then also inspired by models borrowed, on the one hand, from literary scholarship and, on the other hand, from musical scholarship. The authors finally arrive at the conclusion that the two media, text and melody, often develop side by side, although text and melody are certainly a unit that coexists in certain fixed phases. A limited part of the corpus of tunes – those from Finland – also seems to have undergone less change and is interpreted as being slightly more homogeneous than the majority of the other studied material.

This somewhat impenetrable but also stimulating volume ends with a short, well-formulated text with a gender perspective written by Margareta Wallin Wictorin. The analysis is partly semiotic, relying on the theories of Umberto Eco (1979). In language that is at once humorous and correct, the author analyses older published ballads (SMB 179 A and B), comparing them with hand-coloured woodcuts where pigs appear as proxy human beings and perform women's chores, and with woodcuts depicting young women dreaming or sleeping. The theme can be found at several places in Europe from the late fifteenth century. As regards the hand-coloured woodcuts, references are duly made to Nils-Arvid Bringéus (1999) and his research on these *kistebrev*. Perhaps not surprisingly, Wallin Wictorin reaches the conclusion that the different categories of material all communicate a widespread notion that is it "sinful of a young woman to sleep, laze, or amuse herself"; indeed it is almost the deadly sin of sloth (*acedia*). A woman should instead perform the tasks assigned to

her, without grumbling, until a suitable man comes along and proposes to her. Despite the relative agreement, she also shows that it is possible to find examples of more open interpretations. In particular, it was probably considered more acceptable for young women from the aristocracy to be slightly less industrious than women from the broad masses.

Patrik Sandgren
Lund, Sweden

An Ethnologist's Autobiography

Anders Gustavsson: Bondekultur i möte med akademikerkulturer i Sverige och Norge. En personlig pendling mellan skilda världar. Novus forlag, Oslo 2013. 117 pp. Ill.

Autobiographies are a great genre. Important fathers and mothers in society, as well as less influential inhabitants, write their memoirs. Biographies are also great material for research. There is a wealth of studies about autobiographical narration both within the study of literature and within folkloristics.

Anders Gustavsson, professor of ethnology in Oslo, Norway, has published his autobiography. In it he describes his childhood on a farm in Bohuslän. He was interested in school and schooling, which took him to university. Ever since then he has earned his living in academia. He was engaged at several Swedish universities, studying in Lund, lecturing in Gothenburg, and acting as professor in Uppsala. The book tells about Gustavsson's position at the universities with both joyful and tragic experiences. Such is human life! After some stressful years he found himself in Oslo, as a professor at the university there. The period there seems to have been a time of harmony and good collegial cooperation.

The most informative parts of the book, however, concern his scholarly work. He covered a great many different topics within ethnology. He mentions maritime studies, research into cultural encounters and borders, and reports on the use of alcohol, besides his deep and learned research about Christian, Lutheran folk religion. His most recent interest lies in folk art and farmers' worldview. Gustavsson is also internationally oriented and takes part in a fair number of Nordic and European networks to do with his discipline. The third task of the universities is also relevant in his biography: he ponders on the question of how to utilize ethnology for the benefit society.

The process of research as described from his experience is certainly one of the most valuable parts of the book. The chapter demonstrates how a scholar matures to formulate his aims and goals from pure description to more theoretical study. Gustavsson also brings up ethical matters, a field of interest that was not always at the centre of ethnological investigations. All through the book there are photographs, mostly of a very private character.

In Finland it was not unusual for university professors to have climbed the social ladder. Few professors could boast forefathers in the same métier. Consequently, it is interesting to read about this change of status in a personally formulated text like an autobiography. It is clear what the author wants to show, and what he wants to hide. In this case the author was very generous in letting his readers know what happened during his long career. He describes how difficult it was for a person with his background to receive an academic education as well as his joy when he was inaugurated as professor with all advantages and disadvantages connected with such a position. He also mentions all the changes in methods, theories, research material, and technical equipment that happened during his time. And they are really many and far-reaching in all areas of the discipline. All in all, the book is a nice personal document for those who

want to know more about how one of their colleagues experienced his life in academia.

Ulrika Wolf-Knuts
Åbo, Finland

Collected Studies on Folk Religion

Anders Gustavsson: Cultural Studies on Folk Religion in Scandinavia. Novus Press, Oslo 2012. 202 pp. Ill.

Anders Gustavsson, professor emeritus of ethnology at the University of Oslo, has concentrated during his career on folk religiosity in Western Sweden, especially Bohuslän. He has sought to come as close as possible to the people and everyday life, aspects that theology, particularly in the past, did not properly consider. In this he was eminently continuing a research tradition started and developed in Lund by Hilding Pleijel, professor of ecclesiastical history, and Nils-Arvid Bringéus, professor of ethnology. Using questionnaires and interviews, the aim in this tradition was to find out about individuals' religious behaviour and beliefs. Through information from several people within the same sphere of interest one can then draw certain general conclusions. The aim is not strict sampling procedures and statistical analysis. The conclusions are therefore to some extent arbitrary, but specific phenomena and individuals are studied in depth. The method suits well for phenomena such as religious revivals at a local level, since these are usually very elusive and the outlines are obscure.

Anders Gustavsson has described in his studies the piety of the old church, with elements of revivalism within the Lutheran church at the micro level. We find this in the present book, above all in the study of the peasant Jakob Jonsson, who lived between 1795 and 1879 on the island of Orust in Bohuslän. Through his diaries and letters we come close to this person, which is rather unusual. It is everyday piety with devotions and services that emerges here.

Above all, the book gives us fine descriptions of spiritual revivals in the Bohuslän area, but also on the Norwegian side of the border. Many of the revivals took place in the free church, such as the Pentecostal movement, which acquired a very strong position in some places.

It is interesting here to see how the moral and religious norms changed over the years within a revival, a phenomenon that is still true of many similar movements but has not yet been the subject of a proper all-round scholarly description. Values and behaviour always change over time, especially when new generations take over. There is an important research task here, as too little work has been done. Here, however, we get significant information about some such changes.

One thing that I would have liked to see in this context is a chronological survey of ecclesiastical history on the Bohuslän coast. As it is now, we get glimpses of the geography and the history. To gain a better grasp of the whole, a fuller description would have been warranted.

Another extremely interesting question concerns the association between societal and economic and other factors in the rise of revival movements. Here the author refers to interesting research in the sociology of religion from Norway and elsewhere. On this point he could have gone into greater depth.

One article in the book that I find particularly interesting is "The Use of the Senses in Religious Revival Movements". Here we find an attempt at a thematic treatment of revivalist piety. The author highlights sight, hearing, touch, taste, and to some extent smell. When it comes to sight, he examines different texts that can be found hanging at vari-

ous places in the home, but also on fishing boats, as is often the case in these geographical areas. But visual impressions are also conveyed by crosses that people wear, or those seen in churches and meeting houses and on gravestones. Hearing comes into use, of course, in services and devotions. A meeting of the church sewing circle, with texts read aloud, likewise conveys spiritual messages via the ears. The whole musical culture that plays such a major part in free churches is also communicated through hearing. The role of music in evoking feelings of well-being, of mystery and near-ecstasy, is well known. There must be much more to be gained from a study of this.

Touch also has a great part to play, everything from ordinary salutatory gestures to the laying on of hands with prayers. And then we have taste, which means so much. Here it is not just a question of communion, but all the occasions when coffee and food play a major role. Smell seems to me to have been treated unfairly. There are so many more smells than just incense; for instance, the smell of buildings and rooms where many people have gathered for a long time for festivities and prayer meetings, giving the room a special atmosphere.

Analysing the way in which religion pervades people's lives via our sense organs is an important research task. What is rather new in the field of the senses and hence of experiences is fascinating to see with the coming of each new revival movement and in its impact. With the successful breakthrough of Pentecostalism about a hundred years ago, it was specifically in the sphere of hearing that new forms were expressed. Speaking in tongues with prophecies and noisy meetings played a crucial part in the successes of the first decades. It would be useful to go deeper in research into what our sensory organs mean in religious contexts.

The ten articles by Anders Gustavsson that have now been translated into English and published in one volume should be viewed as valuable primary material. My own experience of and research into the Pentecostal movement in Swedish-speaking Finland shows many similarities to what I read here about the movement in western Sweden. It would be important to sum up and describe the phenomena and draw theoretical conclusions. Micro studies are always important, but we can and should dare to raise the research to more general levels.

Nils G. Holm
Åbo, Finland

Paranormal Experiences in Today's Norway

Jan-Olav Henriksen & Kathrin Pabst: Uventet og ubedt: Paranormale erfaringer i møte med tradisjonell tro. Universitetsforlaget, Oslo 2013. 206 pp.

Jan-Olav Henriksen, whose subject is religion, and Kathrin Pabst, an ethnologist and folklorist, have together published a book about people's supernatural, or in the authors' word "paranormal", experiences in present-day Norway. The authors base their study on detailed interviews conducted with seventeen informants, eleven of whom are women. The first selection criterion was that they have or previously had a positive attachment to Christian faith and practice. The second criterion was that they have had more than one type of paranormal experience. They were not selected according to any statistical principles but through tips obtained by the snowball method. For the authors it has been important to consider the individual informants in depth. They come from the southern parts of Norway and are mainly aged from 40 to 70. Two of them are between 20 and 40 years old. The informants represent different occupations; four of them are priests. They

all come from a Protestant background which they have not rejected, although their religious activity later in life has varied, and two of them have converted to Catholicism. The informants have not been involved in charismatic movements, nor have they had much contact with New Age ideas. The authors are careful to point out that these are people who are not in any way deviant in their environment, but ordinary Norwegians. The informants are given fictitious first names to preserve their anonymity. Their paranormal experiences vary in character. They can concern Christian healing. Visions of angels are reported in several cases. Encounters with dead people who were not known to the informants are also described. In many cases life is perceived as a struggle between good and evil forces.

The authors are not just interested in the content of the paranormal experiences, but also in what they meant to the informants and how they were interpreted by them. What was the response from other people around them, both in the official Lutheran Church in Norway and among people they met in everyday life? How open were the informants in telling other people about their experience?

The paranormal experiences were totally unexpected for those who had them; they had not sought any such experiences. The authors regard them as subjective experiences and therefore do not need to discuss their objective truth. What is important for the researchers is to respect the phenomena and the people's narratives that they study. Since the informants were uncertain about how other people would react to their experiences, they were often cautious about talking about them, at least in the beginning. Yet the resistance the informants encountered was often much less than they had expected. The negative stance encountered in the official Lutheran Church is what the authors call "repressive orthodoxy".

The first main chapter (pp. 28–79) discusses Christian healing as practised through touch with the aid of "warm hands". This is an example of supernatural forces being transmitted in a concrete manner through human beings. The five informants who have performed Christian healing did not accept any payment, with one exception. They explain that they received this gift from God and that they performed the healing in obedience to God. A characteristic feature is that the clients had not received any effective help from the health service and therefore sought alternative healing methods. The healing powers can be transferred not just through touch but also by telephone. Modern technology can thus help to communicate supernatural forces. The healing is aimed at both believers and non-believers who make contact.

The next chapter (pp. 80–117) concentrates on experiences of angels. Visions of angels bringing messages occurred in the early Lutheran Church, but from the start of the nineteenth century this found less acceptance in the official church in Norway. In the words of the sociologist Max Weber, the religious world was "de-enchanted"). As a consequence of this, the informants in the study have not presented their personal experiences to church leaders, for fear of being rejected. They have shown this caution even though the angels are perceived by the informants as messengers from God. The two informants who have become Catholics feel a greater openness within the Catholic Church, an acceptance of the possibility of having visions from the paranormal world. These informants have not only met angels but also Mary and Jesus. One could say that the world has been "re-enchanted". The boundaries between the world that can be observed through the human senses and another world inhabited by supernatural beings become blurred, or in the authors' word, "porous". The angels in the recent material

no longer come with messages for a social milieu, but instead appear as positive helpers to the people who have these experiences, or to someone close to them. This is fully in line with the tendencies to individualization in modern society.

The third chapter (pp. 118–135) discusses the outlook on the battle between good and evil forces in life. The informants' experiences concern the good and divine side of existence. One must be on one's guard against the evil, diabolical side, but none of the informants has needed to experience that.

The fourth chapter (pp. 136–160) looks at some informant's experiences of encounters with dead persons whom they had known. Because of their Christian faith, they were sceptical about contacting the dead, yet they say that they were visited by dead relatives. They interpret this to mean that God or Jesus is behind these experiences, which happened so that they themselves would obtain help in a difficult situation in life.

This book takes up a topic in folk belief that has become an important international research field in the 2010s. This is evident from the foundation in 2010 of the "Belief Narrative Network" within the folkloristic umbrella organization, the International Society for Folk Narrative Research (ISFNR). Henriksen and Pabst are working with a limited set of material but they have analysed it in great depth. The reader gets a clear picture of how paranormal experiences of different kinds in our time can arise among perfectly ordinary people in firmly Christian contexts in Norway. On the other hand, the reader is given no idea of what happens in New Age settings. I myself have obtained information about this through studies of memorial pages on the Internet dedicated to dead persons in Norway and Sweden. There one can find beliefs about how to contact dead relatives (especially young ones) and narratives of such contacts, and encounters with angels, none of which is rooted in specifically Christian religiosity. God and Jesus are however mentioned in some cases on the Internet, and this happens more in Norway than in Sweden. It is more common to find completely free-standing notions about angels. It can also be perceived that people who die become angels and are believed to watch over the living on earth. No such neo-religious ideas occur in this book, because the authors focus their study on informants with a clearly Christian foundation.

Anders Gustavsson
Oslo, Norway/Henån, Sweden

The Folklore Researcher Lauri Honko Revisited

Matti Kamppinen & Pekka Hakamies: The Theory of Culture of Folklorist Lauri Honko 1932–2002. The Ecology of Tradition. With a Foreword by Armin W. Geertz. The Edwin Mellen Press. Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter 2013. 115 pp.

For several decades Lauri Honko (1932–2002) was a leading Nordic scholar of folklore and religion. Two of his pupils and successors in Finland, Matti Kamppinen and Pekka Hakamies, have published this book in English about the theoretical perspectives that Honko applied in his studies of culture. The authors maintain that their study in the history of the discipline focuses on "theory of culture", which means "what culture is and how it can be studied" (p. 2). Honko's main theoretical concepts were the ecology of tradition, functionalism, system thinking, genre analysis, and process theory. In the book reviewed here the concept of the ecology of tradition is ascribed the greatest significance and allowed to serve as the subtitle on the title page. This concept means that the study of folkloristic texts must relate them to the contexts where

the texts functioned and were recorded. Honko himself wrote these characteristic words in the edited volume *Folkloristikens aktuella paradigm*, 1981: "To be able to penetrate a particular setting and gain a place there, folklore must adapt to cultural, social, economic, and physical environmental factors. Investigating these adaptation processes is the task of the ecology of tradition" (p. 47). Functionalism, which studies functional roles, is closely allied to the ecology of tradition. System thinking refers to "the search for systems behind the appearance" (p. 4). Genre analysis means "classifications of oral tradition" (p. 8). The genres are ideal types created to serve as the researcher's tools (p. 46). Folklore process involves the study of "the life course of tradition" (p. 5). The researcher's task is to "identify the dynamics of contents as they migrate from one context to another" (p. 75).

Theoretical perspectives were important for Honko, but at the same time he was anxious to stay close to the empirical in the form of recorded texts as well as oral material collected through fieldwork. The theories always have to be tested empirically. In later years Honko did fieldwork in India, performing an in-depth study of a prominent singer, Gopala Naika. He developed perspectives of performance theory to analyse the songs in widely different contexts. They were performed "in healing rituals, in work songs, and in theatrical displays" (p. 80). The singing and the lyrics are adapted to the context and can vary on different occasions. In his later years Honko was also involved in applied research, in that he acted to ensure that oral folklore all over the world would be saved for posterity and not allowed to disappear. As chairman of a UNESCO committee Honko was active in the formulation in 1989 of the UNESCO Recommendation for the Safeguarding of Folklore.

Honko occupied a leading position in the Nordic countries through his writings and the assignments he was given, chiefly in his capacity as director of the Nordic Institute of Folklore (NIF) 1972–1990. I got to know him when I was a member of the board of NIF 1981–1989. After his time as director of NIF, Honko started The Folklore Fellows' Summer School in Finland, held annually from 1991. It was "an international training course for folklorists" (p. 91). This demonstrates both Honko's international commitment and his ambition to train new folklorists who could investigate oral folklore all over the world. It was not only to be preserved but also studied by academically qualified researchers.

Honko was frequently engaged as a referee expert in the assessment of doctoral dissertations and academic appointments in the Nordic countries. When I became professor in Uppsala in 1987, Honko was one of the three referees. In *NIF Newsletter* 1988 nos. 1–2 he described my scholarly work as follows: "His conclusions derive more from grass-roots observation and fieldwork than from abstract theorising, but what he has produced by way of generalising on the regression of custom, cultural contact in processual profile, our cultural barriers in situations of adaptation easily attains theoretic importance" (p. 35). It is obvious here that when Honko assessed other scholars' work, the link between empirical and theoretical was central.

This book ends with a presentation of the many folklorists in Finland who gained their doctorate with Honko as supervisor and were thus inspired by his theoretical ideas. The book is dedicated to one of his pupils, Anna-Leena Siikala, to mark her seventieth birthday in 2013. According to the authors of the book, she can "be considered the most influential student of Lauri Honko, together with Juha Pentikäinen" (p. 96). Pentikäinen was Honko's first assistant and the first of his disciples to gain a doctorate in 1968. In 1970 Honko and Pentikäinen together published the first

presentation of cultural anthropology in Finnish.

The authors' aim with this book is not just to survey the history of the discipline but also to look at the future. They wish to demonstrate the relevance of Honko's theoretical perspectives for today's and tomorrow's research on folklore and religion. In their opinion, "if we anchor religion to the belief in the supernatural, then the tools of genre analysis and of folklore process become inevitable in religious studies" (p. 78). When the authors outline future societies and research tasks, they are convinced that "the toolbox for religious studies and folkloristics should include the basic assumptions of Honko's theory of culture and tradition ecology: functionalism, systems thinking and the process view of the world, balanced with bold theorizing and pragmatism" (p. 101). This view of Honko's relevance is contested, however, by the Swedish folklorist Inger Lövkrona in a review written in 2013 of the book *Folkloristikens aktuella utmaningar*. She claims that "tradition ecology today is as withered as the historical-geographical method – described by Honko as 'the evergreen' – and comparativism and genre analysis" (*Rig* 2013, no. 2, p. 124). This outlook is representative of Sweden, but need not apply to every country.

To conclude, I think that the authors of this book have made an important contribution to the history of folklore studies by giving us a living picture of one of the leading Nordic exponents, who was deeply committed to internationalizing research and research contacts. The book takes its place as a major example of a trend in Nordic disciplinary history, in highlighting the significance of now dead ethnologists and folklorists. Publications with this kind of content appeared in Sweden in 2010 and in Norway in 2013. An obvious advantage of the book about Honko's culture theory compared with the Swedish and Norwegian publications is that it is in English so that it can benefit readers all over the world.

Anders Gustavsson
Oslo, Norway/Henån, Sweden

Rituals of Death among the Swedish Minority in Finland

Bo Lönnqvist: Dödens ansikte. Tro och sed bland herre och folk. Scriptum, Vasa 2013. 216 pp. Ill. English summary.

The Finland-Swedish ethnologist and cultural historian Bo Lönnqvist gives us here a detailed description of the ritualization of death in different social strata among the Swedish-speaking minority living in the coastal districts of southern and western Finland. The book is richly illustrated with paintings and photographs from churches, cemeteries, museums and archives, combined with the author's own fieldwork since the late 1960s. The pictures illustrates situations, such as funeral processions, as well as objects used in connection with death and burial.

This is a narrative study, with the basic material consisting of written records left by 75 local informants, mostly living in the countryside. These records are the responses to a questionnaire, "Traditions of Death and Burial", which the author compiled and distributed back in 1967. He was then an archivist at the Folk Culture Archives of the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland. He met many of these informants in person and has published photographs of several of them in the book. He also did fieldwork with tape recordings in 1968. The 75 local informants primarily represent a rural setting, consisting of farmers, fishermen, craftsmen, crofters, and servants. The respondents in 1967–1968 were born between the 1880s and the 1920s, and they recount both what they heard tell and what they themselves have experienced. The focus in this study is on

the late nineteenth century, but the account is continued down to the early twentieth century. Facts are mixed with experiences. From the upper classes, chiefly the culture of the manor houses, there are some early written sources in the form of diaries and memoirs reaching back to the late eighteenth century.

The model for the collection in 1967 was the Swedish standard work *När döden gästar* (When Death Calls), published by Louise Hagberg in 1937. It is only since his retirement in 2004 that Lönnqvist has tackled the analysis of the responses collected in 1967–1968. Here one can talk in modern terms of "ethnographic return", when a researcher goes back to a previous study after a long time, to elaborate on it from new aspects.

The author closely follows the whole course of events from the moment of death to the funeral meal (*gravöl*) and ideas about life after death. The upper classes were careful to mark their status at funerals. This could be done in the arrangement of the funeral procession and receptions in the home of the deceased. Such an occasion was called *gravöl* and could last for at least a couple of days. Aquavit played an important part. It was only people without money or property who did not serve alcohol, only coffee. The *gravöl* was regarded as a feast, a sign of an "honest" funeral, and it was important for status. A significant narrative tradition grew up around it, and this is well attested by the local informants. The upper classes also marked their special position in the cemeteries by building mortuary chapels or sepulchral monuments. These differed radically from the common people's simple memorials of wood, which were not as permanent as memorial tombs.

After a death occurred it was important to be careful with the body, since a corpse was considered dangerous. Rituals had to be strictly observed so that the dead person would not come back as a ghost. Special shrouders, women from the lowest class of people without property, took care of the washing and dressing of the body. The book has several pictures of corpses, including a number of children, lying in the coffin without a lid and with the chief mourners looking on. Photography revolutionized the possibilities of remembering the dead. Dead bodies were not tabooed at this time as they later became. On the day of the funeral the remains were carried on a bier to the cemetery, before hearses became common in the late nineteenth century. The ringing of the church bells was done by the immediate family.

Because of the harsh climate, especially in northern Finland during the winter, it was difficult or impossible to dig graves because the ground was frozen solid. It therefore happened in the coastal districts of north-west Finland that the bodies of those who had died during the winter were kept in special morgues. In the early summer a large mass grave was dug and the coffins were emptied into it, after which lime was strewn on them and the grave was filled in. This eliminated the social differences between higher and lower classes, between rich and poor. The stench at these times was dreadful, so this work was done by men who were heavily under the influence of alcohol. The empty coffins were burnt afterwards. This custom persisted until the end of the nineteenth century, when it was prohibited by the authorities.

Lönnqvist's book is an important contribution to Nordic research on death, which has been coordinated since the start in 2010 by the Nordic Network of Thanatology (NNT). One of the merits of this study is the detailed descriptions of ritual. The author has long quotations from the collected records. Theoretical discussions are toned down, and mostly concern passage rites. Differences between social classes are clearly highlighted. This may be because Lönnqvist has previously undertaken several studies of manor house

culture among Swedish speakers in Finland. On the other hand, in this study he does not attach so much importance to changes over time. He depicts a pre-industrial era with a cyclic perception of time. Social status is more important for the author than time, although some changes are glimpsed in the text.

Anders Gustavsson
Oslo, Norway/Henån, Sweden

Happiness in Chapbooks

Anna Nilsson: Lyckans betydelse. Sekularisering, sensibilisering och individualisering i svenska skillingtryck 1750–1850. Agerings Bokförlag, Höör 2012. 274 pp. English summary. Diss.

Happiness may be one of the most elusive things for which humans strive, which makes it worth the effort to explain and understand the concept. The aspiration for happiness nevertheless seems to be tenacious, which can be frustrating since it has been filled with different meaning through the ages, and in our days of New Age beliefs and ever-present advertising it has also been commercialized and exploited in our media. Yet it seems important to do academic studies of the concept of happiness, as has now happened through the Lund historian Anna Nilsson. The doctoral dissertation that Nilsson has written is best regarded as a sister study to one on "the theatre of fate" by the historian of ideas Andreas Hellerstedt, *Ödets teater: Ödesföreställningar i Sverige vid 1700-talets början* (2009) and one by Kristiina Savin on "Fortuna's guises", *Fortunas klädnader: Lycka, olycka och risk i det tidigmoderna Sverige* (2011), two studies to which Nilsson frequently refers. Both Hellerstedt and Savin have tackled these concepts which mainly figured in the learned world in the early modern period. Nilsson, in principle, proceeds from the era where the two previous scholars ended their studies, and she focuses moreover on a type of material that cannot be related to the learned world, namely, chapbooks in the period 1750–1850. The chapbook as a genre has mainly been studied by scholars of literature and music, not by historians, and so this "folk" medium can be used for other scholarly purposes and to answer a different type of questions, in this case how the word and the concept of happiness has been used in the ballads and tales printed in chapbooks. There is good reason, as Nilsson shows, to question whether chapbooks really reflect folk beliefs; perhaps it was the values of the elite that were instead expressed in the idiom of the people and mixed with those of the broad masses. Nor can we wholly ignore the question of censorship and whether commercial aspects acted to moderate the ideas expressed in the ballads and tales. It is nevertheless evident that the genre as such can give us some historical insight into the form taken by perceptions of happiness.

The author makes a chronological division of her period into two halves, 1750–1800 and 1800–1850, and this turns out to be fruitful. The second half of the eighteenth century still bore the stamp of the Lutheran ethic and the Aristotelian-scholastic view of man. The chapbooks then displayed a crass picture of humans as lost beings filled with unbridled lusts and desires. Human life, according to the ballads, seems to have been about combating the craving for material possessions and worldly success, rejecting the drive for artificial happiness and instead striving towards eternal bliss. What was available to eighteenth-century people was thus virtue, a life of controlled desires. Then, during the first half of the nineteenth century, the ballads took a different direction with the more popular influences of religious revivalism, the increased significance of nationalism and patriotism, and direct influence from a Neoplatonic movement during the romantic

era. Although happiness was still regarded as being impermanent, as in the preceding half-century, happiness and bliss acquired meaning in combination with concepts such as emotion, tenderness, virtue, and pure habits. The meaning of happiness in the second half of the eighteenth century was focused on our brief and transient life on earth, a world from which mankind required salvation. Happiness was associated with sin and short-term material aspirations, a constant reminder of the dangers of temptation. From a theological point of view, and, it may be added, from the perspective of the power hierarchy, happiness was not something worth striving for; heavenly bliss was the alternative. If earthly life was characterized by peace of mind and a clear conscience, combined with a longing for eternal life in heaven, it was a sign that one had triumphed over deceptive worldly desires. The nineteenth-century attitude to happiness still had negative associations of worldly life and desire, but became an interesting counterpart to heavenly bliss and well-being. Through the chapbooks we now see a growing tendency to secularization, with worldly happiness as a moral equivalent of life in heaven.

Anna Nilsson's dissertation is very competent in its handling of sources and how she interprets the changed content and character of chapbooks during the period. It seems reasonable to assume that the start of the nineteenth century saw a healthy move away from the most dogmatic Lutheran principles, although they could be replaced by nationalist sentiments alongside the more liberal revivalist theology. During the same period, moreover, the liberal press emerged, headed by *Aftonbladet* (1830), and more outspoken criticism of the monarchy and the state church could begin to make itself heard, even though there was still considerable censorship.

I have one objection, however. Nilsson is guilty of a strange formulation when she says that "the concept of folk culture undeniably has an ideological heritage that gives it a troublesome ring" (p. 41), this in connection with Bengt af Klintberg and Finn Zetterholm's edition of *Svensk Folkpoesi* from 1972. While it is true that there may have been a romantic notion of "the good and repressed people" in academic research, political debate, and cultural expressions in the 1960s and 1970s, this should be seen in the light of the fact that research on power relations and the ambition to highlight the conditions of repressed groups was only in its cradle at that time. In any case, we do not have to go to much effort to find concepts with a "troublesome ring" that we use every day without much reflection. What about misused terms such as "democracy", "freedom", or "reform"?

Despite this critical remark I find the dissertation well done and interesting, also as a sign that historians today are increasingly devoting themselves to the history of ideas and culture. It is perhaps of more academic interest to note that subject boundaries are becoming increasingly fluid and that, in the longer term, they may perhaps be renegotiated and redrawn, but it is still worth noting.

Henrik Brissman
Lund, Sweden

Rural women

Pia Olsson: Women in Distress. Self-understanding among 20th century Finnish rural women. European Studies in Culture and Policy. University of Ulster. Volume 11. LIT-Verlag, Zürich & Berlin 2011. 287 pp.

Sisters must obey their brothers, younger ones included. Old men decide and women obey. Girls showing the least sign of alluring behaviour are called tarts. We readily associate axioms like these with conservative cultures rooted far outside the Nordic area, but

research ethnologist Pia Olsson, Helsinki University, has written a book about the position of girls and women in the first half of the 20th century containing any number of such quotations and pronouncements, the mere perusal of which comes as a salutary reminder of just how close in time these phenomena are located. The book deals with women (and, indirectly, men), most of whom are grandparents to people living today, who were born in the 1940s and 50s. When I grew up in the Swedish countryside during the 1960s, it was out of the question for my grandmother to leave the home bareheaded. Elderly women of her generation (born round about 1900 and so a little older than the women Olsson studies) had long hair which had never known a pair of scissors. Instead it was always tied up. In Sweden at least, with its powerful modernisation discourse, the experiences of rural women – who, be it noted, constituted the majority of Sweden's female population – in the 20th century have gone almost completely unnoticed. This, accordingly, is a seminal book and, together with the initiatives taken in recent years by Norwegian, Danish, and Finnish and, to some extent, Swedish ethnologists and agrarian historians, contributes towards an understanding of conditions for rural women during the build-up of the Nordic welfare states. In addition, it should be capable of importantly contributing towards self-reflection in discussions concerning the way in which women are regarded by conservative groups, both Christian and Muslim. Our own Nordic contemporary history stands to benefit from relativisation. This book ought, not least, to inspire further studies as to how these countries have nonetheless succeeded in effecting quite a far-reaching emancipation and liberalisation within the space of just a couple of generations.

The study is based on replies to a comprehensive questionnaire (*The Status of a Woman*), distributed in 1985 by Finland's National Board of Antiquities, in which women were asked to describe their early years and adult lives in the Finnish countryside. Nearly 400 replies were received, and Pia Olsson has used about half of them. She began her study with the intention of studying long-term changes brought about by the Second World War. Endearingly, she acknowledges that the character of the source material led her to change her tack. The – undeniably numerous – women who had replied to the questionnaire had, she found, taken the opportunity of telling their stories in a way which challenged a great deal of received wisdom concerning conditions for rural women. The narratives addressed women's specific experiences, but also their ways of thinking and acting, how they had structured their lives and what meaning they ascribed to them. The questionnaire answers, describing women's entire lives, became Olsson's new starting point. The women and the life they described proved none too easy to pin down in terms of periods. She realised that the way people experience their lives does not change abruptly in obedience to any hard-and-fast divisions created by historians. These women's lives and their self-perception were rooted in many different strata, beginning with their childhood circumstances. The investigation period therefore had to be extended to the early 20th century in order to make both change and continuity understandable.

Narratives of this kind, whether presented by word of mouth or in writing, entail various problems of theory and method, often prompting long sections in books of this kind. Pia Olsson shares the researcher's usual misgivings when facing people's portrayals of their lives. Which women picked up their pens and answered? By what right did they communicate while others remained silent? Above all, what right does Olsson, as a gender researcher, have to highlight such themes from this material 30 years after the event? Has she understood

women's reality or is she distorting it? These women can hardly have been familiar with the present-day gender debate. My rejoinder is another question: has she any choice in the matter? Clearly, there is no one and only truth, and every selection, teaming, interpretation is in its way a distortion of a reality which is not totally describable. But indescribable reality is of little use to us. Reality has to be interpreted, given a meaning, and this, surely, is the reason why we have acquired our sometimes painful capacity for interpreting what is all the time going on within and among us. This is indeed the standpoint adopted by the author in her concluding chapter. I am glad that Pia Olsson set about processing these Finnish women's testimony, and I assume that the women themselves wanted someone to take their stories seriously, stories which quite clearly included memories of the oppression of women and thoughts as to how gender is constructed.

When analysing material of this kind, ethics and accepted research practice must of course be maintained, and in my opinion the author has done so. Inevitably, in this context, the source material is written text, and therefore demands a discursively oriented analysis, at the same time as the experiences highlighted are placed in their historical and cultural context (this last mentioned I will be returning to presently). Olsson shows restraint. She does not overload the book with long theoretical sections; they are there, but are discreetly inserted where needed for the sake of interpretation. She leans partly on Judith Butler and Joan W. Scott. She knows how to maintain the balance between experience and reflection in biographical material of this kind. The men pocketing all the money (sometimes even child allowance) was an experienced shared by many women, but the way in which they describe their feelings and actions, and also the way in which they have processed such experiences with the passing years (given, not least, that they finally came to have money of their own – old age pension), forms a narrative point of departure. In every woman affected, experience and feeling merged into self-understanding, not least of her own gender. Even though the questionnaire did not actually canvass feelings, certain complexes of questions clearly prompted women to express their feelings and opinions. The remarkable thing, though, was that the feelings were often negative and that the women took such a critical stance concerning their experiences.

Finnish history in the 20th century is bloodier and more lacerated than that of the other Nordic countries. Wars have impacted profoundly on people's lives. The rhetorical nexus between women and war has a horrifying capacity for evoking nationalist propaganda images. The image in Finland has been that of the strong, self-sufficient Finnish countrywoman doggedly keeping the home and farm going while the men are defending the nation. (Similar rhetoric was essayed in Swedish parliamentary debates.) This is an image that has been disseminated in many connections, but in their replies to the questionnaire the Finnish women took the opportunity of thoroughly deflating the notion and telling their own story instead. They describe, often with great bitterness, patriarchal oppression at national level but also at home, at the hands of fathers-in-law and other stay-at-home men folk, and, not least, husbands who, returning home traumatised by their wartime experiences, lapsed into alcoholism and, to say the least of it, a misogynist attitude. Things were not improved by the post-war reconstruction period being quite generally informed by stereotypes concerning the masculine and feminine. I endorse the author's claim that such notions concerning rural women also have something of a foothold in academic disciplines, not least when discussing the division of labour between the sexes. The more women worked out-

doors, the greater their independence has been rated. In Sweden's case this has been highlighted above all with reference to smallholders' wives in Norrland, and evidently the same notion also attaches to the wives of Finnish smallholders. This is to ignore the fact of women themselves not being free to decide what jobs they would do: the men decided that. The division of labour has very little to do with independence. Olsson remarks that men will not readily describe how they have worked with women, and women in the fields were not seen as an attribute of a modern nation. Men's work employs a homosocial perspective, as has been highlighted by the historian Ann-Katrin Östman in her research into the gender order of agrarian society in Ostrobothnia (Österbotten).

Men setting the frames were only an indication of something deeper down. The nature of wartime experiences proved in no uncertain manner to reach back directly to daughters' and young women's previous experiences. The book provides abundant examples of this, with ample and appalling quotations. 'Only the grove whores whistle' is a pivotal chapter and ought to be required reading for anyone interested in the present-day discussion of culture-of-honour problems. How do you demolish a young girl's self-esteem for all time? Call her a whore from an early age or scare her by saying that a number of behaviours not wanted by men are liable to result in her being branded as one. Whistling, for example, or leaving the farm without permission. Sexuality is a threat, and responsibility for the good behaviour of both sexes devolves on girls and women. A wife whose husband ran after other women was the one who had to bear the shame of it. The women replying to the questionnaire *The status of a Woman* show, through Olsson's processing of their replies, how patriarchal and powerfully misogynist structures set the frames for the lives of generations of women, and that these frames were ancient but were still creating uncertainty and shame among certain women towards the end of the 20th century.

She also shows that, within the female collectives of families, there was a hierarchy in which the young daughter-in-law ranked lowest and had no chance of making her own decisions. Mothers-in-law held the purse strings and governed the whole life of the family, while the production economy and the organisation of work were ruled by the old men. (The West Swedish women, born in the 1950s, whom I interviewed had had similar experiences.) The phenomenon of conflicts being vented between those occupying a subordinate position – in the present instance, two generations of women – and not aiming upwards at the seat of power, is well known.

The answers to the questionnaire come from all over the Finnish countryside, but the author finds that no regional differences can be identified where the condition of women is concerned. There is no reason to doubt this, because if anything the patriarchal system appears to have been fairly independent of both time and space. And yet both time and space form a context, and an international readership, not least, would have benefited from a closer presentation of Finland's political and agrarian history. Finland is bilingual and, moreover, has an Orthodox national church. Large parts of Karelia were lost during the Second World War. (A hundred thousand new farms were created for displaced persons from the lost territories.) Sometimes there is a flash of information, such as Orthodox Church membership or migratory movements connected with the war. Olsson also quotes a woman comparing Österbotten, which she finds more misogynist, with the north of Karelia, where men could refer to their wives by name and not just as "the old hag" (*kärring*). Pia Olsson also

notes that some women's narratives are brighter – they lived in a more permissive environment. There are a number of social and cultural complexes here which ought to have made a difference but are not easily interlinked with this kind of text material. Olsson expresses such intent, but I do not believe she fully perceives the scope of such an enterprise, which would really have called for every single narrative to be contextualised. As it is, we are very much confined to the text, which is fair enough.

Rural areas in the Nordic countries are characterised by sparse population, with people living in small villages or single settlements. The women in Olsson's study did not live in large female collectives, as could be the case in other parts of Europe where villages were densely populated or in regions with far-reaching clan systems. Living in small groups of women with strong patriarchs and, moreover, with heavily circumscribed opportunities for getting out and about, seems to me to imply particular stresses, because people had hardly anyone with whom to compare their situation or create a folklore of resistance. The same goes for historical conditions. It is both a strong and a weak point of ethnology that it refrains from historicising. This way one can show how certain phenomenons – the subjection of women for present purposes – apparently survive historical change. At the same time I wonder whether Olsson's argument about linking women's narratives to social and cultural conditions does not demand a kind of historicising. One example of the relation between the historically, socially and culturally confined is in fact the wartime experiences which impeded marital relations. Young men of the people were sent off to the war and came back with horrendous recollections which were kept quiet through oblivion in a culture of silence or drowned in drink but which later surfaced as violence and lack of empathy in family life. Here we have a historic event triggering the activation of social and cultural structures.

One question sometimes prompted by grim research findings like these is why women never protested. But how can an oppressed person protest if they do not know of any alternative? And this in a fairly isolated existence where there is nothing tangible to kick against. Moreover, an existence bereft of the concepts which would make it possible to formulate an opposition. I wholly agree with Pia Olsson that the time was not ripe until the 1980s. By then, so much had happened that women now had both concepts and a detachment from their history which enabled their anger to surface and be turned into a text which they sent off to the National Board of Antiquities.

All of the women replying to the questionnaire were elderly, and their daughters are really the first generation to have become better off. Society has been modernised, legislation and reforms have improved conditions for women, and the economy has been strengthened. They themselves refer to schooling, a trade or profession and money of their own. The not altogether linear modernisation of Finland is Olsson's explanation, but there is a gap which is both scientifically and methodologically hard to bridge. The narratives are on the individual plane, and it is hard to show what happens when changes detectable at national level are internalised by the individual. One can oppress an individual, even if it is against the law. The economy and modernisation per se does not automatically lead to better conditions for women. The abortion of female embryos among the Indian middle class, not least, is one such example. But I believe there are some important links present in Olsson's own material and in the women's narratives. Self-perception and self-respect are probably crucial to emancipation of every kind (whereas self-contempt from an early age works in the opposite direc-

tion), and when self-respect is not inculcated during childhood in the home, some other institution has to provide it. The women write of men's great disapproval of education for their daughters (it was not until the 1950s that Finland acquired a school system on a level with those of the other Nordic countries). Does this opposition seem familiar? We remember the girl in Pakistan who survived being shot recently and now travels round campaigning for girls' entitlement to education. The old men of agrarian Finland evidently shuddered at the prospect of their daughters being educated, and old men the world over are doing the same. This can lead to the challenging of national rhetoric. Between the lines of Pia Olsson's study we see the very fact of these women showing, partly by replying to the questionnaire on *the Status of a Woman* that they did not accept the "we-narrative" of women and men together heroically defending and rebuilding Finland. The women replied to the questionnaire with something of a collective disavowal of such rhetoric.

Pia Olsson has accomplished an impressive study and written a thought-provoking book.

Iréne A. Flygare
Uppsala, Sweden

Norwegian Disciplinary History

Etnologi og folkloristikk. En fagkritisk biografi om norsk kulturhistorie. Bjarne Rogan & Anne Eriksen (eds.). Novus forlag, Oslo 2013. 697 pp. Ill.

Without doubt, one can say that the interest in discipline history has increased in recent years, at least within the humanities. For instance, several doctoral dissertations have been published about the academic discipline of history, such as *Det historiska fältet* (2002, "The Historical Field") by Håkan Gunneriusson, and *Intelligensaristokrater och arkivmartyrer* (2010, "Aristocrats of the Intellect and Martyrs of the Archives") by Simon Larsson, as well as the ambitious book *Svenska historiker* (ed. Alf W. Johansson & Ragnar Björk, 2009, "Swedish historians"), which consists of biographies of eminent scholars. However, at least in Sweden ethnology stands out when it comes to disciplinary history. From the 1990s until today a large number of studies have been published. Nils-Arvid Bringéus' many books within the field should be highlighted, e.g. *Carl Wilhelm von Sydow som folklorist* (2006, published in English 2009, *Carl Wilhelm von Sydow: A Swedish Pioneer in Folklore*) and *Åke Campbell som etnolog* (2008, "Åke Campbell as an ethnologist"). The Swedish folklore archives have also been the topic of several doctoral dissertations; one could mention *Föreställningen om den ideala uppteckningen* (1996, "The Notion of the Ideal Record") by Agneta Lilja, *Folkhemmets arbetarminnen* (1996, "Workers' Memories in the Swedish *Folkhem*") as well as my own dissertation *Folkets minnen* (2008, "The Popular Memory"). In addition, an almost unmanageable number of articles, books and anthologies have been published that in one way or another deal with the history of the folkloristic-ethnological discipline – about archives, institutions, individual researchers as well as research trends. One explanation for the high intensity of the interest could be the radical changes that the discipline has undergone; perhaps also the last few decades' many institutional mergers have contributed. In Norway too, the subject has changed drastically. At the turn of the millennium the disciplines of ethnology and folklore were amalgamated. Together they now form the disciplines of cultural history (Olso) and cultural studies (Bergen), which also are parts of larger university departments.

The book *Etnologi og folkloristikk:*

En fagkritisk biografi om norsk kulturhistorie ("Ethnology and Folkloristics: A Critical Biography of the Discipline of Cultural History in Norway"), edited by Bjarne Rogan and Anne Eriksen, is a very ambitious book about the two subjects, the scholars, the central themes and not the least changes over time. In relation to the book's Swedish counterpart, *Svenska etnologer och folklorister* (ed. Mats Hellspong and Fredrik Skott, 2010, "Swedish Ethnologists and Folklorists"), the set-up is much wider. The Norwegian book consists of four separate sections, in total 697 pages! The first section gives a good picture of collectors and researchers of the nineteenth century. In part two, sixteen now deceased scholars are presented; all of them contributed significantly to shaping the two academic disciplines during the 1900s. For example, there are biographies of scholars such as Just Qvigstad (1853–1957), Nils Lid (1890–1958), Olav Bø (1918–1998), Reimund Kvideland (1935–2006) and Oddlaug Reiakvam (1940–1996). The third part of the book deals with thematic fields that have been in focus within the disciplines during the twentieth century and until today: "Folktales and legends", "Folk songs and ballads", "Belief and Customs", "The earliest research on folk medicine in Norway", "From artefact studies to the materiality of culture ", "Costumes and textiles", "Buildings" and "Agrarian livelihoods and cultural history". Finally, key institutions of the field are presented in part four. A total of 24 scholars are involved as authors of different chapters in the book. In short, many of Norway's leading ethnologists and folklorists of today write about their predecessors and their research projects.

The disposition is well thought out. Of course, one could discuss the selection when it comes to the biographies in part two. This is also the case with other similar books, like the above-mentioned *Svenska etnologer och folklorister*. However, in *Etnologi og folkloristikk* one can often find information about scholars that for some reason do not have a biography of their own (for example Lily Weiser-Aall) in the thematically structured chapters in part three, and also in the texts about the field's key institutions. Those chapters also contain more concerted approaches to perspectives and topics that have previously been discussed in the biographies of the individual scholars. Most of the thematic chapters also deal with a longer time span, from the beginning of the twentieth century until today. In other words, in the thematic articles one can find discussions about projects conducted by now living scholars.

One can read and use the book in several ways. The book contains an index of personal names that is helpful for those who wish to use the book as a biographical encyclopedia of eminent scholars and their research projects. However, one can also very well read the book from cover to cover. It gives a good insight into the disciplines and its scholars, into research projects and academic struggles, relationships with other disciplines and wider trends in society. Further, it reveals connections, similarities and differences between various ethological-folkloristic research departments in Norway, as well as internationally. The articles are of high scholarly quality. They are also well-written and relatively easy to read. In all likelihood, *Etnologi og folkloristikk* will become a standard work on the history and development of the disciplines.

Fredrik Skott
Gothenburg, Sweden

Fortune and Risk in Early Modern Times

Kristiina Savin: Fortunas klädnader. Lycka, olycka och risk i det tidigmoderna Sverige. Sekel bokförlag, Lund 2011. 501 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss.

One of the best-known evening prayers in Swedish, "Gud som haver barnen kär", ends with the words "Lyckan kommer, lyckan går, den Gud älskar lyckan får" (Fortune comes, fortune goes, those who love God receive fortune / Fortune comes, fortune goes, those whom God loves receive fortune) or else "Lyckan kommer, lyckan går, du förbliver fader vår" (Fortune comes, fortune goes, thou remainest Our Father). There is dispute as to how the prayer should really end, and that is perhaps a sign of the doubt that seems to prevail about what fortune is. Kristiina Savin has written an impressive doctoral dissertation with a title meaning "Fortuna's Guises: Fortune, Misfortune and Risk in Early Modern Sweden". In today's society where risk is a favourite word – also appearing in collocations such as risk capital, risk zone, risk group – it is entirely appropriate that a historian of ideas should look back to see what the concept and related concepts have meant. When people learn to reckon with risk it shows that they do not view themselves as a reed shaken by the wind, wholly dependent on other people or on supernatural forces, and that they are capable of abstract thought about other conceivable outcomes than just the one they wish for. What, then, did people in early modern times think about (un)fortunate and risky circumstances in life?

Savin starts with the common notion that early modern people were passive because they were subject to chance, fate, or the will of God. Concepts like fortune, happiness, luck, risk, danger, fate, chance, venture, calculation, and their negative counterparts are therefore examined in detail. The author uses the Swedish Academy Dictionary to show how old or recent the words are. She limits herself to the educated population of Sweden-Finland in the period from 1560 to 1720. This mostly means men working for the state and boys who were to be given an education appropriate to their status, but Savin also examines writings left by women. A great many categories of material make up the foundation for the analysis: for example, school books, pamphlets, chapbooks, biographical texts, letters, alongside religious works of various kinds. She states clearly that she has omitted folklore, which could possibly be viewed as a weakness in relation to the aim of the book, namely, "to survey the changing ideas and arguments cited in discussions of the uncertainty of human life on earth". Folklore too has a great deal to contribute, for example, in magic spells which are vestiges of an activity intended to influence the course of events, or prayers which were spoken to achieve a result and thus indicate people's own activity. A researcher, however, has to draw the line somewhere for what can be examined, and perhaps it is wise of a historian of ideas to stick to categories that are fixed in time and place in a way that folklore is not.

Savin thus seeks to ascertain how people perceived fortune, misfortune, and risk during two centuries. As a historian of ideas she is inspired by Reinhart Koselleck's thoughts about how the meaning of concepts changes through time. To be able to apply the long perspective, Savin goes back to classical times, while simultaneously relating her findings to the present day and the postmodern way of viewing fortune and risk. She moves between Aristotle's ideas, classical rhetoric as it was rendered during the studied period, the moral philosophy of the time, the growing interest in nature and curiosities, strange things in general, and on the other hand Luther's and sometimes also Calvin's doctrine, with occasional glances at Catholicism. She argues that concepts such as fortune, misfortune, and risk must be viewed as parts of a cultural repertoire which includes ideas that derive from somewhere – she deserves praise for trying to show where an author may have found a model – and genres that serve to ease communication in different rhetor-

ical situations. To arrive at these situations, Savin keeps her eyes open for the feelings, for example, gratitude, fear, or delight, that produced a particular document and also tries to show what emotion this document may have aroused in those who read it. She thereby manages to combine now relevant ideas about performativity with old material. The result is, of course, that she can rarely ascertain exactly how the reception was experienced, but her interpretations are plausible.

The author moves back and forth between several different opposites. She proceeds from an oral tradition that gives way to the production of written texts but still continues to exert influence backwards. Here she is influenced by Walter Ong. She seeks expressions of collective (mis)fortune as well as finding statements about private (mis)fortune. She also sees that fortune can be perceived as both a concrete and an abstract concept.

Savin shows that the notion that early modern people were passive is incorrect. In contrast to what she claims as a common view of early modern people – that they lack agency and ability to influence their own lives because they believed that God's will and omnipotence stood in the way of personal decisions and actions – Savin shows that people in the period certainly did believe that they could affect their own lives, but that God was usually included in their reasoning. If a person behaved well, in accordance with the Lutheran view of what a good person should be like, then God was favourably disposed and the person enjoyed good fortune. If things nevertheless went badly, which was far from uncommon, the outcome could still be interpreted in a positive way. This is a study in the history of ideas and therefore it lacks references to research in the psychology of religion, but Savin's study confirms what psychologists of religion have claimed about how faith works. Religiosity in the early modern period permeated life at a public level in quite a different way from today. At least the sources she uses give good reason to maintain this view. Biblical persons as they were presented in sermons, moral tales, and catechisms provided models by which people in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries could interpret events in life. Whatever the circumstances, a person's conduct was his or her own responsibility. People had to choose whether to live as God wished and achieve happiness by being virtuous, whatever that word meant in different situations, or to go their own way and take the risk that fortune would turn out otherwise.

The book is divided into three main chapters, all subdivided into short sections with separate headings. These headings are not always so informative, but often the reader is carried on through metatext from one section to the next. The language is splendid, making it sheer enjoyment to read the book. The illustrations are taken from historical documents. This means that one can clearly see how concrete fortune was envisaged to be, and Savin's way of explaining the content of the pictures makes the reader glad.

Only one recurrent turn of phrase is irritating. It concerns Savin's over-explicit way of explaining what is difficult to understand for a postmodern reader. This comes so often that it made me wonder. Why must she point this out? Have we in our secularized society distanced ourselves so much from the Christianity that for two thousand years has been the foundation of our society that the things that seventeenth-century people believed or at least wrote about have become so strange? Is the tradition broken? Do people born in the 1970s no longer understand expressions like "God willing"? Can this saying only be understood literally today? Is it not conceivable that it is a manner of speaking that also includes many other expressions of symbolic meanings? In Åbo

(Turku) the peace of Christmas is proclaimed every Christmas Eve at midday. The text runs: "Tomorrow, God willing, is the feast of the birth of Our Lord and Saviour." I have been asked what this "God willing" means. The language is so archaic that it has become incomprehensible. One may wonder if this is not also the case with the whole of Christianity. For a Christian believer, however, what Savin regards as strange or incompressible is not at all incomprehensible to a postmodern person. Religious people still give their lives meaning with the aid of a coping process whereby what happens is attributed to God as an active partner in life, but that does not stop them from thinking or acting by themselves. In this respect postmodern people in today's Sweden have a great deal in common with people in early modern Sweden.

The book is very well written, giving insight into the researcher's way of reasoning and testifying to her broad learning. It can be recommended to anyone who wants to know about how upper-class people during Sweden's Age of Greatness thought and reasoned about life's many different experiences of success and adversity.

Ulrika Wolf-Knuts
Åbo, Finland

Easter Witches

Fredrik Skott: Påskkäringar. Från trolldomstro till barnupptåg. Institutet för språk och folkminnen, Göteborg 2013. 182 pp. Ill.

At Easter time you can see children all over Sweden, mostly girls but sometimes also boys, dressed up as cute little *påskkäringar* (Easter witches). They wear kerchiefs around their heads and long skirts, costumes intended to make them look like old-time farm women. Their cheeks and their eyebrows are painted red and black and they have freckles painted on their noses. They walk from house to house, ring the door bell and wish "Happy Easter", leaving a little coloured drawing, often depicting an Easter witch, coloured eggs or a yellow chicken. In return they expect to get candies in a basket or a coffee-pot which they carry with them.

Dressing up as Easter witches is one of three calendar disguise customs spread all over Sweden, the two other occurring at Halloween (30 October) and Lucia (13 December). The information in Swedish handbooks on annual festivals about the growth and development of this Easter tradition has long been incomplete. It is well-known that the origin was the witch craze that hit Sweden in the seventeenth century, but there have been various opinions as to where and when the custom of dressing up as Easter witches started.

Albert Eskeröd in his *Årets fester* (Festivals of the Year) writes that this frolic has been most widespread in Western Sweden. He assumes that it originated in towns where the population abandoned the belief in witches previously than in the countryside and therefore could joke about what was earlier considered a real threat. Nils-Arvid Bringéus in *Årets festseder* (Festival Customs of the Year, 1976) and later in *Årets festdagar* (Festival Days of the Year, 1999) states that there has been no investigation of the growth of the Easter witch custom. Perhaps, he writes, it first appeared in the garden suburbs of Stockholm and from there spread to the countryside. Both authors understand the dressing up as clearly a children's custom.

Now the investigation called for by Bringéus has been published, and it demonstrates that the earlier assumptions were misleading. The title of the book is *Påskkäringar: Från trolldomstro till barnupptåg* (Easter Witches: From Witchcraft Beliefs to Children's Frolic) and its author is Fredrik Skott,

archivist at the Institute for Language and Folklore in Gothenburg. He shows that the custom is older than was previously known. It developed during the 19th century in western Sweden, in the countryside rather than in the towns, and those who dressed up were adolescents of both sexes. In its initial stage the custom was not separated from a belief in witches and their ride through the air to a sabbath with the Devil. The actions of the participants were inspired by legends about Easter witches which were still alive in oral tradition.

The author's qualifications for carrying through his study could not be better. He grew up in a district west of Lake Vänern where dressing up as Easter witches and distributing Easter letters filled with candies have existed for a long time, and he himself took part in these activities during his childhood. His scholarly interest in the witchcraft trials and the dressing-up frolics of western Sweden was aroused at an early stage, and the book has been preceded by minor special studies, of old witchcraft trials and contemporary dressing-up customs.

An incentive for the investigation seems to have been Skott's participation in an international research project which resulted in a comprehensive volume containing more than 800 pages, *Masks and Mumming in the Nordic Area* (2007). His contact with the initiators of the project, Carsten Bregenhøj and Terry Gunnell, inspired him to pay attention to the interaction between masked visitors and those who receive them in their homes. In his book Skott tells about his own field experiences on the Danish island of Agersø when he visited it together with other mumming scholars.

The Swedish witch craze reached its peak in the 1660–1670s. However, the belief that witches could fly through the air to the Devil on brooms or similar implements existed much earlier, which is evident from a fifteenth-century painting by Albertus Pictor in Yttergran church in Uppland. There one can see the Devil distributing flying ointment from a smearing horn (*smörjhorn*) to three witches, straddling different long-handled kitchen tools.

In his survey of the Swedish witchcraft trials Fredrik Skott gives special space to a trial which took place in the 1720s, that is, after death penalty had ceased to be imposed. The accused witches lived in a district that around a century later became a centre for dressing up as Easter witches. Their principal was called "Captain Elin", and a broadsheet telling about their travel to *Blåkulla* (the place where the witches met the Devil) was printed in a dozen editions during the nineteenth century. The pamphlet seems to have been widely distributed in Värmland, the province where Elin had lived. Its contents lived on in oral tradition, well into the twentieth century, and had an undisputable impact on the dressing-up frolics there.

The word *påskkäring* appears to have had several meanings in western Sweden. It was used not only about the witches of legend tradition and the youngsters who dressed up at Easter; it could also mean a human-size doll manufactured from old clothes stuffed with hay, which was placed in the bed or outside a person's door. The same custom took place at the end of the Christmas period (the days of Knut and Felix) in the southern provinces and in connection with somebody's name-day or birthday in other parts of Sweden. It was a prank that was seldom appreciated by the receiver.

The alleged outfit of the flying witches consisted of broom, rake and smearing horn. These tools played an important role in the stereotyped image of the Easter witch encountered in the so-called Easter letters and in a prank which may be called "back-hanging". In this the three tools mentioned were cut out of paper and secretly pinned on the back of persons who were thereby

jokingly pointed out as being Easter witches. The day for this prank was the Wednesday or Thursday in Holy Week. The smearing horn sometimes took the form of a little paper cornet and in some districts became the only back-hanging. In Södermanland the prank was locally performed as late as the 1960s by children who were totally unaware of the original symbolic meaning of the cornet, and the day was called *strutonsdagen* (Cornet Wednesday).

The central issue in the study is, however, the itineration of dressed-up bands which is described here in detail for the first time. The earliest documentation shows that the actors were adolescents and bigger children of both sexes. They often wore a face mask that made identification difficult. "Cross-dressing", girls dressed as men and boys as women, occurred frequently. The course of events during their itineration varied: sometimes they were invited into the houses where the hosts tried to uncover their identity. At other places they threw Easter letters, described above, and then ran away. In farms where they were not let in they could make mischief, such as painting tar on the windows and overturning wagons.

In his analysis of the source material Fredrik Skott questions the assumption of older scholars that belief in witches excluded jokes about witches. This was not the case, he writes. On the contrary: the dressing-up frolics started at a time when the belief in witches flying to *Blåkulla* was still alive in the Swedish countryside. On many farms people protected themselves against unwelcome visits from Easter witches by painting tar crosses on the cowshed door and shooting with guns in the air. When the adolescents wandered about from farm to farm, they sometimes behaved like the witches of the legends and cut off tufts of animal fur as "real" witches did. Often there was someone in the assembly who was dressed up as a devil with horns. The legends about Easter witches were used as "maps of action". Fredrik Skott describes, with the term coined by Linda Dégh and Andrew Vázsonyi, the itineration as an example of "ostensive" legend telling, legends transformed into action.

Court records show that jokes about travels to *Blåkulla* could occur even in the time when people were burnt at the stake as witches. A record from a trial in Dalarna in 1669 renders a conversation between a woman, known to be a joker, and an equally humorous man. He says that he can see that she has the habit of flying to *Blåkulla*. She answers that he must have been there too, since he knows that. Their conversation led to the spread of a rumour, but the court understood that the two had been joking.

The transformation of the dressing-up tradition to its present form seems to have started in western Swedish towns, when parents entered as controlling instances and the itineration thereby lost its earlier character of revolt. The face masks disappeared, as did the dressing up as devils and the "cross-dressing". The age of the Easter witches went down and the share of girls increased. The custom spread all over Sweden and in the twentieth century it became more and more uniform when regional features disappeared. In a comparative perspective the development of the Swedish Easter witch tradition forms a parallel to that of the Anglo-Saxon Halloween celebration. In the nineteenth century it was primarily maintained by adolescents who could scare people and make mischief. When the tradition was exported to the USA and from there reached several European countries, the age of those dressed up had sunk. The element of revolt was no longer there and the itineration was controlled by the adult world.

The most recent stage in the Swedish Easter witch tradition is that the interests of parents, local authorities and commercial actors have jointly strengthened

its character of a children's festival. More than thirty Swedish localities arrange parades where dressed-up children show themselves to an audience of parents and other adults. They are all given candies or other gifts and in some places the child with the best costume wins a prize. Visits by the little Easter witches in senior citizen's homes are also arranged. The custom of decorating birch twigs with coloured feathers has increasingly moved to public environments; after the turn of the millennium birch trees decorated with feathers in all the colours of the rainbow have become a common spectacle in squares and other public places.

Fredrik Skott's book on Easter witches is an important contribution to the study of dressing-up traditions and annual festivals. Not only does he have an excellent overview of the Swedish archive material, he is also well informed about current international theories in the field. The value of the book is further enhanced by the rich and hitherto unused pictorial material.

Bengt af Klintberg
Lidingö, Sweden

The Supernatural in Sweden Today

Per-Anders Östling: Spöken, medier och astrala resor. Övernaturliga upplevelser, folktro och alternativa världsåskådningar i våra dagars Sverige. Institutet för språk och folkminnen, Uppsala, 2012. 208 pp. Ill.

Per-Anders Östling's study of media, ghosts, and supernatural experiences in present-day Sweden extends over a broad field and also covers folk beliefs and parallel worldviews associated with these topics. Let me say at once that it is an extremely important book that Östling has given us. Our time, not least in popular culture, is undergoing a renaissance as regards belief in the supernatural. Interest is at its peak, and in Sweden one person in five expresses a belief in ghosts, and one person in ten could envisage taking part in a seance. The phenomenon is far from being unique for Sweden. A recently presented British study (Annette Hill, *Paranormal Media, Audiences, Spirits and Magic in Popular Culture*, 2011) shows that the Western world is being re-enchanted. Almost half of the Britons, and two thirds of the Americans, say that they believe in ghosts and supernatural phenomena.

Östling's study mostly concerns our own time, but he starts with a brief historical survey, and points out that New Age ideas are riding on the crest of a wave, even though the "ongoing" civilizing process – with science, a higher level of education, and rational thinking – ought to have killed off ghosts, religion, and magic. It is rather the opposite, and it has nothing to do with a person's education. The truth is that, as in Rome or ancient Greece, people have a timeless need for something that extends beyond the bounds of the explicable. We thus need to have access to an arsenal of phenomena that can help us to explain the unexplainable and also provide hope that we humans are not just flesh but also spirit. Ultimately, what we classify as supernatural phenomena concerns the existence of other forms of consciousness and – a comfort for many people – the assurance that life in some form continues after physical death. A major contributory factor in the upswing of New Age spirituality and supernatural phenomena is, of course, that we are living in a highly secularized time. We can believe whatever we want, but it has a price: a sense of disorientation and constant questing, when the state and the church no longer dictate what is right and wrong. Nor can scientific models explain the experiences that people have of the presence of some spirit, or of glimpsing dead people.

Östling's study is presented in eight thematic chapters, empirically based on material from magazines, interviews, television programme, records of folklore, and a considerable amount of research literature that is directly or indirectly linked to the studied fields. Far from all the material, however, has been studied systematically, which is understandable given that the study covers so many fields. Despite this, there is one objection I could mention: more methodological stringency would have made the study more consistent and could perhaps have achieved other results. For instance, the chapter about modern belief in ghosts is the one that takes up most space in the book, while other topics are given much less room. When I read the book it made me wonder if it might not have been better to divide it into two parts. The part about ghosts would have benefited from being expanded into a separate book, while the sections about controversial phenomena, channelling and healing, esoterism, neoshamanism, neopaganism, and neopagan celebrations would have functioned as a volume on their own. By this I do not mean to say that Östling's arrangement is unreasonable. I have read the book with great interest, and it has actually engrossed me so much that I want to read more. Hence my critique. If we look at it from the other side, it is of course a great advantage that Östling has squeezed all his topics into one book. Not least of all, this gives it comparative breadth and multiple perspectives on folk beliefs in our time, which is one of the great merits of the study. I also find it interesting that Östling did not shy away from taking part in various gatherings himself, such as occult exercises and seances.

It should also be underlined that the different parts of the study do not stand and fall with the "narratives" about neopaganism, healing, or ghosts that Östling has compiled. It is worth emphasizing here that what makes the book good all the way through is the author's impressive familiarity with different parapsychological, psychological, and other scientific findings, which he links in his various studies to the empirical material. At the same time, Östling points out, paradoxically, that some scholarly literature and theories spills over on to people who take an interest in alternative worldviews, as books by Dag Strömbäck and Ebbe Schön, for instance, have been of great significance for the neopagan movement in Sweden. All this of course reflects the modern society we live in, how the boundaries of popular culture are so fluid that there is no clear boundary between science and non-science. The fields merge into a grey area, where facts and knowledge production are not the most important thing, but are interwoven and are used on the basis of what people want to believe.

Another aspect that runs all the way through the study is the circumstance that the paranormal has become an obvious part of popular culture. This is despite the fact that parapsychology has been claiming for nearly a hundred years that it will present evidence for the existence of paranormal abilities and ghosts. In other words, it is not a matter of proving whether it exists or not. The issue is rather what people need and want to believe. At the same time, this is one of the explanations of the vigorous return of religion in society. Just fifteen years ago, we thought it was on the way out, but it is not. In an increasingly complex world with natural disasters, epidemics, climate threats, rising unemployment and other types of exclusion, we need to believe, whether it is in God, little green men from Mars, or that people can decide their own destiny. The nice thing is that we are allowed to make these mental leaps and believe what we want. For me at any rate, this is one of the good things about living in our modern society. Besides, we know from history that the belief in supernatural phenomena and God fluctuates, always rising in

times of change and crisis. This is presumably also why ghosts and other phenomena take on different forms in different times, as Östling is not slow to emphasize. It is naturally no coincidence that electricity, radio waves, and information technology, to take a few examples, have generated new paranormal phenomena, old ideas in new guises. There is nothing surprising about any of this, because basically it is about ourselves and how we interpret and understand the world about us.

In several of Östling's studies presented here, one is struck by the way the recorded narratives, or the interviewees, feel that it is a part of something bigger than themselves. By this I do not mean that it is the paranormal experience in itself that is in the centre. Instead it is the actual participation that is important, that you are, so to speak, part of the "congregation" and can talk about your experiences and your interpretations freely, which seems to be the case in quite a few of the examples presented by Östling. People do not need to hide their experiences, but at the same time we know that there are still many taboos about the topics investigated by Östling. You cannot just go into the coffee room and announce to your colleagues that your grandmother came to visit you last night – although she is dead!

Östling also shows how the codes in popular culture by which ghosts are supposed to behave, what they look like, what they do, and so on, create templates for interpretation, with the result that many experiences, as they are narrated, are fairly homogeneous. As for the spirit world, or the function of ghosts to scare people, that has abated. Meeting the other side in one way or another is interpreted today as something very positive. Östling goes so far as to say that it is even desirable. And indeed, in one sense such encounters are a confirmation that there is something more beyond this earthly life. Östling explains the change from fear and horror, as when people in the past came into contact with supernatural beings and God, by pointing out that people not so long ago were afraid of the power of "darkness" and God. Today the picture has changed; higher powers are perceived as being more forgiving and hence, perhaps, more comforting. The author also underlines that both neopaganism and spiritualism have managed to integrate an older belief in ghosts, but without any connotations of censure (without God, one could say). Another significant factor is that the alternative worldviews are not particularly fundamentalist in that they do not make great demands of their supporters or of people in general. It feels as if there are no rules, and this is an important point here. As Östling so aptly puts it, several of the movements have "in large measure succeeded in eliminating anxiety-provoking elements from religion, such as the idea of hell or a gloomy realm of the dead" (p. 188). It is surprising, but actually quite obvious when you think about it, that Östling links spiritual seekers and various notions with the modern ideal of personal development.

To conclude, Östling has produced an extremely thought-provoking study of our modern thoughts and beliefs about supernatural experiences and alternative worldviews. He also manages to maintain his distance from the subject as a whole, which is not all that easy, because many competent researchers have gone astray in this murky research field. I myself do not believe in ghosts, but I believe in our need for them. The most interesting research at present about paranormal phenomena is what is being done indirectly by neurologists or brain experts, on how the brain perceives and interprets different phenomena. Perhaps this is where the breakthrough will come which will declare all supernatural phenomena dead once and for all. At any rate, this has led Stephen Hawking to condemn philosophy for persisting in

ancient controversies rather than studying the latest knowledge about functioning of the brain, which potentially not only has the power to affect the philosophical worldview but can also shatter most of our perceptions of reality and the things we hold to be eternal truths.

Peter Ullgren
Linköping, Sweden

Books Received by the Editor 2012–2013

Agnidakis, Paul: *Rätten till platsen. Tillhörighet och samhörighet i två lokala industrisamhällen under omvandling*. Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, Höör 2013. 224 pp. Ill.

Edvardsen, Erik Henning (red.): *En dør til Asbjørnsen og hans verden*. (Norsk folkeminnelags skrifter /Juletræet 2012. Asbjørnsenselskapets årsskrift nr. 5). Asbjørnsenselskapet/Norsk Folkeminnelag/Aschehoug & Co. Oslo 2012. 208 pp. Ill.

Kaplan, Merrill & Timothy R. Tangherlini (eds.): *News from Other Worlds. Studies in Nordic Folklore, Mythology and Culture. In honor of John F. Lindow*. (Wildcat Canyon Advanced Seminarsd. Occasional Monographs 1). North Pinehurst Press, Berkeley/Los Angeles 2012. 459 pp. Ill.

Noss, Aagot: *Kvinneklede i Sogn. Døme på ein vestnorsk tradisjonell klesskikk.* Novus forlag/Norsk Folkemuseum. Oslo 2012. 127 pp. Ill.