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Scepticism and Broad-mindedness in Talk of Paedophilia

Ulrika Wolf-Knuts

In Jakobstad, a medium-sized Swedish-speaking town in Finland, the preacher in a Læstadian meeting-house communion repeatedly abused some of his grandchildren. Some members of the congregation may have known or suspected this, but his proclivity was not discovered because people preferred to keep the matter within the family circle. It was not until about twenty years later, when one of the grandchildren spoke openly about it, that the bombshell exploded: Grandfather was a paedophile.

The event was debated in blogs, the Swedish-language newspaper in the capital, local newspapers, and newspapers in Sweden, and many voices were heard.[1] It was difficult to be a member of the congregation at that time. Sensation-mongering can easily arise when the subject is "abnormal" sexuality. This naturally also affected members of the congregation who had not been abused by the preacher.

I want to study from a folkloristic perspective how some members of the religious communion relate to paedophilia, that is to say, an adult person's desire expressed through sexual abuse of children. The members to whom I have spoken have not been exposed to anything themselves, but they are in close contact with those who have, or else they know the preacher. When it turns out that the abuse of the children was, to some extent, known but hushed up, it raises the question of how people close to the preacher dealt with the situation. Here the concept of toleration is central. I hope to be able to show how toleration is constructed and used by individuals in a specific cultural context.[2]

Toleration

Everyone in a society must adjust to or tolerate certain rules, whether explicit as in laws and ordinances, or implicit, such as those based on rational practical conventions or, as often happens, on prejudiced, downright irrational general opinions and perceptions (cf. Weale 2010:17; cf. also Arnst-

berg 2007:8–29). Cultural aspects are thus important ingredients, in the way that they both create and understand toleration. For centuries the concept of toleration has been a subject of interest, first among theologians and philosophers and later, when diversity gained in value, also among sociologists and builders of society (cf. Kahl 1990:597; Walzer 1998; Horton & Mendus 2010:1–7; Bredsdorff & Kjældgaard 2012). The concept is fuzzy, however, according to Alexander Mitscherlich (1974:7) who, unlike many researchers, does not confine his studies to toleration within institutions and societies but also considers individuals. Leif Stille shares the view of the vagueness of the concept since it is loaded with values and therefore problematic (Stille 2006:141). The concept has connotations of respect or acceptance, as can be seen, for example, in the report *Den mångtydiga toleransen* ("Ambiguous tolerance"), which regards it as concerning "cultural and other dissimilarities".[3] It also has to do with freedom, since every person in principle should be tolerated for the life they want to create for themselves (Macedo 1996:624). Toleration is viewed as a good quality and an instrument for maintaining a stable society where people endeavour to understand each other.

According to the Swedish Academy's dictionary, the word *tolerans* can have three different meanings. It can refer to the ability of organisms, including the human body, in unfavourable circumstances, to withstand certain substances or a certain treatment for a long or short time. Tolerance can also be used in technical language to denote "permitted deviation (according to a fixed standard) from the stated size or value of an entity or the location or direction or form of an object". The most important meaning here is nevertheless that of toleration, standing for a situation where someone demonstrates an action, ability, or will "to permit (and accept) that [something] (of which one disapproves or is critical) exists or occurs or continues", or in other words "forbearance, indulgence; especially concerning a forbearing or indulgent attitude to or respect for someone else's behaviour or way of life or opinion or belief" (*SAOB* 35:1895–1896). Synonyms are words like patience, forbearance, broad-mindedness, indulgence, wisdom.[4]

The concept has many meanings, however. Michael Walzer (1998:14, 77) defines the word as "peaceful co-existence" and a result of mutual respect, while Alexander Mitscherlich (1974:9) asserts that toleration is "putting up with the Other in order to better understand him". Stephen Macedo (1996:624) describes toleration as a *modus vivendi* among people "with ultimate and irresolvable disagreements", and Maurice Cranston (2006:507) underlines that the concept itself implies the existence of something disagreeable and evil. Mitscherlich (1974:7) writes that toleration means getting the better of oneself, having patience, enduring something with equanimity and showing consideration to the Other. Toleration thus infringes

people's freedom (Mitscherlich 1974:22). Toleration is not always viewed as being without problems.

Toleration can be said to be the result of a process where two components are coordinated: first condemnation of something and then putting up with it, which is in itself a concept with a tone of disapproval (Cranston 2006: 507). Mitscherlich states that toleration can be exploited in two ways. One tolerates something to achieve a certain goal. One puts up with something in order to get confirmation, to be reckoned as a full member of a community. One shows patience in the hope that a concession will lead to a positive outcome. One can also tolerate out of fear (Mitscherlich 1974:9, 15). A tolerant person is weak and impotent against the abuse of power. Walzer reasons in a diametrically opposite way when he argues: "To tolerate someone else is an act of power, to be tolerated is an acceptance of weakness" (cf. Mitscherlich 1974:10; Walzer 1998:77). An addition by Mitscherlich is therefore important. He claims that toleration does not arise until a person can overcome his or her fear. That takes courage, self-knowledge, healthy self-esteem, and independent critical thinking to empathize with and try to understand the Other and learn "to tolerate him with the intention of better understanding him" (Mitscherlich 1974:9, 15, 23, 33). Equality is necessary for toleration and toleration is necessary for equality because it requires determination, an absolute will to accept, an insight that dissidence and different norms do not have to lead to an aggressive attitude. Toleration should lead to variety and an understanding for diversity (Mitscherlich 1974:10), or as Walzer (1998:12) puts it: "Toleration makes difference possible; difference makes toleration necessary."

Mitscherlich points out yet another sense, namely, toleration of oneself. One can allow oneself to fail, show indulgence to oneself for having erred in some respect (Mitscherlich 1974:8). Per Lind states that a person's epistemological orientation affects the capacity for toleration, and claims that "toleration consists in large measure in the ethical *choice* to imagine oneself in other people's situation" (Lind 2006:178). Toleration is created in a choice based on the interpretive framework in which each individual creates existential meaning.

Leif Stille talks about repressive toleration, which belongs in a society without explicit prohibitions. The Other is free to express himself according to his own ideals. If you do not intervene you get your own "alibi of broad-mindedness" (Stille 2006:146). He also asks whether inclusion is always better than exclusion (Stille 2006:141–142). If we substitute "act" for "express oneself" we are close to a situation where unacceptable deeds occur without being reported to the police or even being openly condemned. Stille also says that repressive toleration presupposes that the person engaging in it will deal with all actions performed by the Other that can have practical consequences (Stille 2006:146). In a community where paedophilia oc-

curs, then, a repressively tolerant person should do something about paedophile offences and exclude anyone who sexually abuses children. But then one must admit that the person who excludes is simultaneously intolerant. Intervening does not always seem to be the way out either. It appears to depend, above all, on the context in which the repressive toleration has to be exercised. Repressive toleration certainly provides the alibi of broad-mindedness but perhaps also the alibi of the martyr.

Lind's perspective on toleration as a result of a choice is attractive and can explain why individuals turn a blind eye to things that are obviously wrong in a society. It also explains why the boundaries of toleration are moved, both in the course of an individual's life and in a society where people acquire new knowledge which is incorporated in the existential framework of interpretation. The boundaries of toleration run where you give up, or in the pithy words of Gustav Mensching (1955:161): "Die Grenzen der Toleranz liegen da, wo die Intoleranz beginnt." The boundaries are based on a norm system that is more or less unique in each society. The norms vary not just from place to place but also over time and from person to person. In a conservative group, other norms and other boundaries for toleration will prevail than in a post-modern society (cf. Bredsdorff & Kjældgaard 2012:99–100). What is tolerated in one society can differ from what is perfectly acceptable in another.

According to Mitscherlich, a machine stops if its tolerance limit is reached, whereas a human becomes aggressive. A nagging wife can drive her husband to violence. Brainwashing can shift the boundaries of tolerance so that the victim can identify with the perpetrator. The result is a moral death, as the person can no longer see the difference between what he thinks himself and what he has been convinced into thinking is right. It has then become a "pious alibi" (Mitscherlich 1974:10). This form of active toleration, as Mitscherlich calls it, can even develop into criminality if a person wants to receive confirmation from those who have power (Mitscherlich 1974:8).

Bredsdorff and Kjældgaard argue that the concept is used to cover everything from naivety or indifference to an act of will consisting of constant painful self-education. They declare: "Toleration is only toleration if it hurts" (2012:34, 95), which means that they themselves totally reject indifference or naivety as expressions of toleration (cf. Cranston 2006:507). One may ask why toleration needs to have limits at all. Would it not be best if toleration actually was boundless? No, according to Bredsdorff and Kjældgaard: "Boundless toleration is boundlessly horrible", because it requires no reflection and does not lead people to take a stance (2012:55). They consider that the most important thing when creating toleration is self-knowledge and recognition of one's own defects (Bredsdorff & Kjældgaard 2012:70). For these researchers, self-reflection is the basis for creating toleration. You

ought to see yourself clearly, observe that there is something outside yourself that you can't tolerate, and in addition ask yourself why you can't. Only when you have honestly clarified this can you admit that toleration is sustained by lifelong, often painful, learning (Bredsdorff & Kjældgaard 2012: 95, 133). These thoughts come close to those of Lind about toleration as the result of a choice. One consequence of the outlook on toleration as the result of a carefully considered choice is that toleration is subjective in the highest degree (Bredsdorff & Kjældgaard 2012:105). Therefore it can also be difficult to comprehend why a person tolerates something that others definitely cannot put up with. Another consequence is that neither tolerance, intolerance, nor the boundaries of toleration need to be justified logically (cf. Bredsdorff & Kjældgaard 2012:57).

One instrument for creating toleration is to try to reach agreement. Disagreement can be viewed as an expression of evil and often leads to dispute. In a society where disagreement and dispute are not politically correct, where meekness is an ideal, it is important to learn to be tolerant towards each other in order to master evil (Bredsdorff & Kjældgaard 2012:82).

In the following I view toleration as the result of critical reflection, usually a painful choice between values that make up the foundation for what a good life is supposed to be like. The vagueness of the concept can be explained by subjectivity or, as Horton and Mendus (2010:4) say: "Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign." One could perhaps claim that toleration is in the eye of the beholder. Toleration is thus the summed expression of a person's values in life.

Material and Close Reading

An interview recorded on dictaphone in March 2012 is the basis for the study. The recording is preserved in the Cultura archive at Åbo Akademi University in Åbo, Finland. The interview took place in the informants' home. The people I spoke to were born around 1930. The conversation lasted an hour and a half. I transcribed what was said into reasonably fluent colloquial speech. The interviewees have read the transcripts and approved my use of them for this study. I have anonymized the material since it concerns a small community where it would be easy to criticize a person for his or her statements.

Paedophilia is something that people do not normally speak openly about. It is therefore difficult to reach people who are prepared to talk about it. I had the advantage of acquiring a contact who acted on my behalf to arrange meetings with people who were willing to talk to me for my study, assuming that it could help to prevent anything of the kind from happening again, or can teach people to be observant to signals even when actions are not explicitly mentioned.[5]

I have no links to Læstadianism. I thus lack the pre-understanding that can often be found behind folkloristic studies. All those involved, however, including myself, have Finland and its school system in common, and so the religious instruction in school was a shared platform on which to work. School knowledge, moreover, is strengthened by confirmation classes. In other words, we have a shared background in general knowledge of Christianity, its values and its doctrine, but when it comes to individual details there are presumably differences in perception between me and my informants. Scholarly studies of Læstadianism nevertheless show how their statements can be understood.

I tried to say as little as possible during the conversation. At first the interview went sluggishly, as if the informants were unwilling to tell me anything, so my role had to be to try to keep the interview on something like the right track, and to inspire them to tell me more. "Keeping on the right track" meant that I brought the conversation back to paedophilia when the informant might perhaps have preferred to talk about something else. Although it is considered that, in a folkloristic interview, two equal partners create knowledge (Strandén 2010:58f), one should also bear in mind that the aim of the interview is given: to generate material suitable for the scholarly ambitions of the researcher/interviewer.

The way in which toleration is created is my main theme. I therefore do not describe the meeting-house congregation where the abuse occurred, or the psychological, legal, or medical factors associated with paedophilia.

The study is based on close reading (Lentricchia & DuBois 2003) from an intertextual perspective. Interviews are rarely coherent or chronologically logical. People repeat themselves, go back to things they left behind, and digress into new topics. It is tempting to regard the passages that do not concern paedophilia as being of no interest. I have chosen to see the interview with its rambling passages as a whole. Also, different interviews support each other. My interpretation is based on other interviews I have conducted as part of the project and during my research career, and on my informants' digressions on matters other than paedophilia. Furthermore, my general frame of reference as regards existential values in Finland contributes to my understanding.

The Cultural Context

It is crucial to contextualize the informants' accounts against the background of a Christian tradition in a Finland-Swedish community. The congregation where the paedophile was active was the subject of a detailed study – a few decades later, or at roughly the same time as his abuses became known – of the role of the Læstadian woman as a transmitter of tradition (Snellman 2011). Because of the link in time and place, Gerd Snell-

man's doctoral dissertation *Sions döttrar* ("Daughters of Zion") serves as a backdrop when I interpret the interviews. Another work that is worth mentioning here is Johanna Hurtig's and Mari Leppänen's collection of articles analysing the life story of a sexually abused Læstadian woman, which also brings up many of the things that my informants touched on (*Maijan* 2012).

It is important to point out the risk of anachronistic reading. My text covers four different points in time. The actual sexual abuse of the children took place several decades ago but did not come out until 2009. The interviews were conducted three years later and my analysis in 2012–2014. During these decades the view of paedophilia and paedophiles has changed. The people I have spoken to have been influenced by the changed norms. In addition, the individual's attitude to human weakness has also altered with age. All this contributes to the change in epistemological orientation. When it comes to trying to understand where the boundaries for the toleration of paedophilia run, the time aspect is important. For one thing, I am dealing with people whose ideals in life today are relatively traditional and must be understood as such. Secondly, I am dealing with events that took place decades ago and therefore ought not to be judged as if they had happened today.

Sexual abuse of children was and is a prohibited act in modern Finland, and this applied in the twentieth century too. The concept of paedophilia tends to be understood by laymen as sexual intercourse where there is a great difference in age between the people involved. The offender is usually imagined as a "dirty *old* man". But sexual intercourse between a youth of nineteen and a girl of fifteen is also paedophilia and consequently punishable. One condition for punishment is that the act must be "negative for the child's development". It goes without saying that this is difficult to define. Changes in society have had the result that the rights of the child today are more explicit than fifty years ago. Something that happened back then should not be considered today without critical scrutiny. The person subjected to the paedophile acts, the person who consents to be interviewed about them today, and the person analysing the interviews, all have several layers of memories and multiple evaluation systems to consider when they talk about what happened and when they analyse what was done and what was said.

Moreover, the view of children has changed through time. Children were often regarded as resources in work and everyday life, not as independent beings with their own integrity (cf. Liliequist 1991). The outlook on sexuality has also changed. Sexuality went together with marriage. Other forms occurred, of course, but only some of them attracted any attention, such as adultery, bestiality, and masturbation. Other forms such as homosexuality and child abuse were perhaps not considered so significant and perhaps did not even have a name (cf. Frykman 1977; cf. Liliequist 1992; Löfström 1995).

The Sceptical Ester and the Broad-minded Edvin

Ester is a highly civic-minded lady (IF mgt 2014:001). We sat talking in her living room. Ester's husband Edvin was also at home, but he was in a different room and did not join the conversation until the middle of the interview. Transcribed in Times New Roman, 12 points, with 1.5 line spacing, the interview fills 55 A4 pages. Besides talking about the paedophilia case, Ester spoke about her childhood and origin, her activities on behalf of the community and the congregation, her occupational identity, her marriage and her family, and her views on sport, work, and competition, and also about the spirit of the time, homosexuality, female priests, and a topical book. I received a full description of Ester and her life, although I was really in search of a different theme. Edvin had less to say about himself.

My first question ran: "How did you find out about what had happened?"[6] Ester never uttered the word paedophilia and only once touched on the topic in her own words, when she got around it by saying "[…] that they have to do it on small children. How can you understand that?" Despite this we spent most of the interview talking about paedophilia without either of us actually specifying the topic. We each evidently assumed that the other implicitly understood, since our contact person had already introduced the theme of the interview. The reason I did not utter the word was that I wanted to see how she would come round to talking about the subject. It was obviously difficult for her even to utter the word. I can only guess the reasons for this. I presume that sexual intercourse belonged solely within marriage (Snellman 2011:80, 197). For Ester it may therefore have been a shameful, tabooed subject, not a normal topic of conversation in her life (cf. Arnstberg 2007:16, 27–28, 267–275). Yet she still overcame her reluctance, perhaps out of politeness towards me, and talked about the theme.

In the interview Ester often expressed her scepticism. She described how difficult she found it to accept what she had heard about the preacher in her congregation being a paedophile, even though it was one of her own children who had told her. It was only when she had the news confirmed by a relative of her own age that she could take it in, and she explained to me that she was obliged to admit to her own child that everything was true. Scepticism was thus Ester's first reaction. Later in the interview Ester said: "Even now we doubt whether it's all true." She tested her knowledge one more time, and added that the period for prosecution had expired and the perpetrator was dead anyway. She still struggled with herself about what she should believe. In the interview she thus tried to change her epistemological orientation through painful self-reflection.

When I asked why she could not immediately believe that the preacher was a paedophile, she replied: "Because I knew this [person]", "he was our preacher after all." She went on to say that she felt respect for him, she "would never have been able to believe that anything like this could have

happened"; she said that she looked up to him. The added "after all" (Swedish *ju*) was her way of marking the obvious, and her own respect for the preacher was for her a kind of quality guarantee which prevented her from seeing the preacher's weakness. Her own authority thus set the limit for what she could tolerate when the rumour began to circulate. In fact she made a comparison between the image she had of a preacher and the reality she had to face. Later in the interview we discussed the role of a Christian in society after Edvin brought up the subject of how other preachers live, and Ester said that a Christian must be a good example to others through his or her behaviour. In my analysis I presume that Ester's opinion was that a Christian, and especially a Christian preacher, must set a good example, and I understand her scepticism to mean that her expectations had been disappointed. Ester could not tolerate a preacher behaving in such an unchristian way (cf. Snellman 2011:118–119). The condemnatory element of toleration is underlined here; she was grappling with an insoluble problem.

That Ester knew the preacher and respected him was partly due to the fact that she found that his sermons suited her well. She and Edvin repeated this later in the interview. Their idea of a good sermon was explicitly preceded by a comparison with bad or unsuitable sermons. The interpretation of the preacher's message was based on Ester's own perception, as she had learned by tradition during her life how to judge a sermon (cf. Snellman 2011:120–121). She said that, when she was young, she had heard a preacher whose sermons gave her a sense of peace that she longed for afterwards, until she became a member of the congregation to which she now belonged. The authority and tradition of the interviewee thus became crucial for her choice of attitude. Against this background I understood that the paedophile preacher had betrayed Ester's confidence and lost her respect. Her rhetorical question as to how one could understand at all why an adult would molest a child showed that she had reached a limit where she had realized and accepted what had happened, but still could not take it in or tolerate it.

Ester, admittedly, did think that the sermons were very stern, but since she herself had grown up in a family with similar values, she felt at home. She was used to this tone and could accept it, even though other people found the sermons too severe. One aspect of this severity is corporal punishment for children. This was prohibited in Finland in 1983 (cf. Snellman 2011:46 (note 177), 109, 191; http://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aga, accessed 21 February 2013). Ester and Edvin's many children were born both before and after that prohibition. Ester told me how she had discussed corporal punishment again with her children after the paedophilia had been exposed, and they had let her know that she was not always so fair when she meted out her punishments, but the children had forgiven her for that. Their forgiveness meant that she was able to show, in a sober tone, that she tolerated herself. It is not clear why she brought up corporal punishment in this con-

text, but the concept of "severity" appears to be central to Ester's reflections (cf. Hurtig 2012:144–145). Like other informants in this project, she associated severity with paedophilia, presumably because severity is linked to the parents', perhaps especially the father's, power position. The idea that the preacher in a meeting-house congregation corresponded to the father in a family, with all his "rights" to enforce discipline in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, caused Ester to seek to understand the preacher and ignore his sexual inclinations as long as possible. In this way her image of a good, stable congregation could stand unshaken. For Ester the preacher's severity was a relief. She herself had received "the grace for improvement" (cf. Snellman 2011:170, 248–249, 253) and followed "the way of the prodigal daughter", which meant that she had not always belonged to the same community of faith but had been "in the world" and had been forced to relate to how people without an active belief lived in society. Ester's children had also thought that the preacher had been "too severe", but for them the word meant "rigorously demanding" rather than clear and consistent.

The preacher's demands for certain forms of conduct – among other things, that women in the congregation were not to dress or behave unsuitably in relation to the world around – had given Ester a sense of freedom. I interpret this to mean that she felt security in knowing exactly what was fitting in her circle. She said that she "had peace with God and a good conscience". She tolerated the severity because she said that she "thought it was good", that it maintained the stability in her world.

Ester went on to say that it was permitted for women to profess their Christian faith but that they were not allowed to preach or act as teachers or occupy any prominent position: "The severity was that […] women weren't supposed to be involved in politics." Ester herself had occupied various positions of trust outside the congregation, so she expected reprimands, but in the interview she repeated that her fears were not justified. On the contrary, the preacher and his family had given her great support. The severity was something she could accept, but in the same sentence Ester said: "but things like that I can't accept, it's not possible, but I think it's so unbelievable [with emphasis]." By "things like that" Ester meant paedophilia, I understood. The severe preacher was an ideal for Ester, but he was not spotless. This gave a seedbed for Ester's scepticism and her intolerance was aroused. Here too I see that comparison leads to Ester's stance when she implicitly compares men's and women's possibilities, or life as a Christian in the peace of God, with a life "in the world".

It also turned out that Ester, over the years, had confided in the preacher's wife about difficulties of various kinds that she had encountered, and the preacher's wife had been of great help to her. Preachers' wives could be regarded as mothers of their congregations, so perhaps it was not surprising that Ester turned to her with her worries (cf. Meurling 1996:23; Snellman

2011:137; cf. Riemann 2015: 87–88). The preacher's wife had a highly developed capacity for understanding, Ester said, which could be explained by the fact that she had major problems herself. Ester was alluding here to the fact that the wife knew of her husband's proclivities. Ester merely observed this without saying anything about the choice that the preacher's wife made to cover up her husband's behaviour. The wife turned a blind eye to it, and I perceived Ester's lack of comment as a kind of solidarity with the preacher's wife. Ester said that she could have understood the preacher's inclinations if she had known that his wife had been "cold and indifferent so that he, as it were, looked for different outlets", but Ester said that she not could be perceived that way. We do not know how the preacher and his wife viewed their marriage. We therefore cannot know whether her toleration for her husband's proclivities was a kind of apology for some defect for which she accused herself. If she had taken the matter to the police, the foundation for her own existence and presumably also for her livelihood would have been undermined. She would have been left with a family of children, totally without support. Perhaps she exercised a kind of repressive toleration in order to save her own skin. In her patience she was tolerant in order to achieve an economic goal and economic security. With this in mind, one can understand that she let her husband carry on, slowly accustoming herself to the situation, and tolerating both him and herself. People's ability to get used to virtually anything is treated by the Nobel Prize winner Imre Kertész in the novel *Fateless* (2006), but it is also clear from diaries written in the 1930s when Nazism was stealthily infiltrating German society while most of the population tried to adapt to it (see e.g. Klemperer 1998).

In discussing why the preacher's wife tolerated her husband's behaviour we must also bear in mind that this meeting-house communion, until the late twentieth century, was bound by tradition. Snellman describes a certain sluggishness in the willingness to change (2011:268). Consequently, the members had not been affected to any great extent by women's liberation. I was able to draw that conclusion from the interview with Ester. The preacher's wife's submissiveness can then be explained in terms of fear. Moreover, meekness is an ideal in Christianity. Nagging, squabbling, and outbursts of anger are not accepted (Matt. 5:9). The wife's toleration of her husband's behaviour, of course, can also be explained as an expression of insufficient knowledge of what was permitted and forbidden. But she was aware that something was wrong, or at least that it was known that the preacher had turned bad, as is obvious from another interview in the project where the interviewee quoted someone – judging by the context it was probably the wife – as having said: "[Y]ou must keep an eye on Dad" (IF mgt 2014:002).

A completely different angle can be found if one views life as a series of trials sent by God. When the woman had entered into holy matrimony with the man, she had promised before God and the whole congregation to love

him. Fidelity is a central virtue according to Christian doctrine, and it is very important among the Læstadians. In the marriage the man had the undisputed status of leader, at least when it came to the father's role and in work outside the home. He was an authority, and his chastisement could not be questioned. The model for a father was God himself (cf. Snellman 2011:107). In this special case the wife was married to an important and successful preacher. That he was not a good man in all respects is something she may have perceived as a trial which she had to endure. She had learned, like all the other members of the congregation, that each person had his cross to bear, with reference to the way that Jesus had to take up the cross on which he would be crucified and carry it to the place of execution. It became her goal to "go through Gethsemane to Golgotha" (Snellman 2011:222), or, like Jesus on the day before his crucifixion, to patiently endure pangs of doubt, fear, and anxiety, and in her own case the knowledge of her husband's proclivities. She must see her life as a trial, as an expression of "the fighting faith", and she must "long and look forward […] towards the day of redemption" (Snellman 2011:229. Cf. Snellman 2011:74, 78, 107, 128–130, 189, 200–201, 221, 222–223, 225). She could see this as the way of the cross, which is also "the way of paradoxes" (Snellman 2011:78). Hurtig writes that faith in God's will functions like a curtain, so that a person will not or cannot see what is going on (Hurtig 2012:125). Toleration thus becomes a pious alibi, a martyr's alibi which in this case, one could claim, led to moral death.

Of course, a preacher's wife, in the role of mother of the congregation, could presumably also be seen as a spiritual guide giving pastoral care to women. There was nothing strange in the fact that Ester and the preacher's wife had had a trusting relationship. Perhaps Ester put this forward during the interview when she mentioned the preacher's treachery because she was afraid that the preacher's wife had abused her confidence and passed on her confidences to her husband, so that he would know more about Ester than she really wanted him to know in a difficult situation. She felt exposed and viewed herself as a victim of the preacher's and his wife's toleration for her weakness. Tolerating, as we saw above, can be a way of exercising power, which means that the person who is tolerated is weak. It is also conceivable that Ester told me about her trusting relationship with the preacher's wife in order to express her solidarity with her.

Although Ester did not say it outright, my analysis shows that all the good things about the preacher – the good sermons, the tremendous support, respect, and toleration for her wish to be a visible woman, or as she says herself, "standing out a bit" – could be perceived by her as a kind of backdrop behind which an ugly crime was concealed. Ester felt tricked. During the interview she was still grappling with her sense of being let down. She had lost her trust in a person whom she had admired. Now she was forced to learn to endure this loss and live with her disappointment.

I find it interesting that Ester did not regard the disclosure of the paedophilia solely as something bad. One can interpret her narrative as a form of coping with the situation (cf. Pargament 1997). When I asked her why she had agreed at all to tell me what she knew, she said it was because she was open, and she elaborated on that: "if I can help a bit […] in this difficult matter then I'll do it." She evidently imagined that it could benefit someone if what happened was articulated and brought into the light. This must surely be viewed against the background that the meeting house had been a closed communion for a long time, and especially during the preacher's time. Ester also spoke about the openness that prevailed within her own family. At least in the family, she felt it was possible to talk about very disturbing things. In Læstadianism the family had a strong position, and it was the mother in particular who had to manage relations within it (cf. Snellman 2011:61, 106–111, 167). I interpret Ester's desire for openness against the background of what other informants told me about how closed the congregation was (IF mgt 2012:002; IF mgt 2012:003). For Ester it was the contrast between what one showed openly and what one concealed that was an important driving force for her narrative.

Ester was able to point out all the positive things that had come after the scandal. A new committee had been appointed in the congregation, it had become possible to discuss even difficult things, and the severity and closedness had been considerably softened. Many new young members had joined. It was also important for her to show that there were now several people who had become active in the work of the congregation. In the past, she said, there had been far too many people who did not feel needed; it was those closest to the preacher who had been active or had been permitted to be active. The good effects of the disclosure helped Ester to tolerate what had happened, so that she could once again attain peaceful co-existence in the congregation.

The exposure of the paedophilia had not prevented Ester and Edvin from continuing their participation in the congregation. The couple could tolerate the community there. I asked how this was possible and Ester explained: "Well, there's no congregation, no people at all, that are absolutely pure […], no, we have our trespasses and peculiarities, and one person has one thing and another person can have something else, but we simply must believe through grace." Here she expressed the central Protestant message of believing through grace, and her choice to carry on living in the congregation was based on theology. Her toleration, as far as she had come in her account of it, was thus grounded in doctrine (cf. Bredsdorff & Kjældgaard 2012:133). She emphasized that her civic interest had taught her to view society and people with open eyes. She said a couple of times that each person is responsible for his own life and deeds. Ester had thus not left the congregation, but could see that human frailties are found everywhere but that

God's message of grace overshadowed these. Neither Ester nor Edvin felt that they needed to convince themselves on their own to remain Læstadians; God helped them. Some of her children, on the other hand, had been more categorical and had left the congregation. The boundary of their toleration was at a different level than Ester's and her husband's. Ester's epistemological orientation had become deeper and had expanded the boundaries of her toleration, whereas her children's boundaries had been exceeded.

Edvin joined Ester and me in the middle of the interview. He had made coffee and then he called us to the table, and after we had talked for a while about this and that he asked if he could say something too. He took the conversation into a new area, namely, Sunday school. Edvin evidently found it easier to talk about sexuality than his wife did. To begin with he tried a circumlocution, saying that in connection with the Sunday school visits "a lot had come out concerning, concerning […] *könsanstaltas*". This word, a compound of *kön* (sex) and a word meaning "arrangements", was supposed to cover the preacher's interest in sexuality in different forms. Edvin reminded us that the preacher's interest had frightened the children so that they did not want to come along to the meeting house where the Sunday school had been held. The preacher was described as a person who liked small children, but Ester also pointed out that the children had found him far too nice. Later in the interview Edvin stopped beating about the bush and used the word *sexualitet*. His toleration for the words he could choose to pronounce had increased during the interview. But the word "paedophilia" did not cross his lips.

I wanted to find out a little more about what this *könsanstaltas* stood for, in the belief that it could be relevant to the theme, and wondered if it occurred in the sermons, but the answer I received was that such discussions had been conducted in general conversations and in Sunday school. Edvin, just like Ester, was convinced that the preacher's sermons had been spotless. Ester joined this conversation, declaring that Edvin had been rather critical of the Sunday school. He had disapproved of the way the children in Sunday school had been warned not to look in the pornographic magazines beside the checkout in the local supermarket, because he thought that such warnings could arouse the children's curiosity. Moreover, he understood that the preacher, to be able to warn the children, must have looked at the magazines himself. Yet Edvin had not suspected anything as serious as paedophilia. Ester tried to defend the preacher by saying that his talk about sex was to be perceived as a warning: "He just wanted to warn young people and everyone else too", but she admitted that the content of the warnings expressed a certain obsession. Here she developed a tolerant attitude in order to understand the situation. We see again that Ester still not had achieved clarity about her own position in relation to the preacher. She occasionally made cautious attempts at broad-mindedness.

One may wonder why Ester was more accepting – or blind – than Edvin. The answer is that Ester, when this had happened, had already become a member of the meeting-house congregation, but Edvin had not yet joined. Ester's admiration and respect for the preacher had suffocated all possibilities of suspicion in her; one could perhaps say that she had been morally dead and had a pious alibi for not intervening. When I asked whether Edvin had been astonished when the paedophile was revealed, he answered: "I wasn't really astonished, I must admit." His expectations were not disappointed, for he had had his suspicions, unlike his wife, as we saw above. For Edvin the preacher did not stand on a pedestal, and therefore the fall was not as great as in his wife's account. Putting someone on a pedestal means that one admires that person so much that he is perceived as faultless, so that no suspicions can grow. Toleration does not even need to be mobilized; everything appears to be in the best possible condition. Edvin perhaps also had some vague suspicions on account of previous experience with a different preacher who had committed some error. What that was did not emerge during the interview. Edvin thus did not feel completely deceived. In his case the comparison was not done by making contrasts but by finding similarities. He recognized the situation.

During the interview we also discussed other religious movements, and Edvin claimed that improprieties occurred in all religious communions. By this he presumably was not trying to defend his own group and its former preacher or to diminish the guilt, but rather to show that improper acts are human. Ester and I discussed Christians as ideals for others, without Edvin taking part. Here it turned out that Ester did not interpret everything in the Bible literally; she thought that one must read between the lines. It is important to point this out in view of her great reverence for the sermons which she was supposed to judge critically according to the tradition. She invoked her own authority as a reader and exegete of the Bible.

In Ester's statements I noticed surprisingly often her inability to grasp what had happened, her scepticism and doubt. Scepticism was not really her central theme, which instead consisted of the comparisons she made with life as a Christian in relation to a person who does not live completely and consistently as a Christian ought to do. The outcome of these comparisons was dependent on Ester's own authority and knowledge of the tradition when it came to determining what a proper Christian life was. Ester was already elderly and had acquired much wisdom and experience. Against that background, she knew that life is not always easy, that people are exposed to temptations, and that, having gained inescapable experience, she often tends to become less rigorous towards others, more tolerant. Ester clearly articulated her loss of confidence in central people in the faith that was the foundation of her life, while her acceptance of the loss was formulated in her declaration that everything had become better after the crisis, and in a belief

in the future that I could detect when she talked about all the new young people who had joined the congregation. The interview with Ester was marked by her inability to understand the events properly, but there is no condemnation in that. She had heard that the man was a paedophile, she doubted it and could not take in that knowledge. She still had not internalized it completely at the time of the interview. Ester's epistemological orientation was nevertheless changing. One could say that her intolerance towards the new knowledge became a culture-protecting intolerance (cf. Lind 2006:165).

Conclusions

My informants were willing to talk and discuss in a matter-of-fact way. They explained what had happened and how they themselves viewed paedophilia in their Læstadian communion. But the analysis also shows how the theme of paedophilia lay as an unspoken foundation for our conversation, and how the talk moved on and off the topic. Different shades of toleration were expressed. Ester and Edvin tested their own values in comparison with – and in contrast to – the reality on which they had to take a stance. They did this by looking in their own experience and values. For Ester's part this world of values was Christianity in its Læstadian form. This was clear when she said: "My Christianity has been the most important thing, it's been most important." Ester's Christianity meant that she had "a faith in God and a better life after this one". It was presumably the same for Edvin, although he did not express himself so clearly.

The limits to toleration for both of them were influenced by scepticism, but in differing form. Ester's respect for the preacher meant that she had honestly disbelieved that he had been a paedophile, whereas Edvin had had his suspicions. His scepticism was more about the expected respect for the preacher and the strict interpretation of the Bible. He was open for the possibility that a Christian can commit crimes and that the Bible can be interpreted in different ways.

Ester and Edvin had strategies for their further participation in the communion, and in the end they found something positive in the event, since they were able to relate the exposure of the paedophile's activities to their idea of God's goodness. Moreover, we can glimpse a Læstadian world view, with heaven as a desirable goal which is reached via the road to Golgotha, but only if a person can fulfil certain conditions which involve "grace for improvement". With the basic attitude that God always directs everything for the best, there is no other conceivable outcome.

As Western society has been sexualized, awareness and knowledge of different kinds of sexuality have become subjects of discussion and the boundaries for what is tolerated have been shifted, so that what was perhaps

tolerated in the 1960s, with more or less distaste, now cannot be accepted at all. My informants' perception of decency and indecency, of appropriate and inappropriate sexuality, agreed on this point with prevailing official values in Finnish society. New knowledge and new values in society have led to a shift in the boundaries for what can be tolerated.

Toleration is built up of choices that lead to understanding and acceptance. When it no longer seems possible to bear what is happening, a person runs into the boundary for his or her toleration. Norms and values in society change and simultaneously there is a change in people's opportunities for a new epistemological orientation. The boundaries of toleration reflect cultural change and the way individuals relate to it. The cultural patterns that the informants could adopt when speaking to me rested on the potential for a change in epistemological orientation, which they evaluated through comparison and contrasting while taking Læstadian values into consideration.

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Abbreviations

Hbl Hufvudstadsbladet
SAOB Ordbok över svenska språket

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Åbo
Kulturvetenskapliga arkivet Cultura
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[1] See e.g. http://bloggen.fi/herbertsblog/2011/04/09/nr-317-pedofilharvan-vaxer-among-læstadianarna/ (accessed 10 April 2013); http://Swedish.yle.fi/article/2009/12/30/pedofilifallet-vacker-debatt (accessed 10 April 2013); *Hbl* 23 April 2010; *Hbl* 8 September 2011.

[2] The article has come about as part of a project entitled "Boundaries of Toleration", financed by the Academy of Finland.

[3] http://www.levandehistoria.se/intolerans/mangtydigaintoleransen, accessed 9 April 2013.

[4] http://www.synonymer.se/?query=tolerans&SOK.x=0&SOK.y=0, accessed 2 April 2013.

[5] The theme is topical again now that comparable phenomena have been found in other congregations; see e.g. *Helsingin Sanomat*, 5 January 2014. http://www.hs.fi/sunnuntai/a1388813055746?jako=43420153f6a2639728e045b94f449470&ref=fb-share.

[6] Unless otherwise stated, quotations come from IF mgt 2014: 001.

The Witch on the Wall

The Milk-Stealing Witch in Scandinavian Iconography

Amber J. Rose

Introduction

Walk into the old *vapenhus* of the medieval church of Täby, near the northern edge of modern Stockholm, Sweden, and your gaze may be arrested by a series of figures along the west wall. Three panels – the last of which is unfortunately nearly invisible, thanks to the ravages of time and later sensibilities – show firstly a woman churning butter and secondly the same woman fashioning butter pats. In both cases she is accompanied by devils, and what little can be seen of the final scene in this visual narrative suggests a claw-footed devil plays a role in its conclusion as well. To find a depiction of butter-churning in late medieval Scandinavia is hardly surprising: for a millennium or more, milk and dairy products were a staple part of the Scandinavian diet, and women were in charge of their production for nearly as long (Wall 1977:2; Forsmark 2005/6:52; Jennbert 2011: 32).

Yet the presence of devils suggests that this is no simple depiction of butter-making. Rather, the devils indicate that the woman on the *vapenhus* wall is the kind of witch who steals milk from her neighbors' cattle and employs demons to increase her supply of butter. The history of the milk-stealing witch is long and extends far beyond Northern Europe, and Täby is hardly unique among Scandinavian churches in depicting her crime – and her resulting punishment. Though many murals have been whitewashed or otherwise destroyed, dozens of examples still remain, in varying degrees of preservation. Many scholars have attributed the frequent recurrence of the milk-stealing witch in European legend to the difficulty of producing enough milk and butter for the family and financial profit, prior to modern pastoral practices and refrigeration (see, for example, Wall 1977:4; Van Gent 2009:75; S. Mitchell 2011:141).[1]

Beyond this type of brief comment, however, scholars have paid relatively little attention to the milk-stealing witch in English publications. More has been accomplished in the Scandinavian languages, including Jan Wall's

1. Täby Church Vapenhus, West Wall. Photo by author.

seminal work in 1977–78, *Tjuvmjölkande väsen*, and a contemporaneous monograph on Danish murals of devils (Nyborg 1978). More recently, Ann-Sofi Forsmark and Johannes Daun have produced important new considerations, focusing on Uppland and Gotland respectively (Forsmark 2005/6; Daun 2010).

In this article I seek to build on the work of these and other scholars by considering these murals in the light of artistic developments on the Continent, particularly Germany, and suggest that they can best be understood as a kind of Scandinavian "translation" of Continental iconographic convention. Moreover, I will demonstrate that the visual Scandinavian legend of the milk-stealing witch incorporated not just artistic habits but a "deep structure" concerning the construction of femininity and corresponding anxieties about female sexuality.

This is not to suggest that the milk-stealing witch was imported wholesale from the Continent, or that the sexual undertones I perceive in these murals were the sole or even primary purpose of the churchmen who commissioned or the artists who painted them. Indeed, Stephen Mitchell convincingly demonstrates that there existed an early medieval tradition of magical food theft in Scandinavia, well before the development of widespread witch motifs in artwork. He understands milk-stealing witch paintings – quite correctly, in my view – as an attempt by social and church elites to inscribe a pre-existing folk tradition with learned concerns, namely, the growing conviction among early modern intelligentsia that all magical acts depended ultimately on collusion with devils and allegiance to Satan (S. Mitchell 2011: 138–139, 141; see also Daun 2010:91).

In diabolizing this pre-existing folk tradition, however, the commissioners and painters of the murals also sexualized it, in ways that concorded precisely with developments in learned discourse about witchcraft and pressing anxieties about female sexuality, these arising out of confessionalism and other broad social movements of the time (Klaits 1985:59–65; Muchembled

2003:89–91; Karant-Nunn 1998). The economic, trading, and cultural links between Scandinavia and many German-speaking regions of the Holy Roman Empire were strong, and enabled the spread of what art historian Charles Zika has dubbed a "visual language" of witchcraft, largely constructed in Germany in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (Zika 2007).[2] This visual language established the witch in visual culture, as indeed she would become in the verbal culture of much of Europe, as the perfect foil to a newly defined conception of "woman" – a dark mirror of fantasy and fear. By using these codes, the church murals of Scandinavia imparted not just learned demonology but a gender anxiety linked inextricably to female sexuality and witchcraft, a potent combination that informed legends of the milk-stealing witch for centuries.

The Iconography of Witchcraft

During the fifteenth century, before the period of massive witch trials and during the formative age of the witch stereotype (see e.g. Thurston 2007: 82–103), artists on the Continent, particularly in the German-speaking cities of the Holy Roman Empire, began to depict witches with new energy and frequency. Thanks to the recently-invented medium of print and the outsized influence of trading cities like Lübeck, Strasbourg, and Nüremberg,[3] German artists – in particular Albrecht Dürer and especially his student Hans Baldung Grien – fashioned the "visual language of witchcraft" (Zika 2007:87). This language is notably sexual, not always in content (though this is often true as well) but in form, not – to extend the metaphor – in words but in its grammatical structure. The more explicit images perhaps offered the developing middle class an avenue of titillation otherwise forbidden in the confessional atmosphere of early modern Europe: James Mitchell, speaking specifically of the recurring depiction of witches copulating with devils, describes these images as "a kind of permitted pornography, morally sanitized by their association with witchcraft" (J. Mitchell 2008:14).

Pornography, however, despite Justice Potter Stewart's famous assurance (Jacobellis v. Ohio, 378 U.S. 184 (1964)), is not always easily recognized. One particularly well-known image, foundational to this new visual language of witchcraft, is Dürer's woodcut of c. 1500 (see fig. 2). To modern eyes, this image of a witch riding a goatlike creature backwards may not immediately appear salacious, but to early modern viewers the uncompromising realism of her naked body, her wildly flowing hair, the witch's choice of mount, and especially her positioning on the goat all signified unfeminine abandon and dangerously unbridled sexual license. "For sixteenth-century viewers," Zika explains, "a backward ride would have immediately established the allusion to sexual inversion. Riding backwards on an animal … was a frequent form of humiliation in the late Middle Ages, used to punish

2. Albrecht Dürer, *Witch Riding Goat*. British Museum.

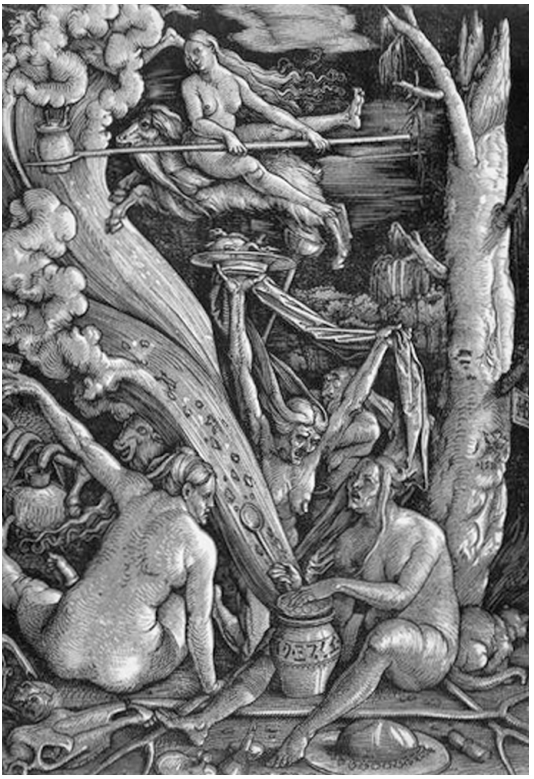
those who had not maintained the honour considered appropriate to their gender" (Zika 2007:28). Riding a goat, with its well-established connotations of Satanism and sexual license, highlights the pornographic and demonic subtext of the image (Zika 2007:289; Muchembled 2003:17). In the early modern understanding of the female sex and gender, women were by nature disorganized and incomplete; thus the woman's flying hair, already associated with sexuality, highlights the sexual danger of a woman so uncontrolled as to have contracted with the Devil (Zika 2007:21; Muchembled 2003:75). It is worth pointing out Stephen Mitchell's opinion that the association between loose hair, loose clothing, and promiscuity can be found as early as the thirteenth century in Swedish law (S. Mitchell 2011:152). These visual cues, in other words, would likely have been recognizable at least to learned eyes in early modern Scandinavia as well as on the Continent.

Finally, as Allison Coudert has noted about Dürer's witch, "the distaff that should identify her as a submissive female is, instead, suggestive of a

phallus. This together with the fact that she clutches the horn of the goat on which she rides implies that she has appropriated and controls male sexual power" (Coudert 2008:242; also see Zika 2007:29). In fact, such appropriation of male sexual power is visible in much of the iconography of witchcraft during the early modern period. The image of witches riding broomsticks – still common today – also dates to the fifteenth century (Kors and Peters 2001:145) and, just as Dürer's distaff does, recasts a housewifely symbol as an expression of phallic appropriation. Thus the sexual danger posed by the witch does not threaten only the witch's personal soul, but masculinity *in toto*: "The strengthening of the authority of the state was achieved through that of husbands over wives and fathers over children. The social contract of the time was based on a reduplication of male power, from the bosom of the family to the machinery of state" (Muchembled 2003:89). Thus the witch's sexuality was not a private concern, an internal flaw that delivered her to Satan and eternal torment, but became a danger to gender organization, the nation-state, and Christendom at large.

Other early depictions of witchcraft are far more obviously pornographic than Dürer's goat-riding witch. This is especially the case with the several images produced by one of Dürer's friends and pupils, Hans Baldung Grien – "no one," as James Mitchell has commented, "depicted the erotic play of witches with more enthusiasm" (J. Mitchell 2008:14). Baldung, after finishing his apprenticeship with Dürer in 1509, moved from his master's city of Nüremberg to Strasbourg, where he married into a well-connected mercantile family and became a prominent member of the city's powerful trading guild. This guild included printers that were at the time a major supplier to Scandinavian markets (Hults 2005:77; Undorf 2014:77, 85). Baldung thus played a major role in shaping the iconography of witchcraft in the North, as indeed throughout Europe. His most significant depiction of witchcraft, perhaps, is a woodcut produced in 1510 – the year of his marriage – which "largely because of its erotic implications, remained extremely popular for the next two centuries" (Kors and Peters 2001:250); Charles Zika credits this image above all others in fashioning and solidifying the visual language of witchcraft (2007:11). In this woodcut, three witches gather in the deep wild forest, their flying hair, naked bodies, and exaggerated gestures – masculine in their angular definitiveness – all developed from Dürer's prototype, whence also the reversed goat-riding and perhaps also the witches' cooking forks, which resemble Dürer's distaff both in physical form and phallic symbolism. Also notable here is the fuming cauldron, whose pseudo-Hebrew letters reveal nothing but a substratum of anti-Semitism to modern critics but to early modern viewers underlined the diabolical nature of the witches' magic-working.

For Charles Zika, women gathering around a cauldron would shortly become the most significant of four visual keys that signified witchcraft, the



3. Hans Baldung Grien, *Witches*. British Museum.

others being transvection on goats or tools, cooking sticks, and wildly untamed hair (2007:7, 87, 91). He argues that:

> [T]he cauldron primarily served to identify the witch as female. It linked witchcraft to the female roles associated with the hearth, the preparation and distribution of food, the more general nurturing of society. And since food exchange was commonly associated with sexual exchange in visual culture, the cauldron of witchcraft could also be linked to vessels that served as symbols for the seething carnality and sexual power of women's bodies…. The cauldron alluded to the desires of sexuality, desires stimulated by women to bring about the subjection or subordination of men. (2007: 74, 76)[4]

The uncontrollable sexual desires of women were linked with early modern conceptions of the womb, understood (after Plato and other Greek authors) as a detached kind of animal, wandering through the woman's body and causing a variety of odd behaviors and illnesses (Richmond 1989:1296; Wisenberg 2007:113). Linda Hults associates this understanding with Mikhail Bakhtin's "grotesque body" as "unfinished, open, impure…, emphasiz[ing] gaps or orifices and physical urges and pleasures…". She continues:

> Bakhtin's concept corresponds more closely to *women's* bodies than to men's. In menstruating, giving birth, and lactating, women's bodies are inevitably more open, disproportionate, seemingly more beholden to physical necessity. When linked to the understanding of their wombs as hungry, wandering animals and their moister and colder physiology, women's bodies are readily interpreted as vehicles of disorder, requiring control by an idealizing aesthetic and by social codes and constant surveillance. (Hults 2005:17)

In other words, the cauldron, whose womblike characteristics hardly needed Freud to elucidate them, signified a range of threatening female sexual features, whose disorder made them fundamental to the conception of the witch. Unlike broomsticks and cooking forks, then, the cauldron is a feminine domestic tool that remained decidedly feminine in the visual language of witchcraft – but in such as way as to highlight the mystery and disorder (and therefore danger) of women's work, bodies, and sexuality.

The Road North

While the visual depiction of witches on the Continent ranged from pornographically explicit to mildly suggestive, the depiction of witches in Scandinavian church murals is often, at first glance, blandly inoffensive. At Tuse Church in Denmark, for example, a woman stands at her butter church flanked by two grinning devils. Her posture and expression as she looks over her shoulder at one of the demons might suggest dismay or, in Mette Brandt's opinion, irritation (1976:56); a casual glance might alternatively suggest that the woman is being threatened or attacked by her demonic attendants (this ambiguity is also noticed by Brandt (1976:55)). Only familiarity with milk-stealing witch legends would indicate that this woman is actually a witch, and only when the scene is viewed in its context – it is in fact part of a larger mural focusing on the damned en route to hell – does it become clear that the demons are not her attackers but rather her accomplices.

Yet this immediate visual context is still insufficient for a full understanding of the Tuse butter-thief and other depictions of milk-stealing witches in Scandinavian churches. It is important to remember that Scandinavia did not operate in a cultural vacuum, but enjoyed close ties with the Continent on political, economic, and indeed personal levels. Germany in particular exercised a great deal of influence on Scandinavia, especially its neighbor Denmark and the port cities of Sweden, where the middle class used the same dialect of German as did the rest of the Hanseatic League (Undorf 2014:3, 65). Notably, it is the same countries, Denmark and Sweden, which exhibit by far the most murals of milk-stealing witches. Johannes Daun notes that the milk-stealing paintings in Gotland churches were largely produced by the so-called "Passionsmäster" school, heavily influenced by north German style (Daun 2010:78). It is also notable that among the German cities that supplied the early Scandinavian book market were Nüremberg and Strasbourg, the homes of Albrecht Dürer and Hans Baldung Grien, respectively,

4. Tuse Church, Butter-Churning. Photo courtesy of Stephen Mitchell.

5. Tuse Church, Hell. Photo courtesy of Stephen Mitchell.

while even after printers set up shop in Scandinavia, northern German cities and other Continental trade centers continued to exert a major influence (Undorf 2014:7, 21, 96).

One particularly important avenue of dissemination of the visual language of witchcraft was the series of woodcuts produced by Ulrich Molitor, of Strasbourg, to accompany his text, *De lamiis et pithonicis* (*On Female Witches and Seers*). First produced in Constance and Strasbourg in 1489, the treatise proved incredibly popular and was reprinted some twenty times with great rapidity, with editions in both German and Latin appearing in such cities as Basel, Cologne, and Leipzig, all significant points of entry into the Scandinavian market (Hults 2005:60; Zika 2007:7; Undorf 2014:51, 96). As early as the 1489 edition, one woodcut shows a witch riding through the air on a cooking fork, possibly the first time such an image appeared (Zika 2007:24); the accompanying text, for those who could read, left no doubt as to the sexual implications, as Charles Zika notes: "[The cooking fork] alluded to the female and carnal nature of the witch…. For as Molitor's text put it: witches ride out on such oiled sticks to their 'pleasure'" (2007:120).

While access to purely textual discussions may have been more or less restricted to the literate, nearly everybody could understand this visual language, so that "it was the woodcut that was primarily responsible for disseminating these images to the broader society" and perhaps the Molitor woodcuts in particular:

> The significance of the Molitor woodcuts reproduced over two decades in over 20 editions was precisely that: they allowed a limited number of images to be repeated and recycled, both in the one work and also in numerous editions published by different printers in a range of different cultural centres. (Zika 2007:35, 27)

Thanks to woodcuts like these, which were cheap and easily replicated, Linda Hults maintains that within the first decades of the sixteenth century, "an iconographic convention for the figure of the witch was established" (2005:19). Once established, moreover, such conventions and their sexualized subtext could perhaps retroactively apply to older Scandinavian church murals, painted before widespread adaptation of Continental conceptions (though the great majority date to the last decades of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries).

While the circulation of woodcuts like Molitor's, Dürer's, and Baldung's may have established iconographic conventions, or the grammar of Zika's visual language, localities developed – so to speak – their own visual dialects. Thus different countries and regions emphasize different aspects of the legend (see e.g. Daun 2010:90), and none replicate exactly any Continental model. Nor need there have been a direct transition from German woodcut to Scandinavian wall; Ann-Sofi Forsmark has speculated that the church paintings were modeled after Scandinavian woodcuts, though none are now extant (Forsmark 2005/6). Similarly, Johannes Daun has identified woodcuts as the precursor to images of the "gossiping woman," who appears to similar didactic purpose as milk-stealing witches in Gotland churches (Daun 2010:91). In short, the visual language of witchcraft likely circulated even before milk-stealing witches began to appear on Scandinavian church walls.

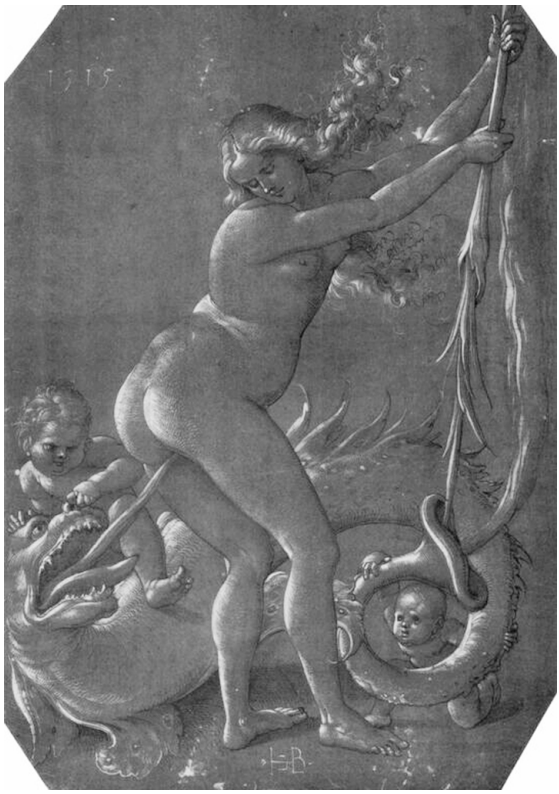
The Visual Language in Scandinavian Translation

One difference between the prurient imagery of, for instance, Hans Baldung Grien and the milk-thieves of Scandinavian church murals is clothing: while Continental witches luridly display their nakedness, the butter-churning Scandinavian witch is typically dressed as a respectable housewife. Yet exceptions exist on both sides. Perhaps most importantly, the witches in Ulrich Molitor's woodcuts are all clothed, even the witch who embraces an also-clothed devil (fig. 6). In fact, in this instance we have, as Charles Zika explains, an example of how clothing could in fact underline sexual impropriety: "The woman's headdress indicates she is married, and so we have a scene not only of diabolical seduction, but also of adultery…." Moreover,

6. Ulrich Molitor, *Witch and Devil.* Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg.

Zika continues: "While Molitor's discussion of these questions was complex, the woodcut simply affirmed the sexual liaison between witch and devil as fundamental to witchcraft belief" (2007:23). This was not a feature of folk belief, but of elite concerns about witchcraft and the witch's sexual relationship with the devil (Klaits 1985:53); thus this woodcut, more than the text, relayed this concern to the non-literate public.

We cannot thus assume that a clothed woman cannot be a witch, and the odd coloring in the Tuse example shown above may be meant to suggest that this woman is not, in fact, fully clothed after all: one of her legs may in fact be revealed in full. The positioning of the devil behind her, with his hands on her shoulders, becomes then highly suggestive, an interpretation bolstered by comparing this milk-stealing witch with her companion on the opposite side of the same mural, a witch apparently engaged in a similar act of ale-theft. She too has a winged devil behind her, who uses a pole to push her skirts aside – revealing one bare leg – perhaps in order to collect her feces. While decidedly



7. Hans Baldung Grien, *Witch and Dragon*. Wikimedia Commons.

not as explicit as Baldung's pornographic *Witch and Dragon* drawing, the same theme, copulation with devils, and perhaps even the same sexual position, is thus visible in the Tuse mural as well; and simultaneously the same adultery theme is present here as in Molitor's woodcut.

Similarly, Ann-Sofi Forsmark concludes that milk-stealing witches, in Uppland churches at least, were depicted as "young" and "attractive," but clothed ("…ung kvinna med attraktivt yttre," Forsmark 2005/6:57). This suggests that early modern Scandinavian churchmen understood the milk-stealing witch to be sexually desirable as well as desiring of sex; she is, in other words, threatening to ordered Christendom and its stable monogamous marriages through more than just her milk-theft.

Turning now to the theme of riding, we find similarly sexual currents in Scandinavian depictions as were discussed above regarding Dürer's goat-riding witch and the cooking forks of Molitor and Baldung. In Scandinavian church murals, as Jan Wall notices, witches ride the familiar broomstick and also, as at Yttergran Church near Uppsala, Sweden, peels and rakes (Wall 1977:21). Here again, domestic implements have been repurposed as symbols of phallic appropriation. Witches engaged in milk-theft, however, are

8. Yttergran Church, Witches and Devil. Photo courtesy of Stephen Mitchell.

nearly always depicted churning butter, their feet planted firmly on the ground. But if not riding, they are often ridden. The devil standing behind the witch at Tuse may be a variation on this theme, for demons frequently cling to the shoulders or back of the witch as she churns, as for instance at Täby Church, perhaps to suggest the difficulty of shaking evil off once witchcraft has invited it in, or perhaps – again – there are sexual undertones to this motif.

The latter suggestion is supported by other images in Scandinavian murals depicting demons riding witches, some of whom are clearly identified specifically as milk-stealing witches. The mural in Öja Church on the island of Gotland, for instance, lays out the whole didactic narrative, from the witch's familiar suckling a cow held by two demons, to the witch churning with her devilish accomplices, to her infernal punishment, to which she is ridden by a hoofed demon (it is tempting to speculate, given the similarity of the progressions otherwise, that a similar image once concluded the sequence at Täby[5]). Notably, in the last instance she is unclothed, as is the witch in an equivalent scene in Dannemora church in Uppland – the latter holding an enlarged butter pat to emphasize the nature of her transgression (Forsmark 2005/6:54). Indeed, on Gotland the milk-stealing witches whose punishment is still visible are *always* naked, and Johannes Daun explains that "Medeltidens konstnärer kunde genom att framhäva människans könsorgan, bröst eller andra kroppsdelar med sexuell anknytning markera att det var en syndig person som gestaltades" (Daun 2010:89) [By emphasizing genitals, breasts, or other body parts with sexual associations, medieval artists could stress that it was a sinful person who was depicted].

In these scenes the tables have been turned: the witch, who commanded demons in life, finds her soul in eternal sexual servitude to the demons who formerly obeyed her (Daun 2010:88). Consider, for instance, the punishment of a woman in Marie Magdelena Church in Djursland, Denmark. Her pose is reminiscent of the women ridden by demons, and her punishment is

9. Dannemora Witch. Photo courtesy of Stephen Mitchell.

10. Maria Magdelena Witch. Photo courtesy of Stephen Mitchell.

undeniably sexual in nature. Although the crime for which she suffers is no longer visible, Ulla Haastrup believes that this woman too is a milk-stealing witch and that her punishment reflects her copulation with devils (Haastrup 1992:204–205).

Although the peels and rakes ridden by the witches of Yttergran Church (fig. 8) are not specifically feminine items, the butter-churn plungers, typically jointly grasped by the milk-stealing witch and a demonic accomplice, are. (As mentioned above, dairy work was emphatically a woman's task, from the Viking Age to the late nineteenth century.) As with the Continental distaffs, brooms, and cooking forks, the plungers represent the witch's habit of inverting a feminine, housewifely activity into something masculine and actively sexual. Not only is the plunger, like the Continental objects, phallic in shape, but – unlike distaffs, brooms, and cooking forks – it must be thrust up and down, via a small hole, in the course of its proper use to make butter. It is not difficult to perceive the sexual implications, as indeed both Jo-

hannes Daun and Ann-Sofi Forsmark have noted (Daun 2010:77; Forsmark 2005/6:57).[6]

It becomes easy then to understand the churn as symbolic of the womb: an exact translation of the Continental cauldron, in Zika's reading. Similar in both form and function, as vessels operated almost exclusively by women, both cauldrons and butter churns produced the food necessary for physical and economic survival. Daun points out that in the Gotland churches, the churns are often oversized compared to the witch herself (Daun 2010:87); this emphasis reinforces the feminine nature of the crime. After all, even more so than a cauldron, as a vessel that produced not just food but dairy products (much like a mother herself), the butter churn was particularly well-suited to represent female sexuality.

Conclusion

Without the iconographic context from Continental print culture and a deeper understanding of the milk-stealing witch legend in Scandinavian folklore, it would likely require an enormous effort of prurient imagination to locate the sexual subtext in the three-panel scene of Täby Church's *vapenhus* wall. Once established as a kind of dialect of the iconographic convention dubbed by Charles Zika as "the visual language of witchcraft," however, the sexual anxieties at the heart of this oft-repeated pictorial theme on the walls of Scandinavian churches become all too clear. The witch, sexually aggressive (and therefore "masculine") and uncontrolled by any church-sanctioned authority (whether husband, king, minister, or priest), inverted every carefully constructed norm of the early modern woman, who in the age of confessionalism was restricted to childbearing and housekeeping under the strict control of her husband (Levin 1998:159; Purkiss 1996:94). The milk-stealing witch, in particular, inverted every aspect of both of these roles. She created familiars, in essence generating children by herself (medical knowledge at the time assumed men were solely responsible for "planting" children in a woman's fertile womb). She slept with the Devil, parodying the Christian marriage of husband and wife. Physiologists held that mother's milk was menstrual blood, transmuted in the breasts (Orland 2012:449); in contrast, the milk-stealing witch perversely transmuted milk into blood, so that during the witch-trial period "blod i mjölken kunde tas som belägg för trolldom" (Forsmark 2005/6:52) [blood in the milk could be taken as evidence of witchcraft] (see also Purkiss 1996:131). Even in legends from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, butter made by a witch bleeds when cut.[7] Instead of remaining demurely at home, the milk-stealing witch ventured into her neighbors' yards; instead of passively generating nourishment from her churn and body, she yielded nothing but demonic falsehoods.

The witches on the walls of late medieval and early modern Scandinavian churches served to instruct men and women, in a dialect of a language familiar from woodcuts, in the sexual and theological dangers of witchcraft in general and milk-theft in particular. This message seems to have sunk in: as I intend to discuss elsewhere, much the same anxieties can be discerned in accusations of milk-theft from trial proceedings as well as in legends related even into the twentieth century.

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[1] The earliest recorded iteration of the supernatural milk-thief that I know of can be found in a seventh-century Irish hagiography of Saint Columba, though in that instance both the bovine in question and the perpetrator are male (Adamnán 1873, ch. 16). Speaking to the milk-stealing witch's long reach, however, the mid-twentieth century *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* indicates several North American as well as European examples under motif D2083, "Evil magic in the dairy" (Thompson 1965:368–9).

[2] Gary Schmidt, in his seminal study of the iconography of the hell mouth and its development, incidentally suggests a similar path of transmission, from its tenth-century origins in Britain to the Continent in the High Middle Ages; he locates its first appearance in Scandinavia to a fourteenth-century wall painting in Østerlars Church in Denmark (Schmidt 1995:13, 84, 103, 124).

[3] These cities, in addition to Paris, were particularly influential in the Scandinavian book market, which for the early decades of printing was almost wholly dependent on north German distributors (Undorf 2014:7, 12, 20–21, 77).

[4] It is also worth noting that the preparation of food was a role particularly suited for identifying women's work with witchcraft, as the latter had a widespread and very ancient association with poisoning (for example, the Greek characters of Circe and Medea both used potions in their magic-working, as does Lucan's Erictho).

[5] Ann-Sofi Forsmark suggests that the sequence was all but universal in church depictions of the milk-stealing witch: "Bilderna varierar i antal och utformning, men gemensamt för dem är att de skildrar ett förlopp, och kan läsas som en serie med en början och ett slut" (2005/6:8; see also 62) [The pictures vary in number and design, but what they have in common is the portrayal of a process that can be read as a series with a beginning and an ending].

[6] I am grateful to Stephen Mitchell for pointing out that Benjamin Christiansen implied the same association in his 1922 film, *Häxan*. More recent – and more explicit – use of the same suggestive metaphor was employed by the Polish musicians Donatan and Cleo in their 2014 entry to the Eurovision contest, "My Słowianie."

[7] For an example of bleeding witch-butter, see e.g. Kvideland and Sehmsdorf 1988:173.

Ruins and Fragments

A Case Study of Ballads, Fragments and Editorial Scholarship in *Svenska folk-visor från forntiden*[1]

Jason M. Schroeder

National Romanticism and nineteenth-century folklore have long been linked in scholarly works in the twentieth-century. Faced with the stresses of modernity, a rising Swedish middle class desired authenticity and developed nostalgia for a better and simpler past which could inspire the present. The concept of the "folk-soul," which contained the essence of a national identity, and its expressions were convenient tools for rising middle classes to assert their authority by taking on the mantle of the true folk and singing with one voice, by entextualizing folk songs, tales and other forms and moralizing them for the middle class values. Adrian Hastings writes that "texts can produce nations" (1997:20). He was not thinking about folklore texts in particular; folklore texts did not produce nations, but they were one tool that scholars and elites used to solidify nations and national identity in the 19th- and 20th-centuries by defining who the people of the nation were. In this paper, I examine how middle class attitudes towards the folk and ballads affected the ways that editors represented ballads and folk in critical ballad editions. The folk were erased as individuals and the contextual conditions of each ballad multiform were smoothed over to create a more singular national narrative. In *Svenska folk-visor från forntiden*, Arvid August Afzelius and Erik Gustaf Geijer's editorial scholarship frame Greta Naterberg's song "Linden" as a fragment of a more complete narrative; I argue that the song was complete. I want to trace these practices through the editors' editorial scholarship and representation of Greta Naterberg's *folkvisa*. Editorial scholarship involves narrating a moral point. This paper traces the treatment of this specific ballad sung by a specific singer, Greta Naterberg, and its entextualization as something altogether different.

Greta Naterberg, a Swedish soldier's wife, sang a *folkvisa* or ballad (pl. *folkvisor*) subsequently titled "Linden"[2] for Leonard Fredrik Rääf (text) and C. P. Grevilli (melody) sometime between the fall of 1813 and 1814 (SMB 12D & Jonsson 1967:387). The song narrates how a stepmother transmog-

rifies a young woman into a linden tree and how the young woman is restored to her human form.

This *folkvisa* was published in the third volume of Erik Gustaf Geijer and Arvid August Afzelius's *Svenska folk-visor från forntiden*[3] as supplement to song number 87, a Västergötland multiform of the song (GAIII # 87 [:I]: 115–118. I use the abbreviations GA to refer to these works; volume one is GAI, volume three is GAIII). The editors listed Greta Naterberg's multiform as a fragment, "submitted for its melody and old-timey speech"[4] and omitted the singer's name (GAIII # 87 [:II]). They altered the meter, spelling, and punctuation from the manuscript recording; in particular they altered line terminal words so that the rhyme pattern was more consistent (cf. *Sveriges medeltida ballader* # 12D). Why did the editors entextualize and recontextualize the song as a fragment and alter it? They used editorial scholarship as a means to imagine the past character of the Swedish people, though they saw it more as discovering this character, and to thus shape the contemporary present and future character of the Swedish nation.

Editorial scholarship is not an objective science and its practitioners aim not only to organize texts, but to give form to past texts to influence the future. In "Inventing Literary Heritage," Paula Henrikson states:

> Editorial scholarship can in general terms be characterised as a societal method for organising and promoting the written memories of a culture—that is, memories not as a device for a merely passive recognised, accumulated, and documented past, but memories as an active and continuous recalled idea of the past, or even a performance of the past, enacted to change the course of the future (2010:103).

Svenska folk-visor från forntiden organizes songs taken "from the mouths of the Swedish people" (GAI:x) as memories of the past, which recall the glory of Sweden during the 1600 and 1700s. With the loss of Finland to Russia and the consequent dynastic crisis in 1809 combined with the burgeoning influence of Romanticism in Sweden, this past becomes important for shaping a Swedish identity. As a whole, the work organizes texts about the past and performs the past for the future, but with individual texts, such as Greta Naterberg's "Linden" the editors made decisions that affect how the past is portrayed, again, with the goal being to influence the future and increase the political power of the middle class. A song is only considered a fragment if there is some advantage to representing it as a fragment.

Entwined with the editorial scholarship are what Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs call metadiscursive practices, through which a text is transformed from a particular set of contexts to new contexts, from one type of text to another, from peasant milieu to ethnographic event to middle class and nationalistic representation. I apply the framework to the unique situation in early nineteenth-century Sweden, focusing particularly on how scholars rendered ballads with political, social and aesthetic ideas. I begin by a brief exposition of metadiscursive practices, then I contextualize the

political and social environment and the scholars, as it affected the framing of *folkvisor* and the folk. Finally I analyze treatment of the folk and *folkvisor* in nationalistic aims by looking specifically at the ways that the editors of *Svenska folk-visor* treated Greta Naterberg's song "Linden" by comparing it with the apparently more complete Västergötland multiform (GAIII # 87 [:II]) and by comparing the printed multiform with the manuscript multiform (KB Vs 2.1:315–316).

In "The Foundation of All Future Researches," Briggs and Bauman (1999) discuss the metadiscursive practices used by scholars in anthropology and folklore to create and maintain their authority through processes that remove and transform texts. They point to two dialogues of entextualization versus detextualization and decontextualization versus recontextualization. The terms refer to the ways in which scholars hide and erase discourses and contexts as they create new ones. These dialogues can be viewed as a type of marketing in political and intellectual economies. In such practices, scholars covertly become the enunciating subjects by speaking for the folk. They thus imbue their discourse with authority.

Why is Greta Naterberg's song "Linden" denoted as a fragment? Romanticism had a fascination with ruin, with fragments of the past, which served as metonyms of imagined historical purity and greatness. While ruins and their literary equivalents provided tangible evidences of the past, they also remarked on the distance of the past from the modern era. While romantics such as E. G. Geijer and A. A. Afzelius looked longingly back to an epic past, they also sharply separated the past from the modern. By marking the song as an anonymous fragment and by emphasizing its old-timey speech, they legitimized the Romantic discourse through which scholars speak for the folk. And in doing so, they implicitly repressed Greta Naterberg's voice. The editors became the enunciating and interpreting voices for tradition in a modern world. I now want to turn to these scholars and editors that entextualized Greta Naterberg's song and recontextualized it for different audiences as a literary product.

Romanticism was introduced into Sweden from Germany via Denmark. Romanticism offered ideas that seemed alive in comparison to the supposedly dry and rationalistic ideas of the Enlightenment. These strands and others tie directly into the collection of folksongs from oral tradition. Generally Romanticism posited that the peasantry retained the last vestiges of "pure" national culture; for this reason the intelligentsia turned to the peasantry in their attempt to recapture the nationalistic folk-soul. Romantics imagined that narrative *folkvisor* (ballads) pointed to a past of uncorrupted Nordic peoples living in spiritual contentment, which needed to be restored to non-peasants (cf. Barton 1986:378). E. G. Geijer and A. A. Afzelius' *Svenska folk-visor från forntiden* was one of the first published works that attempted to find the Swedish forefathers and past in the folk.[5]

Geijer and Afzelius both belonged to Götiska förbundet (translated into English variously as Geatish or Gothic Society). Examining this society provides helpful historical context to the publication of *Svenska folk-visor*. Götiska förbundet was established in 1810 as a literary society, to which many leading members of academia and art belonged. It was partially a reaction to the collapse of the Swedish empire. The dreams of an Imperial Sweden had faded with defeat and the loss of Finland to Russia in 1809.[6] A dynastic crisis occurred. Sweden's world changed. Young Romantics felt that Sweden needed new sources of inspiration and guidance and Götiska förbundet was one such response. Adrian Molin writes, "For Jacob Alderbeth, the Götiska förbundet was a 'moral-patriotic thought' put into practice, a civic association with a patriotic aim"[7] (1906:100). The young Romantics of the society imagined that they could renew Sweden's glory by promoting and adopting the character of their Swedish forefathers. Only by bringing to life the old character of Sweden could Sweden be rescued from defeat and dissolution (cf. Molin 1906:101).

Editors

Erik Gustaf Geijer was born 12 January 1783 (d. 23 April 1847) at Ransäter mill in Värmland, the son of Bengt Gustaf Geijer, a foundry proprietor, and Ulrica Magdalena Geisler. Geijer entered Uppsala University in October 1799, taking a doctorate in history March 1810. He then worked as a private tutor in Stockholm until 1814. He took a post at Uppsala as an adjunct in 1815 and became a professor in 1817 (Norberg 1967–69). During his time in Uppsala, he became one of the foremost poets and philosophers of the Romantic movement in Sweden. His poetry captured the appeal of the imagined Viking past and his essays praised and refined Romantic philosophy. His early poetry, such as "The Viking" (*Vikingen*) and "The Farmer" (*Odalbonden*), imagined a Sweden of class equality, a glorious Viking-age Sweden. His association with Swedish letters and historical studies lent him an aura of authority. His intellectual influences came from religious studies, specifically from non-Swedish Romantic scholars like Johan Gottfried Herder and James Macpherson (who began producing the *Ossian* poems in 1760). With *Svenska folk-visor*, Geijer's name attached prestige to the work with scholarly and poetic credentials. He influenced and supervised A. A. Afzelius's editing, especially on the first volume (Jonsson 1967:468–469). His greatest contribution was the introduction he wrote, which influenced ballad scholarship throughout the 1800s.

Arvid August Afzelius was the instigator and primary editor of *Svenska folk-visor från forntiden*. He was born to Inga Magdalena Lindström and Per Persson Afzelius 6 May 1785 at Fjällåkra in Hornborga parish, Skaraborg county (Rydh 1918). His father was an assistant vicar (*komminister*) at

Broddetorp; he was therefore born into the ecclesiastical estate. When Arvid August was four, his father came into a large amount of debt after having signed a guarantee for a relation. The debt forced Per Afzelius to leave Broddetorp and become a regimental chaplain. The young boy was sent to live with his paternal grandfather at Sätuna in Västergötland. He stayed with his grandfather, *rusthållare*[8] Per Persson and his wife until 1794, when he left for school at Falköping. In Arvid August Afzelius's memoirs, his grandfather's home held a particularly special place. Indeed Arvid A. Afzelius returned to childhood memories throughout his adult life. He mentions hearing folk tales in the traditional farmhouse from the farmhand and the maid (Afzelius 1901:4–5). He recalls the farmhand taking him out for a drinking bout, where he heard folksongs that stuck in his memory (ibid.:14–15). He states that he read Macpherson's *Ossian*, which "captivated him" (ibid.:34). In his memoir and in his letters, he shows that he was drawn to song and tales of the peasants, and this plays a large part in his later literary activity.[9]

After years of schooling at Falköping, he entered Uppsala University in the autumn 1803 (Jonsson 1967:400). He took his fil. kand. in 1807, then took his master's degree in botany the same year (Rydh 1918). In 1811, he was ordained. He relates in his memoirs that during his botany field work in Västergötland, he collected plant specimens by day but folksongs by night; he would stay with local farmers and exchange songs with his hosts (Afzelius 1901:81–82). He would copy the song texts down, and using a piccolo flute he would also capture the melodies (ibid.:82). In 1809, he took a position as a teacher at a school, *frimurarbarnhuset* (Free Mason Children's House), in Stockholm. Here he came into contact with Karl F. Geijer and then his brother Erik Gustaf Geijer. They both became members of Götiska förbundet, with Afzelius being elected into the society 1811 (ibid.:10; Jonsson 1967:404).

Afzelius's memoirs and Bengt Jonsson's discussion of Afzelius's attitudes to *folkvisor* show that he was entranced with the material. He not only collected folksongs, he also sang them more or less publicly. He wished to make them known to a wider audience (Jonsson 1967:403). He heard through his friends that another member of the society, Leonard Fredrik Rääf, was deeply involved in the collection of folksongs and was considering publishing them. It is quite likely that he was inspired to collection and publication by Rääf. In February 1812, he wrote a letter to Rääf, which reveals both his enthusiasm and his ideas about the place of folksong in his idea of Sweden. He writes: "But why does nothing come of it [Rääf's folksong collection], not even an installment, to contribute to the remarkable revolution in our Literature? Forgive this question of an unknown enthusiast in the subject, but the time, the best time has come…" (UUB Rääf 4, #123, 12 Feb. 1812).[10] Afzelius then tells Rääf of his childhood delight in hearing songs from his grandfather's servant and lists several songs he has collected

on a recent trip to his old home district. Twelve days later, he writes Rääf again, stating that "I am beside myself with joy, that something could be conducive to the expediting of the Royal Secretary's work in the way—Only when this work which is authentically native, which so characterizes our noble North, is completed is it possible for us to have a History of Literature" (UUB Rääf 4, # 124, 24 Feb. 1812).[11] L. F. Rääf does not appear to have written A. A. Afzelius any sort of reply until 1817.

What strikes me in reading Afzelius's letters to L. F. Rääf, E. G. Geijer, and others, is that he conceptualized *folkvisor* as historically part of Swedish literature. Even if the songs are being collected in the here and now from contemporary peasants, the songs are ancient (in the first letter cited above he speaks of the reputation of L. F. Rääf's "beautiful collection of antiquities' songs"[12] (Rääf 4, # 123, 12 Feb. 1812). For A. A. Afzelius, the songs speak of ancient times – a notion that fit well within Götiska förbundets agenda. For A. A. Afzelius and for E. G. Geijer, the *folkvisor* were primarily historical proof of a long continuation of native literature in Sweden, and a literature untouched by the Frenchifying influences of the royal court of Gustav III (reigned 1771–1792) (for a more thorough analysis of Geijer's position, see Molin 1906:232).

A. A. Afzelius' enthusiasm for the Romantic revolution in literature and for folksong, combined with his impatience with L. F. Rääf's lack of publication, led Afzelius to publish a collection of folksongs. By the summer of 1813, Afzelius and Geijer were planning a *folkvisor* publication (Jonsson 1967:459–460). Despite his enthusiasm, Afzelius's abilities as an editor did not measure up to the task at hand, according to contemporaries such as L. F. Rääf and later judges such as Bengt Jonsson.

The Edition

In 1814, E. G. Geijer and A. A. Afzelius published the first volume of their collection, concluding their work in the beginning of 1818 (the print date for the last volume is 1816, but the essays are all signed for November 1817 and letters from the era suggest that the volume came out no earlier than January 1818). *Svenska folk-visor från forntiden* consisted of three volumes, containing 100 song types, by the editors' reckoning.[13] In addition to the songs, the editors included two theoretical essays by E. G. Geijer and a postscript by A. A. Afzelius. Thirty-six of the song types have at least one variant to the main multiform; seven of the song types have two variants. A Faroese song is included, as is its translation into Swedish. There are six additional Scottish ballads translated into Swedish. There are also eight other song types, which are not numbered, but are included in appendices. The song types are all numbered, from 1 to 100. Stanzas are not numbered; stanzas are simply separated from one another by an extra space. The songs have a short

preamble, often providing their provenance information, historical importance, and connection to wider folk beliefs. The provenance rarely includes more than the province where the song was collected (importantly, unlike many collections of the time, most of the songs were collected from oral tradition). Occasionally the collector's name is also included. The informant, date, and exact location is never given. The variants are generally introduced as "*märkeliga*" (remarkable) or as coming from "*en annan tradition*" (another tradition). At times, the editors suggest that the variants demonstrate historical development, but most often, the relative unity of Swedish tradition is asserted.

The editors present Greta Naterberg's song as a fragment in its critical apparatus (GAIII:118). In the table of contents, they list her multiform as a "Variant" to number 87 "Linden" (GAIII:256). The editors give no information about the singer other than that the song comes from Östergötland (GAIII:118). When the editors entextualize Greta Naterberg's "Linden" as ballad fragment, they suppress her class and gender. By calling it a fragment, they tie the song to the extended Västergötland multiform which reflected their desire for Nordic spiritual greatness and contentment, which sat in contrast to the changing world. They recontextualize the song in *Svenska folk-visor* so that it becomes available for use in other discursive environments: not the small rural community, but the middle class. The very title of the collection, *Svenska Folk-visor från forntiden* (Swedish Folksongs from Ancient Times), suggested the ancient roots and essential unity of the Swedish people. Geijer suggests in his introduction that the reading public (not the peasants) might recognize the songs from their childhood, thus tying readers to the peasants in national identity (GAI:i).

Scholars have often criticized Afzelius's sloppy editorial practices. In Afzelius's defense, he never intended *Svenska folk-visor* to be an academic work (Jonsson 1967:818; see also his letter to L. F. Rääf qdt above), but as a contribution to the Swedish "romantic revolution" in literature and thus to the demarcation of Swedishness. Indeed, the work diverges from later works such as Adolf Ivar Arwidsson's *Svenska fornsånger* (Ancient Swedish Songs, 1834–1842) in that its intention is more explicitly nationalistic.

The intended audience for the work was a reading public: specifically, an ascending middle class and those who had wealth to purchase books, places to read them, and leisure time to do so. While *Svenska folk-visor* was not intended as an academic work, it is worth considering what the difference is between a popular and a scientific edition. The collection linked a reading and presumably elite public with the folk. It shaped the public perception of Sweden by collecting and associating *folkvisor* from different areas. By placing together the extended Västergötland multiform with Greta Naterberg's Östergötland multiform, as different as they are, the editors implicitly suggest a unified Swedish identity. The audience is invited, perhaps even

impelled, to view *folkvisor* as proof of this Swedish identity. Geijer and Afzelius have recontextualized *folkvisor* for a different audience than that which Greta Naterberg or the unknown singer of the Västergötland multiform performed for.

Admittedly the two songs, Greta Naterberg's and the Västergötland multiform, share some very similar scenes and phrasing. But Greta Naterberg's multiform sees the story in different emotional terms: the emotional core of the song lies in the linden-maiden's situation while the Västergötland multiform focuses the king who rescues the linden-maiden. In positing Greta Naterberg's "Linden" as a fragment, the editors fail to "get it" as a dramatization of the realities of landless rural peoples or they may be ignoring these realities. In the process of editing the song, Afzelius and others noted its similarity to the Västergötland song, but because it does not have the narrative framing which enclosed the linden-maiden's voice and does not have ballad commonplaces, they could only see it as an incomplete multiform of the story. In the chart below, I have set the manuscript multiform beside Geijer and Afzelius's published multiform to point out the editorial practices I speak to in this paper.

Linden. Vs 2.1, pages 315–316.[14]	Linden. GA III, # 87 [:II], pages 118–119.
1. Jag var mig så liten jag miste min moder Min fader han gaf mig i styfmoders våld – I år så blir det en Sommar	1. "Jag var mig så liten, jag miste min Mor, "Min Fader han gaf mig i Styfmoders våld. I år så blir det en sommar.
2. Och jag hade bröder båd stora och små Och somma skapad' hon i biörna och ~~vargar~~ ulvarne grå	2. "Och jag hade Bröder båd' stora och små; "Som'a skapte hon till björnar i skogen att gå
3. Och mig skape hon till en lind~~en s?~~ på en slätt [*no line recorded; blank in ms*]	3. "Och som'a skapte hon till ulfvar grå; "Mig skapte hon till en Lind på en slätt till att stå.
4. Der kom två Jungfrur gångandes [*word crossed out*] Å ständer ~~du~~ Guds fred kära lind så grön	4. Der kommo två Jungfruer gångande: Här ständer du, Guds fred, kära Lind så grön!"
5. När du sitter inne och huser ditt ben Så ständer jag ute frusen å gren	5. -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- --

6.	När [*over*: du] sitter inne och spoer din fot Så ståndер jag ute frusen om fot.	6. “När du sitter inne och husar ditt ben; “Så ståndер jag ute frusen å gren.
7.	När det kommer bedlere som bedle om dig Så komme timmerman och skåda på m*i*g	7. “När du sitter inne och spoar din fot; “Så ståndер jag ute, frusen om rot. I år så blifver det en sommar.
8.	Så hugge*r* de mig till en kyrkepall Der faller så mången Syndare fram [page break]	8. “När det kommer bedlare, som bedla om dig; “Så kommer timmermannen och skådar på mig.”
9.	Der kom en konungs Sån där gångandes Och ståndер [*above two words crossed out*] Guds fred kära lind så grön	9. -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- --
10.	Så tog han [~~åt~~?] Då å hennes fägraste blad Så rann det op en Jungfru så klar – I år så blir det en Sommar[15]	10. Det kom en Kungason der gång ande; Här ståndар du, Guds fred, kära Lind så grön!
		11. Så tog han på hennes fagraste blad, Så rann det der upp en Jungfru så klar. I år så få vi en sommar.

Beyond calling Greta Naterberg’s “Linden” a fragment, A. A. Afzelius’ editing emphasized the fragmentary nature of the song. Inexplicably, stanzas five and nine in *Svenska folk-visor* are marked as lacunae, perhaps to stress that the text is fragmentary. These lacunae suggest that Afzelius felt there were gaps in the narrative which were missing in the recorded narrative. Note also the metrical changes: in stanza two, he adjusted the lines for better metrical fit and shifted the transformation of some brothers into wolves into the next stanza, allowing him to fix the apparent gap in the collector’s text. He standardizes as much as possible the collector’s spelling and writing. In addition, he de-regularizes the refrain: instead of remaining the same with each stanza as it does in the collector’s manuscript, it changes in the last stanza (from “this year when it is summer” to “this year we get summer”). These changes, especially the addition of lacunae, suggest that the singer is repeating a corrupted version of a more whole original.

In recontextualizing the song as a fragment, the editors sought to make it comprehensible to a wider audience. They make it meaningful as a narrative to the audiences because of its connection to the genre and the song type. Swedish Romantics looked to a national past for inspiration, to unite the na-

tion. However, the past was only imperfectly obtainable, disappearing linearly behind them. "Linden" as a fragment confirms this notion, signifying an idea of linear history and thus of historical development and evolution (cf. Henrikson 2010:113). Entextualized as a fragment, the emotional core that Greta Naterberg enunciated was inadvertently hidden. Geijer and Afzelius had little interest in how the song fit into the cultural patterns of Greta Naterberg's home community. Their interest lay in showing how the song fit into larger Swedish cultural patterns, or to paraphrase Geijer: how Swedes sang with one voice (GAI:x).

By setting up Greta Naterberg's "Linden" as part of a larger discourse on Swedish unity, A. A. Afzelius entextualizes the song as proof of a national literary tradition rather than as a local and personal artistic expression. Bauman and Briggs argue that an entextualization is also an act of detextualization, decontextualization, and recontextualization. The editors of *Svenska folk-visor* detextualize and decontextualize "Linden" by not telling the story behind the story and presenting the song as belonging to the genre (*folkvisor*/*romanz*/ballad), by removing the singer's life from the context of the song and setting the song in terms of a glorious Swedish common past.

Moreover, early nineteenth-century ballad collectors were looking for specific types of songs. Singers that they approached quickly became aware of this and catered to these interests. Singers such as Greta Naterberg selected songs that met the requested material and adapted them to the specific recording circumstances. Therefore, singers were as involved in metadiscursive practices and editing as were collectors and scholars.[16] While L. F. Rääf's recording of Greta Naterberg's song is itself an act of editing and metadiscursive practice, in this section, I want to focus on the more visible representation of the song in the publicly available *Svenska folk-visor från forntiden* and thus I will focus my attention on how editors treated her song.

In Afzelius's afterword at the end of volume three, he mentions Greta Naterberg as one of the "renowned singers" from Östergötland (GAIII:253). Indeed, she is unique in that she is one of the few ballad sources from the beginning of the 1800s about whom collectors recorded extensive information. She so impressed collector Leonard Fredrik Rääf that he recorded a lengthy note that sketched her life story, sources, and social and economic conditions (Jonsson 1967:389–390). Because of this note, her life and repertoire has been written about rather extensively in the twentieth century (see Ek 1936; Jonsson 1969; Jersild 1990; Lönnroth 1978). I will draw on these sources in the following biographical sketch and examine the social conditions in which she practiced her art. What I wish to avoid is essentializing her, that is making her into the representative of Swedish ballad traditions. In other words, I wish to situate her in a specific time and place.

Greta Naterberg was born in Nykil parish, Valkebo härad, Östergötland, Sweden in 1772 to Peter (Per) Kallerman and his wife Kerstin Lagesdotter

in a croft called Fräsa under Rösäter. Her father served in the cavalry. After his discharge, Peter and Kerstin and their two children moved to Skeda parish in Kinda Härad. There, he leased various crofts from the Ingebo estates. Greta Naterberg told Rääf that she learned at least eight of the songs in her repertoire from her mother, including "Linden."[17] In 1794, at the age of 22, Greta Naterberg left home to take service as a *piga*, or servant girl, for Cederhjelmska manor in Västerby. At the time, she was called variously Greta Persdotter or Greta Kallerman. For a short time after 1797 she lived in Vist parish, Hanekind härad, before returning to Vårdnäs and Västerby.

From Vårdnäs and Västerby, she moved to Slaka parish in 1800 to marry farmhand Peter Hansson (b. 1776) in Röby. In 1801, they moved from Röby to Slaka Hill. Not long afterwards Peter joined the Life Grenadiers, unit number 46 in Slaka, and took the last name Naterberg. They lived at a croft named Fredrikslund on the Naderstad manor. After his discharge, they lived in Slaka Hill. She and Peter had several children. Rääf noted that at the time (sometime between 1813 and 1814) when Greta Naterberg visited him at Landeryd deanery – the brothers Wallman's father was priest there – the family had no capital and made their livelihood from handicrafts (Lönnrot 1978:83). Greta Naterberg died on the tenth of May, 1818 in Slaka parish, Östergötland, leaving behind her husband and several children (Jonsson 1967:390).

Bengt Jonsson pulled these details together from parish records, giving us the bare bones. Rääf's note, also printed in Jonsson's book, provides a more personal glimpse of her life and may also give us hints about Greta Naterberg's personality and performance styles. I want to draw some conclusions about her life before shifting to a discussion of historical context and influences that Greta Naterberg and her songs emerge from. It is therefore worth reproducing Rääf's note in full:

> Greta Naterberg was born in Nykil 1772 to the soldier Carl Kallerman. Her mother originated from Wisserum parish in Linköping diocese and Småland and died 1801, 74 years old. From her mother, she learned a great deal of songs. Others she learned as a young servant girl here and there. Lately she has been dwelling in Slaka parish for many years, where she is married to Life-grenadier Naterberg, now discharged and residing on Slaka hill near the church. Of her songs, there are nearly none that she did not learn 20 or 25 years ago. She has the most fortunate memory and knows even fragments of a great many songs that she remembers when one names them: several from the first part of *Swedish Folksongs* published songs, many of Atterbom's, among others, "Herr Peders Sjöresa" and "Habor and Signild", she has remembered the melody and also some various words here and there. She has a large repertoire of game-songs.[18] According to her own narrative, she also gathers together young people from Slaka hill and the district around (which is densely populated and settled) at her place on Sundays when she sings her songs so they can dance and play long into the evenings. She is of a healthy and happy disposition; she complains now that her voice is not as clear as in her youth and her chest begins to feel heavy and often particularly in the winters, sickly. In her youth she had had such a very excel-

lent voice that a countess for whom she sang wanted to introduce her to the theater. She is now the mother to several children, who are to my acquaintance; though I think they lack their mother's sense for song. I have forgotten that she also has a large store of old tales that she willingly tells. She lacks any sort of wealth and makes a living from handicraft – of spinning and weaving, etc. (my translation, Jonsson 1967:389–390; Ek 1936:3–4)[19]

The note perhaps reflects Rääf's interests and voice more than Greta Naterberg's, but I think we can also draw some meaningful conclusions, especially in combination with other sources such as David Gaunt's *Familjeliv i Norden* (1983) and Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren's *Culture Builders* (1979/1987).

Greta Naterberg lived in a tightly bound but "densely populated" community; she learned songs from her mother and she entertained others in the area. She had a relatively mobile life in her twenties, though in a small restricted set of *härad*[20] in Östergötland. She married at the age of 28. The army was an important part of her life: both her father and her husband served. Her family was bound up in a crofter's life, but she also worked (as did her husband) as a servant for various manors and estates. Family sizes did not seem to be particularly large: she appeared to have only a single sibling and Rääf remarks that she had several children. In her comment about the countess, Greta Naterberg suggests that there were personal interactions between landed elites and members of the lower class, though Greta Naterberg did not end up going beyond her local community. Greta Naterberg and her family lived in some poverty, supplementing their income through handicrafts and other cottage industries. Yet despite poverty, the family seemed to enjoy and encourage an active and lively community gathering for young people, where they performed ballads and other folksongs. She was striking performer, valued by collectors. Greta Naterberg was likely aware of how these collectors prized her repertoire and abilities; visits by collectors and Rääf's invitation surely informed her.

Greta Naterberg and her family were part of the large landless class that provided much of the labor for farms, manors, and the army. Landless people such as crofters had no representation in government. A crofter (*torpare*) leased land or a croft (*torp*) from a landowner, which included both land to cultivate and a small house to dwell in. In "The Intergenerational Transfer of Resources on Nineteenth Century Swedish Crofts," Torvald Gerger and Roger Miller note that "crofters … were allowed to eke out a subsistence living from a piece of land in exchange for labor and/or goods owed to the manor farm and the estate owner" (1986: 106). They had no guarantee of livelihood. though, It was possible, depending on croft size, the same family could hold a croft over several generations (ibid:110–111). Not all people could afford a crofter's lease;

this was especially a problem for young people. In order to secure a living, they often took service as maids and farmhands at manors and farms. Another option for young men was to enlist in the army, as Greta Naterberg's husband did.

These aspects of her life point to an important aspect that can be missed in folklore studies. But it is far too easy essentialize Greta Naterberg as a singer, as a performer. To define her as a ballad singer is an academic authority practice; it is not her ballads that defines her. Indeed, she sang, she performed. The use of verbs is important here: she fulfilled many roles. She mothered, she played the role of wife, she entertained, she knitted herself into a community, she cooked, she lived; she acted, she played roles. I want to emphasize that she is not simply a singer, a source for ballads that scholars mined and can still mine. That she sang is only part of her story as a human being, though I am interested in how this social history impacts her balladry.

The Ballad and the Fragment

I want to compare her multiform of "Linden" to the extended Västergötland multiform to show why the editors entextualized her multiform as a fragment. The Västergötland multiform:

1. Och Jungfru hon gånger i rosenlund,
   Der fick hon se ståndende så fager en Lind.
   Den allri'n'gen sorg fördrifva kunde.

2. Här ståndar du Lind så fager som du är,
   Med förgyllande blader, som du också bär.

3. "Det är väl inte åt att du så roser mig,
   "För lyckan är bättre för dig än för mig.

4. "I morgon komma friare, som friare till dig;
   "Och då komma timmermän, som skåda uppå mig.

5. "Så hugga de mig till en Altarespång,
   "Der mången grofver syndare skall hafva sin gång.

6. "Så hugga de mig till ett Altareträ,
   "Der mången grofver syndare skall falla på knä."

7. Och kära du Lind, emedan du kan tala:
   Är ingen i verlden till som dig kan hugsvala?

8. "Och ingen är i verlden som mig kan hugsvala;
   "Förutan Kung Magnus, den jag aldrig med får tala."

9. Och Jungfrun hon satte sig neder att skrifva:
   "Ack! hade jag någon, som det brefvet kunde föra!"

10. Strax kom det der fram en falk så grå:
"Jag för väl det bref till Kung Magnus's gård."

11. Och Falken tog brefvet allt sina klor,
Så lätt flyger han dit Kung Magnus han bor.

12. Kung Magnus tog brefvet ur Falkens klor,
Så hastelig läste han hvart endaste ord.

13. Kung Magnus han talte till tjenarena så:
"J sadlen mig strax upp gångaren grå.

14. "J sadlen mig strax upp rinnaren röd,
"För jag skall rid' och frälsa min stackars fästmö."

15. Kung Magnus han satte sig på rinnaren röd,
So red han litet fortare än falken han flög.

16. Kung Magnus föll ned allt uppå sina knä'.
Så kysste han den Jungfrun, i Lindeträd.

17. Kung Magnus föll ned för Jungfruns fot,
Så kysste han henne på Linderot.

18. Kung Magnus tog Linden allt uti sin famn;
Så fager en Jungfru af henne upprann.

19. Kung Magnus lyfte Jungfrun på gångare grå;
Så red han med henne allt uppå sin gård.

20. Kung Magnus han satte den Jungfrun på sitt knä,
Och gaf'na gullkronan och fästningen med.
Den allri'n'gen sorg fördrifva kunde. (GAIII #87 [I]:115–118)[21]

Following David Buchan's analysis of basic story-telling patterns in ballads, the story in this multiform of "Linden" can be divided into the three parts, which Buchan designates the *situation described and complication*, the *development of the situation*, and the *situation's resolution* (Buchan 1972:83). The pattern differs in Greta Naterberg's "Linden"; Buchan's scheme does not work well for her multiform of the ballad. Nevertheless, as a starting point for a comparative analysis it is helpful. I want to compare the two songs because they have similar stories and a comparison allows me to tease out the differences and develop how Greta Naterberg works within the genre and tradition but speaks to something different within them. The Västergötland multiform of "Linden" quoted above is reproduced from Geijer and Afzelius's *Svenska folk-visor från forntiden* and, like Greta Naterberg's multiform, was also heavily edited for publication. *Sveriges medeltida ballader* # 11B is a copy of the manuscript multiform that Geijer and Afzelius followed.

In the extended Västergötland multiform, a girl comes to the linden and hears its predicament. She finds that only King Magnus can save the lin-

den tree before it will be chopped down to be used to construct a church altar (Buchan's situation + complication). The girl then writes a letter and seeks a messenger. A falcon offers to deliver the letter, which he does. King Magnus receives the letter and prepares to ride forth (Buchan's development). Then through a series of formulaic actions, he comes quickly to rescue the linden, takes her home, and marries her (Buchan's resolution). The story has two main protagonists, the transformed maiden and King Magnus, with the king's action more heavily weighted. The transformed maiden's situation opens the ballad while the king's actions resolve it. The twenty-one action lines nearly evenly match the nineteen dialogue lines. The text makes frequent and good use of ballad formulae and commonplaces, such as "Kung Magnus han satte sig på rinnaren röd / Så red han litet fortare än falken han flog" (King Magnus, he mounted on the steed red / then he rode a bit faster than the falcon, he flew) (GAIII #87 [:I], st. 15). Axel Olrik remarks that the end of narratives mark greater significance and this ballad's narrative is no exception. Here the final eight stanzas describe King Magnus's actions. The final four stanzas concentrate solely on his rescue of the transformed maiden. In other words, King Magnus and the rescue of the linden-maiden are the main points within the ballad.

In Greta Naterberg's multiform, the weight of the song's text is on the linden-maiden's description of her situation. The Västergötland multiform does not situate the linden-maiden within a family; there is no missed mother, no unseeing father, and no scattered brothers, as there are in Greta Naterberg's song. Greta Naterberg's rescue takes only two stanzas of the ten. While these are the final two stanzas of the song, the relative weight of the rescuer and his actions are greatly outweighed by the linden-maiden's lament. The hero hardly appears. The linden-maiden's experience outweighs the rest of the story. The fifteen dialogue lines outweigh the four action lines and the linden-maiden's voice dominates these dialogue lines. The text reduces the male protagonist role: he neither speaks nor performs formulaic actions. I suggest that Greta Naterberg lowers the significance of the male protagonist's role to highlight the Lind-maiden's circumstances. In addition, the narrative leaves a large gap unfilled. In the extended Västergötland multiform, the girl who hears the linden-maiden's complaint serves as a messenger: the girls in Greta Naterberg's multiform do not appear to perform such a function; it is thus unclear how the maiden's rescuer realizes her circumstances. If the editors were looking for a story with minimal gaps of indeterminacy and maximum narrative signals, then Greta Naterberg's multiform appears as an incomplete and partially forgotten fragment of a complete whole.

Narratively, the lack of a messenger could be explained through John Miles Foley's concept of immanent art (1991). In *Immanent Art*, Foley sug-

gests that the audience of an oral performance is implied by the song: they are expected to fill in the narrative gaps based on their knowledge of the tradition and the particular signals used by the performer (1991:6–11; 39–48). That is, there are extra-textual signals that the educated audience draws upon to interpret the text in question. These so-called gaps are then not a problem for the implied audience of the performance, but when entextualized and recontextualized for a different audience—in this case a readership unfamiliar with the plot—the interpretative task and ability of the audience is missing, leaving gaps as gaps for which the reading audience would have no extra-textual knowledge to fill in. The editors may have been suggesting for this audience to interpret the gaps as evidence of the ravishes of time on an ancient song.

As a genre, ballads have been constrained by certain expectations. Roger Abrahams and George Foss observe that in ballads, a third person view predominates (1968:38). By such a proposition, "Linden" does not represent a model ballad. In "Linden," a first person view dominates the song. While there are third person narrative lines, the first person view opens the ballad and then takes six of the ten stanzas. These "I" stanzas are lament-like: she mournfully describes of her circumstances. The song opens with "**Jag** var mig så liten **jag** miste **min** moder" (***I*** *was so little when* ***I*** *lost* ***my*** *mother*, SMB 12D, st. 1, ln 1, emphasis added) and continues in a first person voice through the third stanza. In the fourth stanza the "dispassionate" third person voice finally appears to inform the audience that the maidens have arrived and are addressing the linden. From the fifth stanza to the eighth the linden-maiden's first person voice dominates, as in the seventh stanza: "När det kommer bedlere som bedle om dig / Så komme timmerman och skåda på **mig**" (*When the suitor comes to court you / Then comes the carpenter and beholds* ***me***, SMB 12D, st. 7, emphasis added). The protagonist, not an outside viewer, speaks and tells her story to the audience. While very similar lines occur in the extended multiform (GAIII #87 [:I]), they are framed by an omniscient narrator's voice who opens the song. Greta Naterberg sang the song in a more lyrical frame.

Moreover, Greta Naterberg situated the song within family structure and community life. The Västergötland multiform opens directly into the situation: the maiden comes to the linden and speaks to it, drawing out the predicament. How very ballad-like: the singer/narrator jumps *in media res*. Family plays no part in the Västergötland multiform. Greta Naterberg, in contrast, does not simply jump into the exciting story. She explains first why the linden is alone on the plain in the linden-maiden's voice. She begins with her family: she has lost her mother; her father remarried and failed to protect his children; the new (evil) step-mother transformed the children, driving them away from the family. The brothers are driven away into the wild, outside of community life, as dangerous beasts. The step-mother transforms the

daughter into a immobile and lonely tree on a plain; while not driven away, she is placed outside of community life.

In the Västergötland multiform, the linden-maiden's complaint serves to prompt the helpful maiden to seek King Magnus. In Greta Naterberg's multiform, the linden-maiden's complaint forms the core of the song. As noted, the complaint does not explicitly lead to the maidens to seek out the king's son. While Foley's immanent art suggests that the audience expects that the maidens get a message to the prince off-scene, by skipping these actions, Greta Naterberg turns the focus onto the lament through which the linden-maiden expresses loneliness and sorrow. But by laying too much interpretative weight on the audience, we may ignore the performer's artistry. The *reader* may also expect that Greta Naterberg meant it to be a strictly narrative song. And we tend to see it only as a ballad because it is presented as such.

I submit that "Linden" was not a fragment, half remembered, but a careful artistic decision by Greta Naterberg, which plays with ballad interpretative norms. I posit that Greta Naterberg personalized and narrated a proverbial experience of young landless people, especially women, leaving home to earn a living at large farms and manors. She expresses the feeling of powerlessness and loneliness that accompanies this transition. She expresses the sorrow of young people as they leave their familiar family situations. In this case, she moved towards lyric forms. But she does so through the narrative genre we call ballads. In the cases of Anglo-American folksong traditions, Abrahams and Foss argued that some singers tend to lyricize ballads, latching onto a ballad's emotional core (1968:20–24). They refer to Tristam Coffin's idea of progression from pure narrative to lyrical forms (1950:12–14). I am reluctant to posit that lyricization occurs as a stage in a progression but the idea suggests that singers adapt songs to present the emotional core which speaks to and for them. By only looking at Greta Naterberg's multiform as narrative, we may only see significant gaps and think of a weighted stern which holds more significance. By turning to lyrical interpretative norms,[22] I suggest we may find a different reading for Greta Naterberg's "Linden", while recognizing that she operated in and with a ballad tradition. In making "Linden" more lyrical, Greta Naterberg turns the narrative to a more proverbial setting for her audience, emphasizing what she considered its affective center, which does not fall upon the ending, but upon the weighted lament.

Geijer and Afzelius intended to textualize the one voice that the whole Swedish folk sang with. They did not understand Greta Naterberg's *folkvisa* as a contextualized song that fit into her local patterns of life in Slaka. They entextualized the song as a fragment because it did not conform to their ideas of a *folkvisor* genre, but held enough similarities and noteworthy features to be mentioned. They removed it from the context wherein Greta Na-

terberg practiced and recontextualized it for a commercial market of mainly middle class people, who could read the songs and reconnect with their imagined spiritual roots and constructed Swedishness.

Greta Naterberg's multiform of "Linden" is not a fragment, but an artistic whole. The Swedish medieval ballad is something of a literary gate-keeper's construct. The focus on a particular type of folksongs—ballads—as a strictly defined, exclusively narrative genre restricts how we understand the songs' intimate ties to local community life. Scholars use discourse to create and maintain authority to specific ends. For Geijer and Afzelius these specific ends were to represent songs sung by peasants as a national literature to construct Swedish identity. Finally, because of this discourse and the scholars' goals of creating a national literature, Greta Naterberg's "Linden" and other *folkvisor* were edited to fit scholarly ideas of what constituted *the* ballad and to emphasis Swedishness. In this investigation, I have suggested empirical grounds for the scholarly commonplaces about nineteenth-century folklore: that scholarly editing methods in this time were used to represent the *folk soul*.

The aim of Geijer and Afzelius's project differs significantly from that of present folklore studies. For early nineteenth-century scholars (from whom literary folklorists would emerge), the project was one of saving national literary treasures, bringing to light nearly-forgotten jewels for the benefit of the elite classes. Fundamentally, they believed that ballads were poetry once shared by all classes, but that these classes were more or less equal in previous times. In saving ballads, they imagined themselves to be recovering national unity. However, not only did they save these national treasures, but they recontextualized the ballads for new audiences. Their project sought to both illustrate the *Volksgeist* and to re-present it for a reading audience. The projects of present-day folklore studies are less interested in such universalist tendencies and focus on individuals, audiences, contexts, and local situations.

In the popular imagination, ballads, along with folktales, remain one of the primary genres that make up folklore. As a part of the history of the discipline, it is important for folklorists to be aware of what we are doing and how we are doing it: to be aware of our metadiscursive practices and the effects they have on folklore texts and the artists. We are still claiming authority. I have done so above as I suggested a reading for Greta Naterberg's "Linden." But we can attempt to let the artists speak for themselves and not for the people as a whole, for the nation, or tradition. In this sense, my study is important not just for ballad studies, or the intellectual history of folklore, but for folklore as it is practiced now, as folklorists examine new "genres" (social media for example). We need to ask ourselves about the consequences of our metadiscursive practices, how our claims of authority affect the human beings and their art that we study. I do not think we should stop

doing folklore: the artists, the "folk" are just as engaged in entextualization, detextualization, recontextualization and decontextualization as folklorists are. As we can see with Greta Naterberg who made use of metadiscursive practices as much as the collectors and editors did.

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[2] Ms in Kungl. Biblioteket, Vs 2:1, 315; printed as GA 87 [:II] (1816) and as SMB # 12D "Jungfrun förvandlad till linden" (1983).

[3] Swedish ballads from antiquity.

[4] "meddelas för sin melodi och sitt åldriga språk" (GAIII:118). All translations from Swedish to English are my own, unless otherwise noted.

[5] Atterbom's *Poetiska Calendar* and Götiska förbundet's own *Iduna* are two journals that should not be overlooked, as Geijer's poems constituted nearly the entire first issue of *Iduna* and collected ballads often made an appearance in both journals.

[6] The 1810s' changes followed over a century of imperial decline from the "*Stormaktstiden*" (The Great Power period) following the defeat of the Swedish Army under Karl XII at Poltava on 27 June 1709.

[7] "Götiska Förbundet var för [Jakob] Adlerbeth en realiserad 'moralisk-patriotisk tanke', ett medborgsmannaförbund med fosterländskt syfte" (Molin 1906:100).

[8] A farmer who provided the army with a cavalry soldier, horse, and equipment, in return, he paid lower taxes.

[9] A. A. Afzelius's memoirs (*Minnen*) is a problematic source for information; it was intended primarily for his children and grandchildren, deals with events that happened in his early years, and was written down by his daughter some 50 years later.

[10] "Men hvarför kom ej, åtminstone ett häfte, att medvärka till den stora märkvärda revolutionen i vår Litteratur? Förlåt denna fråga af en okänd enthusiast i detta ämne; men tiden, den behagligatiden är ju inne… " (UUB Rääf 4, # 123: 12 Feb. 1812).

[11] "Jag är utan mig af glädje, att något kunna bidraga till påskyndanet af Kongl. Secrets arbete i denna väg – Blott när detta äkta inhämska och vår ädla Nord så Karakteriserande verk blir fulländadt är det möjligt för oss, att få en Historia Litteraria –" (UUB Rääf 4, # 124: 24 Feb. 1812).

[12] "vackra samling, af forntidens Sånger" (UUB Rääf 4, # 123: 12 Feb. 1812).

[13] I am using "type" here very loosely, suggesting that the editors saw each song number as representing a particular story type.

[14] This is how the song text is printed in Vs 2:1, pages 315–316. In the ms, the refrain is only written out with the first verse, in the remaining verses it is written out as: "I. å. s. b. d. e. S.", though the last initial is occasionally skipped. In *Svenska folk-visor* the refrain is printed with each verse; I have skipped the refrain where it is not altered. The verses are not numbered in the manuscript, nor in *Svenska folk-visor*. I have included them for ease of reading.

[15] I am only translating the manuscript multiform. ["1) 'I was so little when I lost my mother / my father gave me into my stepmother's power / 2) and I had brothers both big and small / and the same she changed to bears and wolves grey / 3) and me she turned to a linden on a plain / ---./ 4) There came two maidens traveling / 'Stand in God's peace dear Linden so green'/ 5) When you sit inside and warm your legs / Then I stand outside with frozen branch / 6)When you sit inside and rub your feet / Then I stand outside with frozen feet / 7) When the suitor comes to court you / Then comes the carpenter and gazes on me / 8) So they carve me into an altar rail / where so many Sinners will kneel. / 9) There came a king's son traveling / 'Stand in God's peace dear Linden so green' / 10) When he took then of her fairest leaf / then sprang up then a maiden so beautiful" (my translation, based on SMB 12D).]

[16] For a more recent example of the ways that singers can adapt what collectors seek, see Märta Ramsten's chapter "Jag vet då dejlig en ros" in Ling, et al. *Folkmusikboken* on Svea Jansson.

[17] Cf. list Jonsson 390.

[18] I am translating *lekar* here as songs; though game song might be a better way of saying it. These songs were sung along with dances/body movements and games, not unlike the song "London Bridge".

[19] "Hustru Greta Naterberg är född i Nykyl 1772 af Soldaten Carl Kallerman – hennes Moder härstammade från Wisserum Socken i Linköpnings Stift och Småland och dog 1801, 74 år gammal – af henne har hon lärt åtskilliga visor – andra har hon lärt som ung piga här och där – senast har hon många år varit bosatt i Slaka Socken där hon är gift med Lifgrenadören Naterberg, nu afskedad och boende på Slaka backe nära kyrkan – Af hennes visor är det nästan ingen som h[on] ej lärt för 20 a 25 år – Hon har det lyckligaste minne och kan ännu fragmenter af

ganska många visor som hon erinrar då man kommer att nämna dem – till flere af de i första delen af Sv. Folkvisor utgifna visor, många af Atterboms, bland andra Herr Peders Sjöresa och Habor och Signild har hon erinrat sig melodien och äfven något afvikande ord här och där. Af lekar har hon stort förråd – också samla sig efter hennes egen berättelse ungdom på Slaka backen och negden omkring (som är starkt befolkad och bebygd) hos henne om Söndagarne då hon sjunger sina lekar för dem att de dansa och leka långt på quällarne. – Hon är af ett friskt och gladt sinnelag – klagar nu att hennes röst ej är så klar som i ungdoms dagarne och hennes bröst börjar bli tungt och ofta i synnerhet om vintrarne krassligt – I ungdomen skall hon haft en så god röst att en Grefvinna för hvilken hon söng ville införa henne på Theatern – Hon är nu moder för flera barn – af hvilken de äro mig bekanta tyckas aldeles sakna moderns sinne för sången – Jag har glömt att äfven har ett stort förråd af gamla sagor som hon gärna berättar – hon saknar all slags förmögenhet och lefver af handa-slögder – af spinnand [sic] och väfvande m.m." (Jonsson 1967:389–390)

[20] A *härad* (hundred) is a division of land, larger than the parish usually, and in older times, a *härad* had enough people to support one "hundred" of able-bodied men for armies.

[21] This song too was likely changed to fit Romantic notions, although the multiform found in SMB is nearly the same, because the lack of collection information, I suggest that this multiform was normalized even in the manuscript multiform. The text is based on multiform probably from Västergötland (SMB 12 B), while the melody is based on a multiform from Uppland, sung by a soldier's widow (SMB 12 C). A workable English translation can be found in Kenealy, Edward Vaughan. *Poems and Translations*. London: Reeves and Turner, 1864 as King Magnus (384–386). The book is accessible online through archive.org.

[22] Perhaps even I might suggest as *emic* interpretative norm, however difficult it would be to construct such from historical data.

“Ég kann langar sögur um kónga og drottningar”

Eight Icelandic Storytellers and their Fairy Tales[1]

Rósa Þorsteinsdóttir

As in other European countries, the collecting of folklore in Iceland began in the nineteenth century under the influence of the Brothers Grimm (Gunnell 2012:47; Ögmundur Helgason 1989:117–118). In 1858 the German scholar Konrad Maurer travelled in Iceland and collected folktales, among other things. His collection was published in 1860 and it contains the first published Icelandic fairy tales,[2] although he complains about how difficult it was for him to obtain this sort of tales, both due to lack of time and because it was more difficult for a travelling foreigner to collect fairy tales than legends connected to specific locations (Maurer 1860:276–277).

Fifteen years previously, in 1845, two young Icelanders had decided to “collect all the ancient lore of the people” they could find. They were Jón Árnason and Magnús Grímsson; Magnús was supposed to collect stories and Jón other material, such as poetry, riddles and descriptions of games. Their collection was published with the title *Íslenzk æfintýri*[3] in 1852, and was the first printed collection of folklore to contain material from Icelandic oral tradition. Jón Árnason himself said that the book “at first met few friends in Iceland” but Icelanders in Copenhagen and Germans gave it a warmer welcome. The lack of interest in Iceland itself appears to have discouraged the two collectors, but when Konrad Maurer came to the country he encouraged them to continue to collect, and promised to find a publisher for the tales in Germany (Jón Árnason 1954–1961:I xx; see also Gunnell 2012:50; Hallfreður Örn Eiríksson 1980:190). Magnús Grímsson died in 1860, so it fell to Jón Árnason to finish the work. He did not collect all the material himself by interviewing informants, but rather wrote to his friends “and schoolmates and other scholars throughout the country” sending a list of what he most wanted them to collect (Jón Árnason 1954–1961:I xx; Gunnell 2012:50). Jón was thus an editor rather than a collector of folktales.[4] (Jón Árnason 1954–1961:I, xx–xxi; Ólína Þorvarðardóttir 1998:252–253).

When Jón Árnason wrote his first list of material to be collected in 1858 he omitted several types of folktales, including fairy tales, which he appears not to have been very interested in (Hallfreður Örn Eiríksson 1971:79). We cannot be certain that he lacked interest in them, however, because the very next year he wrote to a friend and asked, among other things, for the story of Vilfríður Völufegri (AT 709) (*Úr fórum Jóns Árnasonar* 1950:100). Jón Árnason's request for material eventually appeared in print in 1861, expanded and revised, and then he said he wanted "fairy tales or tales of kings and queens in their kingdoms and peasants in their cottages" (Jón Árnason 1861: 92). Jón does not provide a long introduction to the groups of fairy tales in his collection, but he states that he considers it likely that they are "the oldest of all oral stories in this country, in fact that they are as old as the land-claiming and settlement of the country" (Jón Árnason 1864:305).

The oldest indications of the existence of fairy tales in Iceland are to be found in two sagas about kings composed in the twelfth century, *Saga Ólafs Tryggvasonar* (Oddr Snorrason 1932:2) and *Sverris saga*, where "stepmother-tales" (i.e. stories featuring stepmothers) are mentioned. The latter saga tells about King Sverrir's journey to Vermaland: "… in that journey he had great travail and difficulty. It was like nothing else than the way royal children suffer as a result of the spells of stepmothers" (*Sverris saga* 1920: 7). This clearly indicates that fairy tales of the kind we are familiar with today were known and told centuries ago. The "sagas of ancient times" (*fornaldarsögur*) and romances (*riddarasögur*) which began to be written down in the thirteenth century are closely related to fairy tales and have many motifs in common, not least that of the evil stepmother (Einar Ólafur Sveinsson 2003:79–80; Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir 1995:25–28; Schlauch 1934: 132–133).[5] Nonetheless, we have no evidence in Iceland for fairy tales as a separately recorded genre of tales before the eighteenth century, when the manuscript collector Árni Magnússon had several such stories written down.[6] Árni Magnússon's reason for collecting such material and having it recorded is unknown. He did not mention the genre in his writings, and no one imitated him during the century and a half that passed before romantic nationalism reached Iceland (Bjarni Einarsson 1955:v–vi).

Jón Árnason's editions of Icelandic folktales of 1862 and 1864 were soon well-known in Iceland, not least because the Icelandic Literary Society purchased copies for its members, who lived throughout Iceland (Gunnell 2012:58). The fact that the edition was so well known undoubtedly contributed to the view of Icelandic folktales as a consistent whole, with no consideration of the possibility that there might be local characteristics.[7] Of course, people had an opinion as to what the special features of Icelandic fairy tales and the nature of Icelandic "oikotypes" were:

> Among the wonder-tales that seem to have acquired a particularly Icelandic character is a group with peculiarly stereotyped phraseology, in which verses sometimes

occur. These are the "cottage-stories", stories that generally describe a very primitive existence with very little romantic glow cast over it. Everything is clearly defined and realistic, much is coarse and earthy. Here the trolls do not change shape as in the stepmother-stories, and do not deceive with calculated cunning. They are ugly and grotesque, stupid and credulous, and often tricked by their would-be victims. They live barely a stone's throw from the cottage, just as in ordinary folk-stories about trolls, and generally resemble the trolls of folk-belief much more than is normal in wonder-tales (Einar Ólafur Sveinsson 2003:238).

Hallfreður Örn Eiríksson takes a similar approach when he discusses how international fairy tales acquired characteristically Icelandic characteristics, in particular the fact that "folk-beliefs and folk-customs were smoothly woven together in the fairy tale" (Hallfreður Örn Eiríksson 1995:45). Here we clearly see the attitude that Icelandic folktales form a definite group that reflects the national spirit, without recognizing the possibility that individual stories could provide information about the attitudes or personality of the teller.

It was not until around the mid-twentieth century that interest in individual storytellers and their tales began to increase internationally. Since then it has been realized that the fairy tales reflect their storytellers' surroundings in many ways. These ideas, however, appear not to have taken a direct path to Iceland, since most articles that have been published on Icelandic fairy tales or fairy-tale motifs discuss them as literary tales and interpret them without taking into consideration who told them or how.[8] The only research relating the tellers of fairy tales to the stories they tell are those by Henning K. Sehmsdorf and Hallfreður Örn Eiríksson on the fairy tales of Herdís Jónasdóttir (*All the World's Reward* 1999:263–310), and articles and books the present author has written (Rósa Þorsteinsdóttir 1998; 2002; 2011; 2012).

I have long been convinced that when it comes to interpreting tales, the storytellers themselves, both men and women, are of extreme importance: who they are and where they come from. This interest developed in the course of my work at the Árni Magnússon Institute in Reykjavík,[9] and in order to follow up this conviction I finally chose eight storytellers whose stories had been tape-recorded. My central intention was to try to determine the meanings that the fairy tales had for them and why they told them. Of necessity, I used material collected by others. Working with such recordings naturally has its drawbacks since they can never completely meet scientific requirements for research on a storyteller and her environment. Usually there is only a single recording of each story, and the recordings were not carried out in the normal social context of storytelling. It may be presumed that selections were made, and that the entire repertoire of each storyteller has not been recorded. It is often the case that the storyteller was not asked where, on what occasion, or from whom she learned the stories, or to whom and on what occasions she told them, information that is essential for the

evaluation of the stories (see Dégh 1989:52–61; Gwyndaf 1976:288–290; Pentikäinen 1978:55). Nonetheless I believe that by using the stories alongside other information about the lives of the tellers, including interviews with people who knew them and heard them tell stories, it is possible to see how the stories bear witness to their attitudes, environment, and personality (see Rósa Þorsteinsdóttir 2001). We can also draw conclusions about their world-view and repertoire by examining the kind of stories they chose to tell (see e.g. Asadowskij 1926:64–69; Dégh 1989:203–204; Pentikäinen 1978: 331–333; Siikala 1980). Outside the stories considerable information can be obtained about ordinary people in Iceland in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, not least due to the small size of Iceland and its inhabitants' tendency to write down all kinds of information.

In my research I have classified the stories according to the classification of Aarne and Thompson (1961, hereafter AT), which has recently been reviewed by Hans-Jörg Uther (2004, hereafter ATU). I have referred to both indices when possible, although uniquely Icelandic versions often do not fit into the classification system of ATU. The index of Icelandic folktales from 1929 made by Einar Ól. Sveinsson (hereafter EOS) followed the international system and the revised versions of the international index that appeared after it refer to his index. EOS includes 77 types of wonder tales (ATU 300–749). In 28 cases he considers that it is not possible to classify Icelandic tales under existing numbers, and creates new numbers for those types, which he indicates with an asterisk. The AT catalogue from 1961 agrees with his analysis in the majority of cases, and either uses the numbers EOS assigned or creates new ones that refer to the uniquely Icelandic examples. Six Icelandic folktale types do not appear at all in AT, and only two of the 28 examples are assigned to numbers referring to the fairy tale types of other groups. The latest revision of the index of folktale types is nonetheless a striking contrast to the previous one as regards the Icelandic material: in it, the uniquely Icelandic types vanish – either they are omitted completely or they are classified under other more common groups. This is consistent with the principle set forth in the introduction to the work, in which the author says he will include only those types attested in at least three ethnic groups (Uther 2004:12). Another catalogue I refer to when my narrators tell legends is Christiansen's list of *Migratory Legends* (1958) abbreviated ML.

When discussing storytellers, we must consider whether one sex was better represented than the other in the archive collections. Holbek comes to the conclusion that in Denmark it was originally primarily men who told tales, but when public storytelling ceased to be common, women kept it alive in the home (Holbek 1987:154–157). Icelandic sources suggest that "in recent times women played a much greater role in preserving fairy tales than men" according to Einar Ólafur Sveinsson (2003:69). Certainly far more women than men tell fairy tales in the folklore collection of the Árni Magnússon In-

stitute. In the part that had been digitally catalogued by February 2008 there were 475 recordings of tales that correspond to types in ATU, 126 informants were women and 31 men. Women told the tales in 396 of these cases, and men 79 times.[10] In selecting storytellers to discuss, the percentage of men and women represented in the collection was borne in mind, but also the number of recorded tales from each storyteller.

It is clear that more material can be investigated if we focus on the people who tell the most stories, even though it could be interesting to speculate as to why some of them knew only a single story and why they knew that particular one.[11] In this investigation I chose those who had the most stories recorded, with the condition that at least two of their tales could be categorized as Tales of Magic (ATU 300–749). My intention was to try to determine the meanings that the fairy tales had for the tellers. This was not a simple matter, because the storytellers themselves were almost never asked why they told their tales, and if such a question was asked, the answers given were generally sparse. The storytellers seem not to have considered whether their tales might hold any meaning for them. It is assumed, both by the storytellers themselves and by the interviewers, that the tales are told to entertain children, and for no other reason.

As mentioned above, if we are to understand the world-view of the men and women who told the stories, and the meanings those stories may have had for them, it is necessary to know as much as possible about their lives and the kind of people they were. We must consider the repertoire of each individual, whether they tell both legends and fairy tales, and we must also pay attention to the order in which they tell them and when they tell each story. These details can be found by carefully examining the recordings that were made of each storyteller. In the end I chose six women and two men. They tell all or part of a total of 69 fairy tales, which can be assigned to 47 AT/ATU types. Thirty-four can be classified as "wonder-tales" in the formal sense (ATU 300–749).

Elísabet Friðriksdóttir was born in 1893 in the Eyjafjörður region in northern Iceland. She grew up there and never moved away, as she and her husband took over the farm from her father. They had five children and their son eventually took over the farm from his parents. Elísabet lived on the farm until she died in 1975. Elísabet does not say much about her youth in the recordings, but it is clear that she grew up on a typical Icelandic farm, and was not exceptionally poor or rich. She learned to read early, and there were all kinds of books in the house, but her formal education was limited to a few weeks of elementary school (see further Rósa Þorsteinsdóttir 2002).[12]

Hallfreður Örn Eiríksson visited Elísabet twice; the first recording, made on November 16, 1969 (SÁM 90/2159–2160 EF), is an hour long; the sec-

Elísabet Friðriksdóttir

ond, made on June 27 and 28, 1970 (SÁM 90/2315–2318 EF), is nearly two hours long. In addition to telling stories, Elísabet recites some nursery rhymes and sings songs. Hallfreður also asks her, with little success, about local legends of ghosts, hidden people, and place-names. Here is a list of Elísabet's tales:

First session:

1) AT 1653A/ATU 1653 *Guarding the Door*.
2) AT/ATU 311 *Rescue by the Sister*.
3) AT/ATU 15 *The Theft of Food by Playing Godfather* (in Iceland the tale is about people, not animals) + AT/ATU 1586 *The Man in Court for Killing a Fly* + AT/ATU 1408 *The Man who Does his Wife's Work*.

Second session:

4) ML 6015 *The Christmas Visitors*.[13]
5) ML 6020 *The Grateful Fairy Mother*.

6) AT/ATU 327C *The Devil (Witch) Carries the Hero Home in a Sack.*
7) Cf. AT/ATU 875 *The Clever Peasant Girl*.[14]
8) AT/ATU 510A *Cinderella.*
9) AT/ATU 480 *The Kind and the Unkind Girls*.[15]

Third session:

10) AT 556E* *Kind and Unkind Brothers*/ATU 554 *The Grateful Animals*.
11) AT/ATU 327 *The Children and the Ogre* + AT/ATU 1137 *The Ogre Blinded (Polyphemus)*.
12) AT/ATU 711 *The Beautiful and the Ugly Twin*.
13) AT/ATU 501 *The Three Old Spinning Women*.[16]
14) AT/ATU 425C *Beauty and the Beast*.[17]

The recordings reveal that not all of Elísabet's stories were recorded, because she mentions at least four additional fairy tales. She says she learned all the stories when she was a child, from other people and not from books. She mentions three women who told her stories.[18] In an interview I carried out with her son in the summer of 2002, he remembered two additional stories his mother had told. He thought it likely that at least one of them was from a Danish magazine or book she had read.[19] The possibility that Elísabet learned stories from written sources can thus not be excluded. It is clear from the recordings that Elísabet told stories only to children, never to adults.

In Elísabet's tales one finds a strong sympathy for weaker individuals, as well as a very prominent message about the need to be kind to everyone. She tells five tales in which one might expect the Cinderella motif to be prominent, but it is only in the one that is an actual Cinderella story that Elísabet states that the parents treat the youngest daughter unfairly. This idea seems to be very remote to her. Most prominent is the idea that one is rewarded for kindness and helpfulness, but punished for greed, foolishness, and ingratitude. Some would perhaps maintain that this is the message of most fairy tales, but it is noticeable that Elísabet chooses tales in which it is possible to bring this message clearly to the fore. Elísabet's repertoire thus reflects her social ideals that all people should be treated equally and with the same kindness.

Friðfinnur Runólfsson was born in 1881 and grew up in northeast Iceland. He was the twelfth of eighteen siblings, but only eight of them reached adulthood. The family was so poor that the children did not have spare clothes and had to lie in bed while their clothes were being washed. Friðfinnur had rickets as a child and was never completely healthy after that. He walked slowly and never had normal strength in his arms or legs. Nonethe-

Friðfinnur Runólfsson

less he worked for his entire life as a labourer, but was never able to go to school, as he longed to do. Friðfinnur had a difficult youth because of poverty and his disability, but read everything he could get his hands on and learned stories and poems which he later recited to others. In addition to his narrative gift, Friðfinnur was a poet, and some of his poems and verses have been printed (Friðfinnur Runólfsson 1989) along with some letters he wrote to a young cousin in 1943 and a transcript of a ghost story that was recorded in 1961. Friðfinnur never married and had no offspring. He was blind in the final years of his life, when he lived in a retirement home in Reykjavik, where he died in 1970.[20]

The folklore collection of the Árni Magnússon Institute has four recordings in which Friðfinnur is interviewed. Jón Samsonarson met him three times, in the summers of 1963 (SÁM 92/3123–3141 EF), 1964 (SÁM 92/3147–3156 EF) and 1966 (SÁM 92/3240–3246 EF) and recorded about fourteen hours of material. The fourth recording is undated; it was made by Þórður Tómasson (SÁM 87/1271–1272 EF) and lasts half an hour. Jón Samsonarson asked Friðfinnur about all kinds of things, poems and stories, but when he realized what a great narrator he was, he recorded only stories.

August 4 and 5, 1963:

1) ML 5070 *Midwife to the Fairies*.[21]
2) A story of a girl's encounter with a mysterious man who wants her to deliver a gift to a baby in the region.
3) A short legend of a woman's dealings with a Christmas lad.
4) Three short legends containing poetry that have been recited to people in their dreams (*draumvísur*).[22]
5) A legend about outlaws.[23]
6) A legend of a haunted mountain hut.[24]
7) AT 556A* *The Good Stepmother*/ATU 554 *The Grateful Animals*.
8) AT 506 *The Rescued Princess*/ATU 505 *The Grateful Dead*.
9) A legend of a traveller who meets a ghost and because of that the bones of a long dead traveller are discovered.

Summer of 1964:

10) ML 5085 *The Changeling*.[25]
11) A legend on elf women trying to steal a human child.[26]
12) AT 556D* *The Crying Child*/ATU 554 *The Grateful Animals*.
13) The tale of Ólafur in Aðalból. A long and complicated adventurous tale slightly related to AT 556*/ATU 554.[27]

Summer of 1966:

14) *Ála flekks saga* or "The Tale of Álaga-Flekkur" as Friðfinnur calls it.[28]
15) AT/ATU 332 *Godfather Death*.[29]
16) A story that takes place in America that Friðfinnur learnt from reading.

Þórður Tómasson's session, undated:

17) AT/ATU 306 *The Danced-out Shoes*/ML 3045 *Following the Witch*.[30]

It is clear from the recordings that when Jón Samsonarson first visited Friðfinnur, he did not realize what an exceptional narrator he was. At first, Friðfinnur recites all kinds of poetry: nursery rhymes, poems and *rímur*, as well as telling about himself and his parents and describing various traditional practices and customs from his youth.[31] Gradually Jón realizes that Friðfinnur would rather tell stories; nonetheless he does not record all the stories Friðfinnur offers to tell (see Rósa Þorsteinsdóttir 2001). Þórður Tómasson records only a single story. In addition to nearly 20 recorded stories we have reliable accounts of many other stories, both legends and fairy tales, that Friðfinnur knew; he also recited entire novels that he had learned from reading, and which took hours to retell (Rósa Þorsteinsdóttir 1998).

This raises the question of whether he was really able to tell all the stories he ever read, or if he perhaps told some of them only once, possibly soon after reading them. At any rate, Friðfinnur tells both stories he learned from books and others he heard told.

Research on storytellers often shows that they choose fairy tales with heroes of the same gender and social status as themselves. This is because the teller identifies with the hero, so that his repertoire reflects his world-view (see e.g. Holbek 1987:405–406). This inclination is prominent with Friðfinnur, who tells no tales with female protagonists;[32] a clear example can in fact be found of his unflattering view of women in his tale of the type ATU 505 *The Grateful Dead*. Here we have a tale in which the hero has found the princess, who is being held captive by a group of robbers, and they plan to flee. Friðfinnur then says: "the king's daughter is of no help because she is completely ignorant of these things, and besides that she is only a woman."[33] This is particularly striking because Friðfinnur names only women as his sources of wonder-tales: his mother, who was a good storyteller and the hired woman Þóranna Jónsdóttir,[34] who knew many long stories; it is unlikely that the male perspective came from them.[35]

Friðfinnur is the only one of the storytellers discussed here who is known to have told stories in public for adults. He says that he mostly told them to children and teenagers, and those who remember him agree that he chose stories appropriate to the listeners, and was able to shorten or lengthen a story according to the amount of time available.[36]

Guðríður Finnbogadóttir was born in 1883 in eastern Iceland, the second of eleven siblings, and grew up there with her family. In 1906 she got married and four years later she and her husband bought a farm in the southern part of Iceland and moved there. They had seven children, in addition to which her husband had a daughter with a hired woman on the farm, who was brought up there. Guðríður lived on the same farm for 40 years, until she moved to Reykjavík where she lived with her daughter until she died in 1982. Guðríður's daughter told me that her mother was always very cheerful, outgoing and sociable. She says that her parents got along well and that their relationship did not change with the birth of the husband's illegitimate daughter. They both told stories, enjoyed music and played the accordion, and often took part in the children's games. Guðríður enjoyed singing and often sang as she worked. Her daughter appeared to remember the songs better than the stories – something that was implied by the fact she could not remember what fairy tales her mother told.

Hallfreður Örn Eiríksson visited Guðríður four times at her home in Reykjavík and recorded her stories on December 15, 1966 (SÁM 86/858 EF), January 18, 1967 (SÁM 86/886–887 EF), April 24, 1967 (SÁM

Guðríður Finnbogadóttir

88/1574–1575 EF) and October 16, 1967 (SÁM 89/1723–1725 EF). The tales Guðríður told were:

First session:

1) AT/ATU 890 *A Pound of Flesh*.[37]

Second session:

2) AT/ATU 425C *Beauty and the Beast*.[38]
3) AT/ATU 710 *Our Lady's Child*.[39]
4) A story of the lovers Frans and Úlrikka that takes place in England.[40]
5) AT/ATU 706 *The Maiden Without Hands*.

Third session:

6) AT/ATU 870 *The Princess Confined in the Mound*.
7) AT/ATU 892 *The Children of the King*.
8) AT/ATU 327 *The Children and the Ogre* + AT/ATU 1137 *The Ogre Blinded (Polyphemus)*.

Fourth session:

9) AT/ATU 311 *Rescue by the Sister*.
10) AT 556E* *Kind and Unkind Brothers*/ATU 554 *The Grateful Animals*.

11) AT 302B* *The Red Bull*/ATU 302 *The Ogre's (Devil's) Heart in the Egg*.[41]

A striking feature of Guðríður's repertoire is how many of her stories are romantic with a happy ending. Another striking feature appears if Guðríður's story of Rósamunda and Ambrósíus is compared to the printed edition (*Saga af Marsilíus og Rósamundu* 1885). In the story a man drives away his wife because he thinks she has been unfaithful, and in both cases the woman becomes a judge who eventually judges the case of her husband and his creditor. In Guðríður's story the woman becomes a judge on the grounds of her own merit in spite of the fact that she is a woman, while in the printed version she is disguised as a man and is made a judge on the assumption that she is male.

It is also noteworthy that Guðríður puts much less emphasis than the other storytellers on magic spells and other supernatural elements found in fairy tales. A supporting example of this is found in her version of ATU 327 *The Children and the Ogre*, where the children receive no magic object from their dying mother, as is common in other Icelandic variants of this tale type. Guðríður seems not to have much interest in magic, but more in the things that resemble everyday life: people's trials and tribulations, which always end with lovers uniting. It may well reflect the story of her own life, and how she got through difficulties in her marriage, which nonetheless ended with the couple living "happily ever after."[42]

Guðríður names a few women as sources, but cannot recall who told her what, except for the stories her mother told her, because she only told "nice stories", as Guðríður puts it. Guðríður told these and other stories to her own children and grandchildren. In the recordings she only tells fairy tales, which reflects her interest in happy endings; she shows no interest in legends.

Herdís Jónasdóttir was born in Hrútafjörður in northwest Iceland in 1890 and grew up with her parents and foster-parents (relatives of her parents who took her into their home when she was eight years old). She moved to Reykjavík at 18 and worked in a hospital until 1931, when she took a position as housekeeper with the widowed farmer at Húsafell in western Iceland. She worked there for twenty years, but later moved back to Reykjavík. After this she nonetheless spent most of her summers at Húsafell. She died unexpectedly at Húsafell in 1972 and was buried there. Herdís never married and had no children, though she probably was like a mother to the farmer's children. It is clear that Herdís grew up listening to stories and soon began to tell them herself. The farm where she grew up was one of the teaching venues of a travelling teacher, and she mentions that she told stories to the children who came to attend. She told them stories in the daytime, to calm them

Herdís Jónasdóttir

down if they were acting up, and said that the children quickly developed the habit of "coming out to the barn with me so I could tell them stories while I milked the cows." Later she told stories to the farmer's children at Húsafell, and later even to their children and other children who came to Húsafell (see further *All the World's Reward* 1999:267–268).

Hallfreður recorded Herdís's stories three times, first at Húsafell on August 2–4, 1966 (SÁM 85/220–224 EF), then in Reykjavík in March 1967 (SÁM 88/1535–1536 EF) and finally in Húsafell on October 24 and 25, 1967 (SÁM 89/1730–1732 EF):[43]

Húsafell, August 1966:

1) AT/ATU 675 *The Lazy Boy* (in *All the World's Reward* (ATWR), pp. 294–295).
2) AT/ATU 480 *The Kind and the Unkind Girls* (ATWR, 286–289).
3) AT 317A* *Peasant Girl Seeks Prince* (ATWR, 273–289).
4) AT 817* *Devil Leaves at Mention of God's Name*.
5) AT/ATU 425 *The Search for the Lost Husband* (ATWR, 282–286).
6) AT/ATU 706 *The Maiden Without Hands* + AT 404* *Girl Transformed by Jealous Stepmother into Cow's Stomach* (ATWR, 296–299).[44]

7) AT 934E** *Daughter Cursed at Birth*/ATU 934 *Tales of the Predestined Death* (ATWR, 304–307).
8) AT/ATU 510 *Cinderella and Cap o' Rushes* (ATWR, 289–293).
9) AT/ATU 850 *The Birthmarks of the Princess* (ATWR, 299–302).
10) AT/ATU 327 *The Children and the Ogre* + AT/ATU 1137 *The Ogre Blinded (Polyphemus)* (ATWR, 275–278).
11) AT/ATU 328 *The Boy Steals the Giant's Treasure* (ATWR, 278–282).
12) AT 870B* *Princess Sews for False Bride* (ATWR, 302–304).

Reykjavík, March 14, 1967:

13) AT/ATU 1525 *The Master Thief* (ATWR, 307–310).
14) ML 6000 *Tricking the Fairy Suitor*.
15) AT/ATU 306 *The Danced-out Shoes*/ML 3045 *Following the Witch* (ATWR, 271–272).
16) AT/ATU 425 *The Search for the Lost Husband* (the same as above).
17) ML 6015 *The Christmas Visitors*.

Húsafell, October 1967:
On this occasion Herdís told only stories that she had told previously, with no conversation recorded between the stories.[45]

Herdís Jónasdóttir is the informant who tells the most fairy tales in the Árni Magnússon Institute's folklore collection. The recordings from Húsafell are also unusual in that they were recorded when Herdís was telling stories to a group of listeners. She says she only told stories to children, as implied above, but in fact in the recording there is an adult man sitting with the children and listening; at one point the audience is counted and it turns out that there were nine children between the ages of three and thirteen, the adult man, and Hallfreður, the recorder. Herdís mentions only women as the sources of her stories: she mentions her mother and hired women in her childhood home, and names one of these in particular. Herdís says she enjoyed fairy tales more than legends. She seems to have needed to use her tales to carry her audience and herself away from their everyday life and surroundings into a world of marvels and wonder. Even the legends that she tells take on the form of fairy tales in her performance.

Katrín Valdimarsdóttir was born in 1898 in Bakkafjörður in north-eastern Iceland and grew up there with her parents, who appear to have been fairly well off, because they had the means to send their children to school. Katrín spent two years in Akureyri where she learned to sew both dresses and men's wear, and for a year she attended a school for young women in Reykjavík. She then married and the young couple had obtained a farm to live on when her

Katrín Valdimarsdóttir

husband lost one eye in a shooting accident. As a result, their plans came to nothing, and their daughter says that this was a great disappointment to them. They moved to the small village in Bakkafjörður where they ran the post and telephone station, as well as doing a little farming. When their two children moved to Reykjavík, they decided to move south to be near them. Katrín's husband worked for the postal service for several years, and she herself worked at home as a seamstress. She told fairy tales to her children, grandchildren, and even some great-grandchildren before she died in 1984.

Hallfreður Örn Eiríksson recorded Katrín's stories in December 1971 (SÁM 91/2429–2430 EF) and January 1972 (SÁM 91/2431–2432 EF and SÁM 91/2438–2439 EF). Katrín also sings several songs and nursery rhymes and tells both fairy tales and legends, as well as stories about her own experiences, for example a memorate of an incident when she and her sister saw some unknown clothes left out to dry near a place where the *huldufólk* (hidden people) were believed to live. When Hallfreður asked about *draugar* (ghosts), Katrín also told something about the ghost Tungubrestur.[46] Her fairy tales are:

1) AT/ATU 653 *The Four Skilful Brothers*.
2) AT/ATU 563 *The Table, the Ass, and the Stick*.

3) AT/ATU 706 *The Maiden Without Hands* + AT 404* *Girl Transformed by Jealous Stepmother into Cow's Stomach.*
4) AT/ATU 850 *The Birthmarks of the Princess*.
5) AT 302B*/ATU 302 *The Red Bull*.
6) EOS 404* var. 5 and 6.

Unfortunately Hallfreður Örn's recordings do not give a complete picture of Katrín's repertoire. He does not ask her about other tales than the ones she tells him, but Katrín's daughter remembered at least three more fairy tales that her mother had told. Katrín almost always knew from whom she had learned the stories, and names in this connection two women, Járnbrá Einarsdóttir (1871–1961) and Hólmfríður Sigurðardóttir. Járnbrá came to Bakkafjörður at the age of 19 in 1890, eight years before Katrín was born, so Katrín knew her all her life. Hólmfríður, Katrín's grandmother, was born in 1833 and died in 1913 (Einar Jónsson 1953–1968:I 269 and VI 1243). Katrín must thus have learned all those stories before the age of 15, and she says that they both knew many more stories than she can remember. She also said she had seen some of the stories in print later, although they were somewhat different from the way in which she had heard them, and added that she remembered them best from oral recitation.

With regard to ideas about storytellers choosing hero(ines) according to their own gender (see above) it is noteworthy that Katrín tells more stories about boys than about girls. In addition, in all the fairy tales she emphasizes the motif of the king obtaining a new and beautiful and apparently good wife, who later turns out to be thoroughly evil. It is also noteworthy that benevolence and helpfulness, which are commonly important themes in fairy tales, do not feature prominently in Katrín's tales. If her heroes have anything in common, it is patience and persistence. They are not very active, but by bearing the hardships they undergo they receive the reward for their trials in the end. It is hard not to wonder whether the tales Katrín tells bear some resemblance to aspects of her own life, but I have not found any hard evidence on that.

Kristín Níelsdóttir was born in 1910 and raised on one of the small islands in Breiðafjörður, off the west coast of Iceland, where her parents lived as farmers and fishermen. The only formal education she ever received was when she attended a school for young women in northern Iceland when she was about 20 years old, as there were no schools in the islands of Breiðafjörður.[47] After that, Kristín moved around the country for some years and worked in several places before marrying a man that also came from one of the many islands in Breiðafjörður. During the first years of their marriage, they lived on two different islands, but then moved to the mainland. She died in 1986.[48]

Kristín Níelsdóttir

In an interview I took with Kristín's nephew and niece, it emerged that she was the only one in the family who left home in search of education or work. They said that Kristín had longed to be well educated, but had no opportunity to study. She nonetheless acquired a wealth of information from her surroundings, oral stories, and books. Five recorded interviews are taken with Kristín between 1965 and 1975 and they reveal that she knew by heart all kinds of nursery rhymes and poetry as well as humorous verses and epic poems, but her repertoire also contains fairy tales and legends, of which the legends associated with her husband's home island and her own family comprise a major part. When Kristín was recorded for the last time, in July 1975, a friend of her family, also an islander, was present. Together they recalled various legends connected to various parts of Breiðafjörður. Most of those legends have been published, and it may well be that Kristín learned them from printed books, even though they were undoubtedly also told orally in the district. The stories about her own ancestors are a different matter: she said that she had learned them because they were told again and again in her childhood home. Since this study pertains first and foremost to fairy tales, and the list of Kristín's legends would be very long, I will only mention her recorded fairy tales.

July 20, 1965 (SÁM 85/291–293 EF):

1) AT/ATU 480 *The Kind and the Unkind Girls*.

August 25–26, 1965 (SÁM 84/97–99 EF):

2) AT/ATU 327 *The Children and the Ogre*.
3) AT 317A* *Peasant Girl Seeks Prince*.

August 8, 1971 (SÁM 86/657–662 EF):

4) The Tale of Kolgríma, which cannot be classified according to AT/ATU system but has a certain relationship with AT 404* *Girl Transformed by Jealous Stepmother into a Cow's Stomach*.
5) AT 1525Q* *The Thief's Dance* or ATU 1525L* *Theft Committed While Tale is Told*.[49]

Reykjavík, October 21, 1972 (SÁM 86/683–684 EF):

6) AT 317A* *Peasant Girl Seeks Prince* (a different variant).
7) The tale of Ragnhildur *ráðagóða* (clever, ingenious) that does not fit any system, but is slightly related to AT 949A* *Empress and Shepherdess Change Places*.

What is most unusual about Kristín's fairy tales is that she says she learned most of them as an adult. She appears to have grown up hearing legends rather than fairy tales, but her own interest and personality led her to add fairy tales to her repertoire as an adult. The majority of them are about intelligent and enterprising girls who are usually better than the male characters at finding solutions to difficulties, and it is interesting that many of her favourite legends bear the same trait. In this respect, Kristín's repertoire demonstrates views that today would be categorized as feministic. However, one story that she tells stands out and seems to be more autobiographical, as discussed in more detail below.

Stefán Guðmundsson was born in 1898 in southeast Iceland and grew up with his father and siblings, but his mother died when he was only about two years old. He lived on the same farm for 58 years, after which he and his wife moved to Höfn, a nearby town, to his son and his family, where Stefán died in 1983. In the recordings Stefán does not say much about himself, but was unable to hold back the tears when he told of losing his mother at a young age. Stefán was not asked about his education, but he would only have had the opportunity of studying with a travelling teacher for a few weeks in the winter as was customary at that time. Indeed when Stefán's foster-son wrote about him he said that he had had the potential for further education but no opportunity for it. He was in his twenties when he married the widow of his older brother, who was 12 years older than he, and had had

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six children with her husband, one not yet born. Two children had been sent for fostering and Stefán undoubtedly behaved like a father to the remainder, in addition to whom the couple had a son (Emil Björnsson 1986:169).

Stefán says he learned his tales in his youth but never told them until he began to try to remember them to tell his little niece in the winter 1949–50. He says he tried to get them printed but could not find a publisher willing to do so. Helga Jóhannsdóttir recorded Stefán's stories on September 22–24, 1967 (SÁM 85/380–386 EF):

1) The Tale of Töfra-Signý (Signý the magician). The tale does not fit into AT.
2) EOS 443.
3) AT/ATU 563 *The Table, the Ass, and the Stick*.
4) A tale that has resemblance to AT/ATU 1681A *Preparations for the Wedding* in the beginning but then evolves into AT 1653A *Guarding the Door*/ATU 1653 *The Robbers under the Tree*.
5) AT/ATU 852 *Lying Contest*.
6) Cf. AT/ATU 2034 *The Mouse Regains its Tail*. In Stefán's tale it is a small bird that needs a thread to fix its beak.
7) AT/ATU 311 *Rescue by the Sister*.
8) AT/ATU 1178 *The Devil Outriddled*.

9) AT 1411* *The Raven Child*.
10) AT 327D* *The Hill-Woman and the Peasants*; cf. also AT/ATU 1381 *The Talkative Wife and the Discovered Treasure*.
11) AT/ATU 329 *Hiding from the Devil/Princess*.
12) AT/ATU 570 *The Rabbit-Herd*.
13) AT 302B* *The Red Bull*/ATU 302 *The Ogre's (Devil's) Heart in the Egg*.

Stefán is the only storyteller discussed here who read the stories aloud from his own written versions instead of telling them orally. They are however his own stories, which he learned by hearing them told, and then recalled without the aid of other sources. Research comparing oral and written versions of stories shows that written stories are usually shorter than those told aloud (Tannen 1982:8). This is not so in Stefán's case, as the one tale he tells, the story of the Red Bull, is no longer than his written ones with comparable contents. The vocabulary is also very similar, and we may conclude that Stefán wrote down the stories using pretty much the same words as he used when telling them.[50] This can be seen from the fact that twice during the reading he puts down his manuscript and continues to tell the story, and it is impossible to tell when he switches back and forth. The listener has no idea when he stops reading and would have no idea that he had done so, if Helga Jóhannsdóttir had not told us so at the end of the recording. We can thus say that Stefán adopted a narrative style appropriate to the type of story and audience, which in this case included anticipated readers (see Tannen 1982: 18). For the most part Stefán does not remember where he learned the stories, and says that some of them may be from books. He says that he remembers three tales that his sister told him, but he did not write them down. He tells one of them, and might well have been able to tell the other two. Other family members did not tell stories; Stefán learned most of his from older people who stayed at the farm and told them to the children of his wife and sister; he must have been an adult or nearly so when he heard some of them. In spite of this he considered that the stories were only for children, and would not have told them to adults. As mentioned above, when Stefán first began to tell stories, his audience was his niece and that might be the explanation why he chose some stories with a female protagonist. In other instances, it is clear that he aligns himself with the hero or aspires to such heroic behaviour. In his Red Bull Tale (AT 302B*), for example, Stefán emphasises the hero's wit and courage and draws a strong contrast between the hero and his rival by including vivid descriptions of how scared the impostor, the Red Knight, is, each time the giants come for the princesses.

Steinunn Þorsteinsdóttir was born at Húsafell, in western Iceland, in 1887 and grew up there. As a young girl she went to a boarding school for two

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winters and then lived in Reykjavík for a while and learned sewing there. She married in 1918 and with her husband began farming at Rauðsgil in western Iceland, a farm they had received as a wedding present from Steinunn's parents. They had seven children and their son took over the farm when Steinunn's husband died in 1959. Steinunn herself remained at Rauðsgil until she died in 1973.

Steinunn appears to have been a sociable and energetic person who enjoyed company and travelled a lot in connection with committee work. Although Steinunn enjoyed talking to people and was not at all shy, the grandchildren I spoke to were certain that she had not told stories to adults but only to children, her own and the grandchildren that came to Rauðsgil for the summer.

Hallfreður Örn Eiríksson recorded Steinunn's stories at her home at Rauðsgil. He came there five or six times, between May 9, 1965, and October 27, 1967 (SÁM 85/216–217 EF; SÁM 85/270 EF; SÁM 85/272–273 EF; SÁM 85/263–264 EF; SÁM 85/267–269 EF; SÁM 89/1730 EF; SÁM 89/1733–1734 EF), and recorded the same fairy tales again and again. He also asks her about several local legends, which will not be noted in the following list. Her fairy tales proper are:

1) AT/ATU 327C *The Devil (Witch) Carries the Hero Home in a Sack*.
2) AT/ATU 314 *The Youth Transformed to a Horse*.
3) AT/ATU 311 *Rescue by the Sister*.
4) AT/ATU 326 *The Youth Who Wanted to Learn What Fear Is*.[51]
5) AT/ATU 570 *The Rabbit-herd*.
6) AT/ATU 1640 *The Brave Tailor*.
7) A tale that starts as AT/ATU 700 *Thumbling* but then becomes AT/ATU 2250 *Unfinished Tales*.
8) AT/ATU 1525 *The Master Thief*.[52]
9) AT/ATU 1461 *The Girl with the Ugly Name*.

When Hallfreður recorded Steinunn's stories she was out of practice and said it was a long time since she had had children to tell stories to. She was also afraid of the tape-recorder and did not want to tell stories she thought Hallfreður might already know. All this meant that Steinunn often began the same story several times. Some of them were recited rather stiffly, and she sometimes forgot details. At other times she changed the tales on purpose. She was very much aware of the changes she made, and the main reason she was chosen for this study was that some of her fairy tales were recorded five times, allowing us to see how fairy tales change from one telling to another. Steinunn, like most of the women discussed here, was from a well-to-do family, and her life seems to have gone smoothly. The same cannot be said of the women from whom she learned her stories, with the exception of her mother. They were hired women or recipients of public assistance[53] who all had very hard lives.

The Tellers and Their Tales

Many scholars have pointed out that just as storytellers choose protagonists of the same gender as themselves, they also choose ones of the same social class (see for example Dégh 1989:107; Apo 1995:206–224). It has been stated that the fairy tale is the genre belonging to the lowest social classes, since poor people find it easy to sympathize with heroes who are lowly or even treated unfairly, and equate the hero's enemies with their own real-life enemies. This attitude is so prominent within folkloristics that it appears as if scholars started taking it as given a long time ago. It is noteworthy that the aforementioned *All the World's Reward* contains tales told by five Scandinavian storytellers, and it places a great deal of emphasis on the storytellers having come from the lowest rungs on the social ladder (*All the World's Reward* 1999:8). Herdís Jónasdóttir is actually Iceland's representative in this collection, and the publishers seem to be so determined in their view about the connection to the lower classes that they make a great deal of her having had to take part in the work on the farm where she grew up. They even speak of her as having been some sort of Cinderella (*All the World's Reward* 1999: 270). I myself was so convinced of this viewpoint that when I chose my storytellers I was absolutely certain that they must have all been raised under conditions of extreme poverty. Little by little I discovered that these women were, on the contrary, raised by parents who were independent farmers, and some of them actually quite well off according to the standards of their time. Even Herdís, who was the daughter of labourers, was raised by well-to-do relatives in an educated household from the time that she was eight years old. It is also clear that all of my female storytellers received some education past elementary school, which was not common for girls of that time (see Hulda S. Sigtryggsdóttir 2003:150–161). All of them would doubtless have

wished to have had the chance to pursue further schooling. Both of my male storytellers were, on the contrary, raised in utter poverty and received no formal education even though both had strong ability and desire to learn. What is clear is that all of my storytellers share an eagerness for knowledge, and perhaps the ambition and desire to become something other and more than their circumstances allowed. Their fairy tales and other knowledge that they learned in their youth are viewed as something of what they want to pass on to the next generation, for the purpose of both education and entertainment, while at the same time they seem to have been a means of helping themselves and others leave the everyday world behind. And if they were not themselves poor, it nonetheless seems that they all learned tales from people that belonged to the very lowest levels of society; intelligent people who never got the chance to come into their own because of poverty and toil, but found an outlet for their dreams and desires by telling stories.

On the basis of the above study it seems evident that the personality and life-experience of the storyteller determine what type of narrative they favour. Those who choose to tell fairy tales appear not to have a great interest in speaking about themselves directly, as if they think their lives are less important than the information contained in the stories, which they wish to transmit to others (Siikala 1990:199; Shaw 1987:xxii). All the same, when they tell their stories they often reveal their world-views and experience, sometimes to the extent that the fairy tales become almost autobiographical (Hodne 1999:31–32). We can see clear examples from the eight storytellers of the influence of personal experiences on their narrative. Friðfinnur Runólfsson tells a variant of ATU 554 *The Grateful Animals*, and at the end of the tale the prince makes it home to his father's kingdom just in time to save his foster-mother, who has been blamed for his disappearance, from being burned to death. This conclusion to the tale is known from other variants of the type,[54] but in Friðfinnur's telling the king's son becomes very angry with his father, and Friðfinnur is so deeply immersed in his story that he begins to weep. In the interview Friðfinnur says that his own father had been tough on him and had sometimes even beaten him. I am quite sure that this conclusion to the tale is based on Friðfinnur's relationship to his father. His bitterness because of his father's sternness appears there, no less than Friðfinnur's longing to become the stronger individual in their relationship.

Another such example is found in Stefán Guðmundsson's tale of the type ATU 563 *The Table, the Ass, and the Stick* in which he places a great deal of emphasis on the motherly care that the hero enjoys. In the recording Stefán says, with a lump in his throat, that he lost his own mother at a young age, and that because of this he was: "deprived of what is most important and best for all children, which is motherly love." It seems clear that he would most have wished to have been in the shoes of the hero who had a mother who always prepared him well for journeys and blessed him before

he left. The story thus seem to be for him a kind of a dream world, reflecting how he wishes his own life would have been.

The strongest example by far of how a storyteller can tell the story of her own life in a fairy tale is found in one of Kristín Níelsdóttir's tales. This is ATU 327 *The Children and the Ogre*, which tells of a king's three children, of whom the elder brother ends up saving his siblings from an ogress. The story does not start, as is most common, with the queen dying and the king taking a new wife who later turns out to be an evil stepmother. Instead the king, the father of the three children, leaves home and does not return, because he becomes involved with the queen of the neighbouring kingdom. I have spoken to many people who remember Kristín and her family and who have told me that the story is her own. She had three children and a husband who had an affair with a neighbour woman. In the tale the elder brother discovers his father's affair with the new queen, who, of course, turns out to be a witch. The witch then changes the boy into a dog so that he cannot reveal the affair, but this is, I believe, Kristín's symbolic interpretation of reality and her own state of mind. Her eldest son was a teenager when his father's affair took place, and he most certainly knew about it like everyone else in the village. Kristín also knew that her son knew, but she could not discuss her feelings with him. Because of this, he becomes the speechless animal in the tale.

The examples that I have given show that in order to uncover the range of meanings contained in fairy tales it is necessary to gain some familiarity with the lives of the storytellers and the environment in which they lived, and to form an idea of what type of person a particular storyteller is (see also Siikala 1980:166–168). But they also show that it is necessary to look at each tale a teller has in his or her repertoire as well as the whole collection. Besides going carefully through the recordings that have been made of these storytellers, I searched for information about them in printed works and public documents, and held interviews with people who remember them and heard them tell stories. As can be seen, clearly public sources of information are not enough; no such source would have mentioned that a poor farmer beat his son when he felt that he was not working hard enough (unless he had actually been charged for it in court). Nor does any public source tell of the sorrow of a little boy who loses his mother, or how a fisherman had an affair behind his wife's back.

Satu Apo gives an extremely convincing description of the purpose of storytelling as entertainment, and the important role that fairy tales played in societies with living oral traditions:

> Inventing, performing and listening to imaginary tales had many functions: to provide aesthetic experiences, joy at the commanding and varying of form; to express and concretize the problems and conflicts arising in a culture and to suggest imaginary solutions; to crystallize the prevailing concepts of the fundamental phenom-

ena of life and to pass them on to future generations; to break the daily monotony and to transport the narrators and listeners to a different reality, a world of narrative (Apo 1995:13).

All of the storytellers discussed here have clearly contributed to the tradition, utilizing their stories as tools for all of the things that Apo describes and both enjoying them and gaining from them along with their audiences. With the powers of their imaginations and creative talents they have fulfilled their own needs, and those of their audiences, for some kind of entertainment that could carry them away from everyday life while at the same time passing on their traditional knowledge to new generations. In this entertainment can be found, among other things, the storytellers' and audiences' ability to immerse themselves in the fairy-tale world without risking anything themselves, reconciling themselves to their real-life situations. It is also evident that in their stories the storytellers can gain an outlet for expressing their feelings and life experience, which they commonly interpret in a symbolic way in their tales.

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Manuscripts

AM 602 4to
ÍB 215 8vo

Sound recordings

RÚV (The Icelandic National Broadcasting Service): *Á förnum vegi*. Broadcast January 29, 1961
SÁM 84/97–99 EF
SÁM 85/216–217 EF
SÁM 85/220–224 EF
SÁM 85/263–264 EF
SÁM 85/267–269 EF
SÁM 85/270 EF
SÁM 85/272–273 EF
SÁM 85/291–293 EF
SÁM 85/380–386 EF

SÁM 86/657–662 EF
SÁM 86/683–684 EF
SÁM 86/858 EF
SÁM 86/886–887 EF
SÁM 87/1271–1272 EF
SÁM 88/1535–1536 EF
SÁM 88/1574–1575 EF
SÁM 89/1723–1725 EF
SÁM 89/1730–1734 EF
SÁM 90/2159–2160 EF
SÁM 90/2315–2318 EF
SÁM 91/2429–2430 EF
SÁM 91/2431–2432 EF
SÁM 91/2438–2439 EF
SÁM 92/3123–3141 EF
SÁM 92/3147–3156 EF
SÁM 92/3240–3246 EF

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[1] This article is based on material from my book, *Sagan upp á hvern mann*, published 2011. The title is a quote from one of the eight storytellers: "I know long tales of kings and queens." I would like to express my gratitude to Margaret Cormack for translating parts of the article, correcting my English and giving me good advice. Thanks are also due to Terry Gunnell and John Shaw for their very useful corrections and comments. All errors that remain are, of course, my responsibility.

[2] "Fairy tale" is the standard translation of the Icelandic *ævintýri.* They are however referred to as "wonder tales" by Einar Ólafur Sveinsson and are categorized as "Tales of Magic" in Aarne & Thompson's index.

[3] Despite the title there are no fairy tales (*ævintýri*) to be found in the book. It contains a few poems and some legends ("wonder-tale like legends," says Gunnell 2012:53).

[4] Faye used similar methods in Norway (see Faye 1948:vi–vii), as did Thiele in Denmark (see Thiele 1968:I 6–7).

[5] For examples of such tales, see Christiansen 1959:57–58; on the stepmother motif and other fairy-tale motifs in sagas see, Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir 2001:cxlvi–ccxxvi.

[6] AM 602 4to: contains *Mærþallarsaga* (ATU 401)*, Himinbjargarsaga* (AT 556A*/ATU 554)*, Sagan af Finnu forvitru* (ATU 444*), *Brjáms saga* (ATU 1696) and a draft of the story of Valfinna Völufegri (ATU 709). See Einar Ólafur Sveinsson 2003:118–120; Bjarni Einarsson 1955: cxxvi–cxliv and 61–81, where these tales are printed.

[7] Júlíana Þ. Magnúsdóttir (2008) is the only person to have carried out research on characteristics of legends in a specific region in Iceland.

[8] For example Davíð Erlingsson 1975; Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir 1995; Kristín Unnsteinsdóttir 1999; Kristín Unnsteinsdóttir 2002.

[9] The Árni Magnússon Institute has a great deal of recorded folkloric material from all parts of the country. This material includes all types of folk songs, along with oral compositions, both prose and verse: poetry of various genres, all sorts of folktales, and descriptions of folk customs. Numerous scholars and collectors have contributed to the sound archive, which now preserves over two thousand hours of recordings. The majority of this material was collected in the third quarter of the twentieth century by three individuals: Jón Samsonarson (1931–2010) and Helga Jóhannsdóttir (1935–2006), a married couple who collected material from 1963 to

1973, and Hallfreður Örn Eiríksson (1932–2005), who was hired by the Institute in the mid-sixties specifically to be responsible for work on folk traditions. The Institute's Folklore Department is not large; it has only two staff members, but its greatest asset is its folklore archive and those of us working there count ourselves very lucky that the collection contains late-twentieth-century recordings of people telling various types of fairy tales as a part of a living tradition.

[10] It must be borne in mind that there are sometimes more than one recording of the same individual telling the same tale, so these numbers do not indicate the total number of fairy tales recorded in the collection.

[11] The Institute's folklore collection contains an example of a really good storyteller, Kristín Hjartardóttir, who has only one tale in her repertoire (see Rósa Þorsteinsdóttir 2011:68). On active and inactive storytellers see Holbek 1987:46–47; Kvideland 1993:109–110).

[12] The first laws requiring formal teaching in a school for children aged 10–14 were passed in 1907. From 1880–1907, it was the duty of parents to see that their children could read, write, and do basic arithmetic. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it was common that local authorities would hire a travelling teacher who taught for a few weeks at a time on different farms to which children of the district would come. Not all children went to these schools; in the winter 1903–04 only 43% of children age 7–14 studied with a travelling teacher and at the same time only 17.8% of children under 10 who lived in towns went to school. The main difference between schools held by travelling teachers and town schools was that the former lasted for only 3–5 weeks at each location, while town schools were in session for six months a year (see Loftur Guttormsson 1992:207–213).

[13] See Simpson 2004:69–70; Gunnell 2004:55–57.

[14] It is difficult to fit this tale into AT/ATU, but it tells of a prince who sails a merchant ship to the shore and the peasant family that goes to it to do some shopping. The parents and the two older sisters buy themselves trinkets that they lose or destroy on their way home, but the youngest sister says she wants to buy the whole ship and the prince with it, and he accepts her wish.

[15] The Icelandic variants of this tale type are usually also related to AT/ATU 431; see EOS under this number.

[16] This variant is obviously drawn from a translation of the tale from the brothers Grimm's collection, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* 1812–1815. (For tales from this collection I refer to the number of the tale, this one is KHM 14).

[17] The tale is a translation of Madame de Beumont's "La Belle et la Bête" (on the French tale see Ziolkowski 2007:209–211). Bishop Hannes Finnsson, who followed the ideals of the Enlightenment, translated the tale from French and printed it in a book, which he intended to use for teaching and entertainment (1797:120–138). Elísabet appears not to have read it herself. She says she always enjoyed hearing it when she was a child, but doesn't say whether it was read to her or told orally.

[18] (1) Her grandmother, who lived on the farm but died in 1899, when Elísabet was very young. (2) Her mother's stepmother, who died in 1907. She and Elísabet never lived in the same place. (3) A woman who occasionally worked at the farm when Elísabet was a child.

[19] The story is of the type AT/ATU 1572F* and is published in a story collection that Bishop Pétur Pétursson published under the title *Smásögur* in 1859 (p. 125).

[20] Sources about Friðfinnur's life can be found in the recordings themselves, in the printed edition of his poems (Friðfinnur Runólfsson 1989), and in a radio interview with him in the programme *Á förnum vegi* on January 29, 1961 (see also Rósa Þorsteinsdóttir 1998 & 2002).

[21] For variants of this legend type, see Simpson 2004:32–35; see also Almqvist 2008a and b.

[22] For information on the tradition of "Draumvísur" in Old Icelandic literature see Yelena Sesselja Helgadóttir 2006.

[23] Friðfinnur says that he learned the legend from Jón Árnason's collection, but this variant cannot be found there.

[24] Friðfinnur's variant is obviously derived from the one printed in *Huld* III 1893:68–69.
[25] See Simpson 2004:43–45; see also Lindow 2008.
[26] See Simpson 2004:40–41.
[27] Friðfinnur probably learnt this tale from reading it in Björn Bjarnason frá Viðfirði 1900:1–17.
[28] The tale is an old legendary saga (printed in *Drei lygisögur* 1927:84–120). It has certain relations to AT 556* (see Einar Ól. Sveinsson 1929:liii). Friðfinnur says that he had first heard the story told, but later also read the *Rímur of Áli flekkur*. It is interesting that in the older sources the hero is named Áli with the nickname Flekkur (spot, because he has a birthmark), but Friðfinnur calls him Flekkur and adds the Álaga (from *álög* = spell), so the meaning of the name is Flekkur, who is under a spell.
[29] The tale probably derives from a translation of KHM 44. The oldest translation is in Jóhann Halldórsson 1841:51–56 (see also Rósa Þorsteinsdóttir 2014:233–234).
[30] Icelandic tales of this type usually deal with elf-women who are under a spell and have to live in the world of men, but may return to their own world on Christmas night each year; see Gunnell 2004:53–55.
[31] *Rímur* are a genre of narrative poems that can be traced back to the fourteenth century. In a *rímur* cycle a story is related, and the cantos serve as chapters in a story; see Hallfreður Örn Eiríksson 1975.
[32] It is a matter of interpretation whether the hero in ATU 306 is the elf-woman who is under a spell or the boy who frees her. I have chosen to consider the boy the hero because it is he who takes action in the tale (see Holbek 1987:327).
[33] On sentences in stories which reveal the opinion of the teller, see Siikala 1990:92.
[34] I have not been able to track this woman down because her name seems to have been fairly common in the region.
[35] For a discussion of a male point of view in a fairy tale with a female protagonist told by a man, but learnt from a woman, see Radner 1989:112–115.
[36] This is reminiscent of the Hungarian storyteller Fedic; it is striking how similar he and Friðfinnur are; see Ortutay 1972:263–280.
[37] Cf. *Saga af Marsilíus og Rósamundu* 1885. The story can also be found in ÍB 215 8vo, and Guðríður's tale is closer to that version than to the printed one. Guðríður learned the story from her mother, and is certain that she heard it told, not read.
[38] Guðríður's version is also derived from Hannes Finnsson's translation (1797).
[39] Guðríður learned the story from her mother, and it is clearly derived from the fairy tale *Marienkind* in the collection of the brothers Grimm (KHM 3). The oldest translation of KHM 3 into Icelandic is by Jóhann Halldórsson 1841:44–50 (see also Rósa Þorsteinsdóttir 2014:232–233).
[40] This is clearly a translated story from a printed book or a magazine. Frans finds Úlrikka again because he recognizes her sewing, cf. AT/ATU 888A* *The Basket-maker*, where a woman recognizes the work in the baskets made by her husband.
[41] It is striking that she tells the story from the perspective of the king and his daughters and not, as is more usual, from that of the prince who is under a spell.
[42] *In great love for a long time* is the literal translation of the Icelandic formula "unnust vel og lengi", with what Guðríður finishes almost every tale. In this she resembles the Siberian storyteller Natalia Vinokurova as described by Asadowskij (1926:39–41).
[43] Nearly all of Herdís' stories, and commentaries to them, can be read in *All the World's Reward* 1999: 271–310.
[44] The recorder ran out of tape when she had begun the story, and she had to begin again at the beginning of a new tape. She then got confused and had to begin for the third time.
[45] The order is as follows: AT/ATU 675 *The Lazy Boy*; AT 317A* *Peasant Girl Seeks Prince*; AT/ATU 1525 *The Master Thief;* AT/ATU 425 *The Search for the Lost Husband*; AT/ATU

706 *The Maiden Without Hands* + AT 404* *Girl Transformed by Jealous Stepmother into Cow's Stomach*; AT/ATU 327 *The Children and the Ogre* + AT/ATU 1137 *The Ogre Blinded (Polyphemus)*; AT/ATU 480 *The Kind and the Unkind Girls*; AT/ATU 328 *The Boy Steals the Giant's Treasure*.

[46] For legends of Tungubrestur; see, for example, *Gráskinna hin meiri* 1962:II 37; Jón Árnason 1954–1961:III 366–369.

[47] Children were taught at home and sent to the nearest school on the mainland to take compulsory exams.

[48] I have written about Kristín before (2012), using a pseudonym for her. Some information here is repeated from that paper.

[49] The verse embedded in the tale was well known in Icelandic tradition, and its subject matter is the same as that of a mediaeval ballad, so the verse could derive from a variant of that type (see *The Types of the Scandinavian Medieval Ballad* 1978: F75). For medieval Icelandic ballads; see Vésteinn Ólason 1982 (on this particular ballad pp. 383–384).

[50] This confirms Tannen's (1982:4) conclusion that when people write down a story they have previously told, they mix oral and written forms in the text.

[51] Steinunn does not actually tell the story, but recalls details from it. She does not remember what the boy was doing or how the story ended.

[52] It appears that Steinunn does not really want to tell this tale, mostly because she thinks Hallfreður knows a version of the tale different from hers. She tells it in fragments, and Hallfreður often has to ask her what happened next in order to get her to continue. She nonetheless says she learned the story when she was young, and told it to her children.

[53] Those unable to support themselves were assigned to stay at local farms.

[54] E.g. "Himinbjargarsaga", printed after Árni Magnúson's MS AM 602 4to in *Gráskinna hin meiri* 1962:I 26–37 and Bjarni Einarsson 1955:72–81.

The Long and Winding Road

The Aesthetics of National History at the Turn of the Twenty-first Century

Line Esborg

Now I obviously try to highlight the quite unsurprising fact that harmony prevailed between the State Powers That Be and Historical Research in my country. This consequently also gave the study of history an optimistic sheen. Historians would be sitting like emissaries in their special centuries, not quite able to hide how much they were looking forward to the twentieth century. One might for example be in the twelfth century and witness how a slave, and look, look there's a farmer, is beaten down, but just wait, it'll be okay in the end, because look here, here we have the nineteenth century and the slave grows up as a crofter, and then he goes to the town and becomes an ironworker, and look, now the farmer has become the mayor and a member of parliament and the pride of the country, and here's the final chapter: The twentieth century and look here, here comes the slave, he's in the midst of the flock of the thousands who are creating the country, the organized labour movement, and look, his strong hand throws a paper into the ballot box, and the country is ruled according to its destiny: The worker has finally come home, he has become the bedrock of the Norwegian nation. Finally, finally, the historian sighs, it's been a long march, but it all came out well in the end. The long road, that's our proud theme. (Solstad 1987: 151f)[1]

The view of the past that the writer Dag Solstad (see above) ascribed to the discipline of history towards the end of the 1960s is characterized by a progressive approach that emphasizes the struggle towards a goal: The long road, that's our proud theme. Using the epigraph on historiography as a point of departure, this article aims to explore the aesthetics of national history at the turn of the twenty-first century, by way of a close reading of the permanent exhibition *Langsomt ble landet vårt eget/We won the Land* (1993) at the museum Maihaugen, Lillehammer.[2] My main focus is on the exhibition at the time of the opening and thus Norway in the first part of the 1990s.

In a Norwegian museum context, *We Won the Land* was a truly innovative exhibition when it opened on 26 June 1993. The museum was able to present a familiar version of Norwegian history in an innovative and creative form. The exhibition follows an evolutionistic narrative that takes its point of departure around 10 000 BC, thus locating the origins of the Nor-

wegian nation and a national past at the end of the ice age. The terminus of this historical narrative – up to the last half of the twentieth century and the question of how well things turn out in the end – depends on the path we choose, according to Maihaugen. This genesis narrative unfolds in a historical landscape presented through a broad appeal to our senses, using techniques trying to evoke a sense of "being there" – so that the visitor moves in a journey through time. The chosen exhibitionary strategy is artistic, involves all the senses and puts you right in the middle of history, giving new meaning to the saying "being part of history".[3]

I use the concept of "museum as a media form" as an analytical tool, in order to draw attention to *how* the theme is *communicated* as opposed to the theme itself; what the exhibition is about. How do museums mediate their message? This is a perspective for analysing exhibits inspired by the Dutch cultural theorist Mieke Bal (2008) who proposes different genres like film, narrative, poetry and theatre as conceptual metaphors for analysing exhibits, helping us understand how exhibitions work; how they produce effects that imprint themselves on us (Bal 2008:22). In order to understand the exhibition as a media form, we need to examine the exhibitionary grip and also to recapture the cultural context in which the exhibition was created.

Situating the Exhibition at Maihaugen: The Cultural and Political Contexts

When Norway and Lillehammer was selected to host the 1994 Winter Olympics, the question of national representation was raised immediately. As part of the cultural programme connected to the Olympics, the regional museum Maihaugen was given the responsibility to develop a presentation of Norway suitable for the many international tourists coming for the event (and after). The target audience was – in addition to tourists – domestic visitors, especially schoolchildren. The answer to this need was an exhibition called *We Won the Land* (*Langsomt ble landet vårt eget*), developed for the event, but it was decided to keep it as a permanent part of the museum.

Norway in the 1990s was engaged in two major events: the XVII Olympic Winter Games at Lillehammer which took place from 12 to 27 February 1994 and the national referendum about Norwegian membership of the European Union on 28 November 1994. As noted by the anthropologist Roel Puijk, this was a time in which "[During the Olympics] a vogue of nostalgic traditional Norwegian culture swept the country" (Puijk 1999:130). The Lillehammer winter Olympics was an expensive and spectacular event. "[N]ever before had Norway, its landscape and culture, been exposed to the rest of the world on the same scale", as noted by Arne Martin Klausen (1999:2f). Among the general directions for the Olympic ceremonies drawn up by the Lillehammer Olympic Organization Committee (LOOC) was that

"the content of the ceremonies will show Norwegian culture and national character" (Puijk 1999:102) In the search for something through which to express Norwegian culture, LOOC turned to folk culture and the mythical beings *vetter* to represent some typical Norwegian traits. The first of these supposedly typical traits is *Closeness to nature:* "Like us the vetter have always had to struggle with the natural elements like ice and snow […] The harmony lies in the balance between nature and culture – a balance that, possibly more than anything else, characterises our Norwegian uniqueness" (Baardson & Kvamme 1992/1993, cited in Puijk 1999:107). Extensive use of traditional cultural elements in the opening ceremony presented a rather one-sided image of Norway, "an image of a Gemeinschaft, […] of a people close to nature, simple and unspoiled" (Puijk 1999:115). According to Puijk, the LOOC establishment made it "legitimate to be proud of our alleged 'Norwegianness' (Puijk 1999:45). The other major national event in the 1990s – the question of Norwegian membership of the EU – was also subject to popular commitment and public debate. It was an issue of importance for the nation as a whole, but which many also felt concerned them as individuals, regardless of their political orientation or degree of investment in the public debate. Despite its complex character, the EU question became something that most Norwegians could relate to, both as individuals and as members of the national community. The issue was seldom discussed in its entirety. Some elements were chosen to represent it: A recurring argument against membership was national sovereignty. This is symptomatic of the domestic debate about the EU, which came to be more about Norway and Norwegianness than about the European Union and Europe. It fact, it became domesticated: The grand European question became a question about how we want to live our lives within the nation, by stressing what it has been and therefore is likely to be in the future (Esborg 2008). These two public events constitute a significant cultural context for the choices made in *We Won the Land.* Within this cultural context at the time, the presented national narrative might seem rather uncontroversial.

We Won the Land

We Won the Land was a prestigious exhibition with a budget of 12 million Norwegian kroner (Aaraas 1992:98), made by Maihaugen's own museum director at the time, Magne Velure, and project director Olav Aaraas. The exhibition, filling two floors and 1,200 square metres, is a chronological narrative about the history of Norway. As such, the genre in which the story is narrated resembles "nationalism's favourite genre, the epic" (Bal 2008: 17). The museum narrative *We won the land* has a clear introduction and closure. It follows the road towards the present along a chronological division highlighted in 11 chapters of the past: 1 *Ice Age* (the beginning); 2 *The*

Rich Land (Stone Age); 3 *Iron Age*; 4 *Norway's Golden Age* (the Middle Ages 1030–1536); 5 *Dark Ages* 1536–1814; 6 Towards a New Day 1814; 7 Constitution of 1814; 8 Leaving Home (1814–1905); 9 Waterfalls and Factories; 10 Living with War; 11 We Are No Longer Alone (Present Time). Interestingly enough, these stories of the past are not highlighted as moments of national grandeur, but as stories of "the everyday lives of the people who inhabited our country over the millennia" (Aaraas, brochure 1994:7). The appeal to a relation to *history as histories* of nameless individuals is common throughout the exhibition: "This is the exhibition about the average Norwegian, only the struggles and pleasures of everyday life" said Olav Aaraas on the opening day in 1993 (Lars Gunnar Tore *Aftenposten* 19 June 1993, p. 28, my translation). Addressing the domestic audience, with strong references to political turning points, such as the years 1814 and 1905 (1814 represents the beginning of the history of Norway as a sovereign nation state with the dissolution of the union with Denmark, and in 1905 Norway gained independence from the union with Sweden, confirming the nation's aspirations to sovereignty), is probably superfluous. In Norwegian political tradition the emergence and use of such national symbols is often interpreted as part of a liberation process towards independence. The symbolic value of this epics of resistance is incorporated in the way we imagine ourselves as a national community. This resistance motif was in mind right from the start when the exhibition was being planned.

As a work in progress the exhibition title was *Bread of Stone* (Brød af sten) which is a quote from a poem by the – in a Norwegian context – famous national poet Henrik Wergeland. The theme of the poem is how the inhabitants of this barren land of mountains, against all odds, forged a way of life. According to the project director, the intentions of the exhibition are presented with this poetic reference, aiming to illuminate the relation between man and nature (Aaraas 1990:16). When the exhibition opened, however, it was entitled *We won the land.* In Norwegian the title *Langsomt ble landet vårt eget* is entangled in a web of intertextuality. It refers to the historian Sverre Steen and his version of Norwegian history from 1967. Sverre Steen is seen as *the* history narrator of Norwegian social democracy (Kobberød 2004). In addition to being published, his book was given to all schoolchildren (primary school graduating classes) in 1972 as a part of the 1,100-year celebration of unification in Norway. Furthermore, his version of Norwegian history was broadcast as lectures on the radio in 1967 – as part of the Norwegian Broadcasting public service's (Nrk) public education project. Steen's book – with the same title – has without doubt inspired the exhibition as a whole, with regard to structure, language and perspective on history. A direct translation of *Langsomt ble landet vårt eget* is *Slowly the land became our own*. In this respect, the title mirrors Sverre Steen's narrative technique. His storytelling focuses on the origin and development of the

Norwegians, presented largely as a social democratic narrative of unity and progress. In the light of Steen's book the exhibition reinforces the assertion of Arne Martin Klausen, "that some aspects of the Norwegian ethos are rooted in the idea of a pre-modern egalitarian social structure, on which modern socialist ideology was superimposed" (Klausen 1999:6) In the exhibition, the public are offered a linear narrative of national evolution. According to the stories presented, the Norwegian nation has an ancient prehistory. In this respect Steen's book as well as the exhibition can be understood (and used) as a verified story of the national as a fulfilment of something historically predestined. Steen's book ends with a verse from Nordahl Grieg's poem "17th May 1940" (Steen 1972:182), familiar to many Norwegians:

Langsomt ble landet vårt eget
med grøde av hav og jord
og slitet skapte en ømhet
en svakhet for liv som gror.

Our land, our seas, with their harvests
Were won through long-drawn strife
And the labour has bred affection
And a weakness for growing life.

Although lost in translation, the exhibition title in Norwegian thus has a second frame of reference in this poem by Nordahl Grieg. Grieg was a poet who joined the army during the Second World War as a pilot, shot down in 1943 and given a heroic status in collective memory after the war. "17th May 1940" refers in turn to the celebration of the Norwegian constitution (1814) and the Second World War (1940–1945) – two historical events commemorated in collective memory as national key symbols. The printed exhibition brochure (1994) opens with this verse in both the Norwegian and the English edition. Even before entering the exhibition, the title thus implies national significance for domestic visitors (Nyaas 1995:12), in a highly emotive manner.

Norwegian History Mise-en-scène

A simplified definition of *mise-en-scène* is the design aspects of a theatre or film production, the visual theme or the telling of a story. In *We won the land*, the visitors are placed in history. The techniques used try to evoke a sense of being there, so that the visitor moves in a journey through time. The audience walks through a historical landscape surrounded by three-dimensional images, diorama using paintings of a landscape of some sort with a tangible foreground – most often of natural materials – such as sand and stones on a shore, for instance. The extensive use of diorama involves the audience; walking through history we are placed in the historical narrative. The bodily movement through this sensory environment of warmth/cold,

dark/light contributes to this experience. The ground changes from each section, from grass to wooden floor, to marble stone, even asphalt towards the end of the exhibition. Sound effects such as music or the sounds of nature and humans add to the effect of each scene. The sudden drop in temperature on your skin when entering the section *Ice Age*, the smell of seaweed in the *Norway's Golden Age* section, the sound of a child crying during *The Dark Ages*, all this makes the past tangible. The fact that we are moving about in an exhibition hall are hidden. The exhibition is its own universe. The illumination is relatively dark, set from above in order to conceal the roof. Through the use of spotlights, which are highly selective in their focus, the museum can guide the viewer's eye along the pathway. The pathway gives the audience direction, how to move along from one section to the next. At the same time, it functions as a strong vector – showing where to walk – making the selected historical events causally associated. As a result the vector also serves as a specific interpretation of the course of events. Detours from this pathway are possible. There are spaces devoted to films/slideshows and several educational rooms designed to offer more in depth information about the historical epochs. The *slideshows* serve as optional breaks in the exhibitionary structure. Situated in small separate film theatres, the audience are no longer placed *in* history, but seemingly offered a more distanced gaze towards it. However, entering these cubicles is optional, often disguised as part of the interior of a historical building. The vision is in keeping with this.

"We wanted to give the audience an adventure/experience, not a museum" said Project Director Aaraas to the weekly magazine *Hjemmet* (26/1993 quoted in Nyaas 1995: 120, my translation). The fact that *museum* in this statement is set as a contrast to adventure, experience, emphasizes the innovative approach in this exhibition. As Berit Nyaas has pointed out in her master's thesis, this was the first exhibition of its kind in Norway (Nyaas 1995). The museum audience had so far been accustomed to glass cases, the audience were spectators – standing *outside* the object itself. The intention of this exhibition was that the exhibitionary form would make the audience itself positioned in what they saw and experienced. The audience were to learn about Norwegian history by walking in the footsteps of the past, by being placed right in the middle of the scene, an ambition the museum would seek to fulfil by the use of diorama technique in addition to sensory impressions such as the smells, the sounds, the visualizations of the past (Aaraas 1992:97). When the exhibition was evaluated in cultural reviews it was described as an adventure, as a Norwegian theatre (see Herman Berthelsen, *Kulturnytt* 3/1993). The artefacts function as props and staging. Up to part 10, *Living with War*, relatively few authentic objects are displayed. The objects that *are* displayed tend to be framed in showcases. Like the educational rooms, these displays of objects are often camouflaged as part of historical

buildings in separate rooms in order to avoid ruining the totality – the sense of moving through history. The museum underlines that what you see is not authentic artefacts, but a theatrical scene. The ticket folder emphasizes that the exhibition is "a walk through Norwegian history, built like a series of historical scenes. […] The scenes are in fact illustrations which make the existence of those living in Norway in the past lifelike. This is history's theatrical stage, and in history we are all agents" (museum ticket folder, my translation). As the philosopher Hilde Hein has argued, museums in general have moved from focusing on objects to an emphasis on the subject (Hein 2000:66). Hein uses the word experience referring to a concept of subjective aesthetic experience; "Experience-oriented exhibits are story-centered, like media-texts. They rely less on the authenticity and specific provenance of objects than on their 'corroborative power' (Hein 2000:61 in Henning 2006: 91) and "such story-centered exhibits tend to emphasize the coherence of the story and its general truth over the specific artefact" (Henning 2006:91f).

According to the exhibition brochure, "The exhibition follows the nameless people who settled here on the edge of the glacier, watches them grow in number and shows how they placed increasing demands on nature over the centuries" (Brochure 1994:7) The first creature in the exhibition is female; she is kneeling down, working some animal skin. As a visitor you are bound to be startled at this encounter. Apart from gender, there are no visible signs of members of different faith and origin, despite possible polyphonic narratives at play. The mannequins are representations of unchangeable Norwegians in different periods of time. Only the clothing changes. In this ethnoscape there is only one character. As pointed out by Yael Zerubavel, "The master commemorative narrative focuses on the group's distinct social identity and highlights its historical development. In this sense it contributes to the formation of the nation, portraying it as a unified group moving through history. This general thrust often implies a linear conception of time" (Zerubavel 1995:7) The *inhabitants* of this historical landscape are presented as a seemingly all-inclusive "we", but there are no visible traces of diversity. The *we* is inclusive because no borders are drawn – no visible borders, that is. In this universe there are threats (the black death, war, etc.) but no significant Other. The "we" seems content to be solitary. The mannequins support this interpretation, being of the same kind throughout history, all sharing the same colour palette.

History as Art

When entering the exhibition the audience are made aware of the *natural* beginning of the nation – natural in the sense that it is nature's own evolution that is the point of departure for this epic. The walls are pale turquoise, simulating the glacier, the temperature drops as you start walking on the cold

marble floor. The sound of ice breaking and glaciers melting fills this narrow passage. The first explanatory text is entitled *The Beginning*. It tells a national territorial genesis narrative about the embryonic nation – covered in ice – given birth by nature "*and thus our history began*". Entering the Ice Age, the audience are introduced to the museum narrative with an ideological pronoun – *our* history. The exhibitionary ambition was formulated to present what is distinctively Norwegian, through cultural history and everyday culture, showing the historical relation between man and nature in order to underline a fundamental ecological concern. Norway was to be presented as a nation engaged above average in the environment, nature conservation, ecological balance, and so on (Aaraas 1990:6; LOOC project group for design; Visual profil for OL 94, Lillehammer, Oslo/Lillehammer 1990).

Various forms of the motif *Closeness to Nature* (cf. above) are repeated throughout the exhibition. One example is the slideshows along the road:[4] The first slideshow, with a duration of 14 minutes, is shown continually. Again the ice is melting; we see traces of animals in familiar barren landscapes. Towards the end of the show there are also footprints, the first traces of human activity and settlement 10,000 years ago. The next one is devoted to 1814, the year Norway obtained its constitution. This film is presented as a news broadcast, similar to what the film director Baz Luhrman did in his cinematic version of *Romeo and Juliet* a few years later in 1997. Norwegians are here represented qua nature, that is, as trees and mountains, which underlines the organic understanding of the nation. The constitution of 17 May 1814 abolished absolute monarchy in Norway. With the constitution the Norwegian nation state is awakening – that is the cinematic theme that now unfolds in colour: While the narrator describes this national awakening, his ethos is strengthened by the sound of *Vaaren* by Edvard Grieg and pictures of bright yellow spring flowers (rhododendron). Nation is nature.

Returning to the pathway, the next text *The Land under the Ice* – is printed on the wall. Now History could begin, history with a capital H, pointing towards an authentic narrative, an actual chronology. Let us take a closer look at this particular text:

The glacier –
The cold giant –
was the first to plough the land.
Scrubbing, scouring
Shaping, moving
Until the sun came.
Then it cracked
And crashed into the falls
Like the troll in the fairytale

The newly ploughed land
Lifted its head,

Drew a breath
And filled with life.
History could now begin…

With this text the point of departure points to the first possible beginning of the nation, before the first visible traces of human activity and settlement in this territory. Nature itself is anthropomorphized: *The newly ploughed land/Lifted its head/Drew a breath/And filled with life.* The attribution of human characteristics to forces of nature, like the national territory in this case depicts these forces as creatures with human motivations and shape. Thus the transformation of the natural landscape due to the melting of the glaciers is the precondition for history to begin. The almost willed beginning of the nation – *lifted its head* – is located at the end of the ice age. The genesis of Norwegians, or at least the Norwegian territory, is at play, portraying an organic essentialist understanding of the origins of Norwegianness. In the narrative of this exhibition, nature and culture (landscape and people) are one. The inhabitants emerge – as if naturally grown – from this territory. Interestingly enough, national symbols like winter and winter sports are absent after *The Beginning*. Winter sports have been a main theme in the nationalization of culture for more than two centuries (Christensen 1998) and as an important site for exposure, agents of identity claimed their rights. Heavily mediated on a global scale, the representations were seen as no less than potential verifications of "the real" Norway. Such representations were (and perhaps still are?) seen as verifications of the "authentic" Norway. In the exhibition, however, this is strangely absent, which might indicate that the Winter Olympics were the frame of reference. One of many examples is the choice of the painter Gerhard Munthe (1849–1929) to represent National Romanticism. However, his naturalistic reflections of nature in a rural setting, as the painting *Kornstaur* ("Corn Pole", 1894) corresponds to the emphasis on ecological balance, nature as resource, closeness to nature, the simple and unspoiled, and so on – national traits also promoted by LOOC.

The explanatory texts used in this exhibition represent a major deviation from genre expectations at a museum when it comes to layout and content. The information texts concerning different historical periods are organized in the shape of modern poetry. Poetic texts allow the knowledge displayed to catch the visitors' interest. As with the introductory verse mentioned above – *The land under the ice* – all of the historical facts (or if you will, all the myths of ancestry and decent) are presented in the shape and form of modern poetry. Even more level-headed explanatory texts are visualized as poetry. A typical example is the text *Population explosion*, printed directly on the wall:

"Population explosion"
Norway's population in 1814 was 883,000.
By 1900, it had increased to 2,240,000.

The population grew
because mortality sank.
especially among young children.
What happened to the new Norwegians?

An arrow along the staircase guides the visitor to an answer to this question where the exhibition narrative continues upstairs. History is presented as poetry. The intervisuality at play here transforms the way we read these statistics, these historical facts, making it a poetical narrative – a poetical play.

As a third category, several other texts are not merely references to poetry, but signed art. One example is the poetry by Rolf Jacobsen (1907–1994) when the exhibition narrative is moving towards the present time. A central theme in his work is the (im)balance between nature and technology. In addition to the poet Rolf Jacobsen, there are contributions from other well-known impressionistic artists, such as the composer Arne Nordheim and the painter Jacob Weidemann. Jacobsen's poetry points out the problem, whereas Nordheim's music and Weidemann's paintings is given the task of visualizing the solution. The exhibition form contributes to the interpretation of the theme it is intended to impart. This use of aesthetics as a method of display is particularly palpable at the beginning and close of the museum narrative. The beginning is a pure natural state of the nation. At the end of the long and winding road of this narrative, man is present – through artworks – as aestheticized nature. This is a highly emotional dimension of communicating history.

Closure: We Are No Longer Alone

The title of the last section of the exhibition is *We Are No Longer Alone*, devoted to post-war Norway. The rise and fall of the social democratic welfare state is described here. *We Are No Longer Alone* plays on the fact that the nation has now become part of the global world as news reports from great world events stream into our living rooms. Still, there is no sign of us becoming a multicultural society. Visualizations of contemporary society mirror the development of the welfare state. Finding oil as a source of wealth for the new welfare state, new possibilities for ordinary families such as public health care, vacation, youth culture, etc. On the dark side of welfare, urbanization represented by a lonely elderly woman on a bench, a drug addict on the steps of the subway, the mountain of garbage that comes with increased consumption and the commodification of culture. All of this is seen from a typical Norwegian living room with a big leather sofa positioned in front of a television. Major international events like the moon landing, the Biafra famine and so on are shown as large documentary photographs on the wall. Mick Jagger singing *I Can't Get No Satisfaction*. We are – literally –

at *The End of the Road*. The pink neon sign leads us to a dead end decorated with photographs depicting the worlds misery accompanied by the critical poetry of Rolf Jacobsen; the big city is hell, life is a commodity. The core moral is obvious: We – the nation – will literally face the wall if we continue in the same manner, if we continue to choose the wrong road. Here the exhibition offers another way out – to *A Silent Room* where the visitor is surrounded by art, by aestheticized nature. In the words at the exit, *History continues in your own life*, we are reminded of the intention of the exhibition: it relies on the individual's own experience; it is the visitor's own body that links the past and the present into a coherent narrative.

A Sense of History – Concluding Remarks

The exhibition was officially opened by minister Gudmund Hernes from the Labour Party, who called it a historical sensory adventure. The visitors were to "feel" as much as "know". *We Won the Land* gives the visitors *a sense of history,* which in turn underlines the exhibition as part of the aesthetic and phenomenological turn in contemporary museum exhibitions (Berkaak 2009). As such, Maihaugen was ahead of its time. The exhibition grip was truly innovative, involving all senses. *A sense of history* refers to the special powers of the body by which a person is conscious of things through sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch. In addition it refers to the appreciation or understanding of the value or worth of something – as telling stories of the past. Such exhibitions produce historical awareness as much as historical knowledge. As Bella Dicks has pointed out, museums today are "no longer repositories of objects, but in the business of attracting visitors, thus becoming highly sensory environments; filled with 'things' we can see, hear touch and smell" (Dicks 2003:165). The word "experience" has thus become central in today's museum (ibid). Instead of being lectured to by experts, museum visitors are supposed to engage and involve themselves with the historical representations.

Identities are always in the making. The master narrative at play reproduces a story about a particular past, emphasizing the long and winding road, if you will, towards the present. As pointed out by Saphinaz-Amal Naguib (2004), most large museums "in different metropolitan cities worldwide still stand as cultural icons of the nation state. They continue to bear the marks of their conception as symbols of an idealized homogenous national identity, of progress achieved by the nation-state and as authoritative educational establishments for the population" (Naguib 2004:6f). *We Won the Land* follows the lines of the Grand Narrative of the homogenous nation state, a narrative of evolutionistic nature. Art and art installations are used to highlight a common uniform Norwegian identity and not least a particular version of Norwegian history. It creates a coherent narrative, telling *our* sto-

ries, not *theirs*. As a consequence, the possible polyphonic stories of its inhabitants are left untold. "Norway is a small country and has never played a decisive political role in European history. This exhibition reflects that fact" is a quotation from the preface to the museum brochure (1994:7). In this exhibition Norway is not only a small country, it is a small universe.

With this paper I have attempted to highlight the impact of contemporary cultural and political events as a frame of reference on the choices made in the exhibition. Furthermore, although a familiar version of Norwegian history is at play, the manner in which it was presented was truly innovative and creative at the time of the opening. By stressing the importance of examining the exhibitionary grip as well as recapturing the contexts in which the exhibition was created, the museum-as-a-media-form illustrates how "political work and aesthetic work operate together in an inextricable merging that strengthens both" (Bal 2008:16)

Over two decades after the opening, the exhibition at Maihaugen stands as a lasting and worthy monument to the national master narrative, to post-war notions of history and the teaching of Norwegian history. This is the way in which the rise and fall of the modern social democratic welfare state can be described, as a progressive development project, as the materializations of "the long and winding road towards a social democratic Norway".

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[1] Translation by John Anthony. It is the author Dag Solstad's young master's degree student in history, Fjord, who is expressing his thoughts on his subject at the end of the 1960s in *Roman 1987:* "Jeg forsøker nå sjølsagt å sette lys på det lite oppsiktsvekkende faktum at det rådet harmoni mellom Statsmakta og Historieforskinga i mitt land. Dette ga da også historiestudiet et optimistisk preg. Historikerne satt som utsendinger i sine spesielle århundrer og greidde ikke helt å skjule at de gleda seg til det 20. århundre. Man kunne for eksempel oppholde seg i det 11. århundre og være vitne til en trell, og se, se der er en bonde, som blir valsa ned, men bare vent, det går bra til slutt, for se, der har vi det 19.århundre og trellen vokser opp på husmannsplass/småbruk og drar så til byen for å bli jernarbeider, og se, bonden er blitt ordfører og stortingsmann og landets stolthet, og nå kommer siste kapittel: Det 20.århundre og se, der kom-

mer trellen, han er midt i flokken av de tusener som skaper landet, den organiserte arbeiderbevegelse, og se, han kaster fra sin sterke neve et papir ned i valgurnen, og landet styres etter sin bestemmelse: Arbeideren har endelig kommet hjem, han er blitt grunnfjellet i den norske nasjon. Endelig, endelig, sukker historikeren, det har vært en lang marsj, men det gikk bra til slutt. Den lange veien, det er vårt stolte tema."

[2] This article is part of my research project *The Aesthetics of National History* based on fieldwork studies at two regional museums in Norway. The project explores how national images of self are conveyed visually in contemporary displays of cultural history in Norway. My project was part of the larger IKOS project *Patterns of Cultural Valuation (PaCuVal)* funded by the Assigning Cultural Values (KULVER) program of the Norwegian Research Council of Norway 2008–2011, led by Prof. Saphinaz-Amal Naguib. See Saphinaz-Amal Naguib, Introduction: Patterns of Cultural Valuation. Priorities and Aesthetics in Exhibitions of Identity in Museums, *Arv* 2011:9–12. See Esborg 2012.

[3] A possible renewal of the exhibition has been suggested, for instance, by Grethe Meldy in Kunstkritikk.no (accessed 26 June 2008). The welfare show, Michael Enggren & Ingar Dragset, Bergen Kunsthall, 26 May – 21 August 2005.

[4] In the third and final slideshows, depicting the Second World War, we are literally shaken (the benches shake) by the course of history. The Second World War plays a significant part of Norwegian collective memory, as a part of the grand national narrative of popular struggle and resistance (Eriksen 1995; Esborg 2008). The German occupation of Norway 1940–45 is commonly referred to as "The War". Again, according to collective tradition, the people of Norway faced oppression again only a few decades after the secession from the union with Sweden. Personal narratives of "The War" were easily added to the existing national tradition and interpreted accordingly, in terms of sobriety and resistance. The continual production and maintenance of a social memory makes it justified to regard knowledge of the war as a national tradition, in which historiography, individual memories, and popular culture exists side by side. (Eriksen 1997: 71).

Sigurd Erixon – "The Heavy Artillery" from Sweden

CIAP, SIEF and European Ethnology from the Mid 1950s to 1964

Bjarne Rogan

Dear Professor Dias
[…] I am very much interested in your plans of giving [sic] the science for which CIAP is working, a more ethnological basis, and I am willing to take an active part in the discussions at Arnhem about this question, expressing my opinions as far as this will be desired and necessary. (Sigurd Erixon to Jorge Dias, 3 July 1955)[1]

We have nothing brilliant to report regarding CIAP, but we pin our hopes on the future. The need for international cooperation is very great.
(Sigurd Erixon, 24 July 1960, to P. Bosch-Gimpera, general secretary of IUAES)[2]

In two earlier articles in *Arv* I have traced Sigurd Erixon's activities and efforts on the international scene. The first article (Rogan 2008a) covers the 1930s, until World War II stopped contacts across the borders. The second (Rogan 2013) treats the post-war period until the mid 1950s. The present one follows Erixon's activities abroad from the mid 1950s until his greatest defeat ever, in September 1964.[3] The articles were originally intended as a monograph, but the archive research was so time-consuming (2002–2014) that the choice fell on four successive publications. The last article, discussing Erixon's efforts to renew European ethnology, from a scholarly as well as an organizational point of view, will cover the period from 1964 to his death in 1968. It will be published in a later volume of *Arv*.

Together these four articles constitute a chronicle of Sigurd Erixon's engagement abroad and ambitions on the international scene. At the same time, they constitute a chronicle of CIAP – *la Commission Internationale des Arts et Traditions Populaires* (1928–1964), and the first years of its successor SIEF – *la Société Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore* (1964–).

The genesis of this "quartet" goes back to a serendipitous find in June 2002. I was stuck in Paris for a couple of days, due to one of the frequent airport strikes in that country. To kill the time, I went to the Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires (MNATP) and looked into its archives. At that time I was vice president of SIEF, the history of which was more or less hidden in the shadows of the past – at least to us who were its present officers. To my surprise I found a considerable amount of documents concerning SIEF and its forerunner CIAP, in this country from where we had few if any members. Much of it stemmed from the time of Georges Henri Rivière, an important figure in the CIAP years, as well as from the first SIEF presidency (Karel C. Peeters). In the following years I made several visits to the MNATP archive, as well as to the archives of the League of Nations and of UNESCO in Paris, which also contained much material on CIAP and some on SIEF. And I soon discovered that the person who had left most traces in these archives was a Swedish scholar – Sigurd Erixon. At the same time it was strange to learn about the cumbersome past of SIEF, today a vigorous organization that totals close to one thousand members, numbers a series of active working groups and arranges well-attended biannual congresses.

But there were many lacunas, due to the fact that with a few exceptions the archives of the organization over the last 70- to 80 years had remained in the institutions of its presidents or general secretaries. In connection with my travels in Europe in the following years, I have tracked CIAP and SIEF material in university and museum archives from Vienna to Arnhem, from Dublin to Göttingen, from Amsterdam to Lisbon, from Oslo to Stockholm, from Uppsala to Bloomington[4] – the home institutions of important actors in European ethnology during the time span of CIAP and SIEF. It is only during the last couple of years that much of this material has been gathered in the Meertens Institute in Amsterdam, thanks to the policy of its vice president until 2015, Peter Jan Margery.

These many archive visits have confirmed my initial discovery concerning Sigurd Erixon. Although never president of the organization – an office he declined to accept several times – Erixon was its ubiquitous and certainly most influential actor for more than three decades. It is impossible to write the history of CIAP/SIEF without bringing in Erixon on almost every page (until his death in 1968), just as it is inconceivable to write a biography on Erixon without bringing in his international activities in almost every chapter.

This series of articles has a biographical profile, but a concomitant, more general goal has been to study the historiography of European ethnology during the 20th century. With his broad international contact net, his many travels abroad and his formal positions as president or leader of a series of committees and commissions, as well as his unbending will to

change the institutional landscape and to prepare the ground for ambitious scholarly projects, Erixon may also function as a peephole to the historiography of European ethnology during a period of close to four decades.

I A Swedish Scholar in a European Landscape

Seit mehreren Jahrzehnten gehen von den schwedischen Volkskundlern und ganz besonders von deren führender Persönlichkeit, Prof. Sigurd E. Erixon (Stockholm), starke Impulse für eine Zusammenarbeit der europäischen Volkskundler aus. (Niederer 1965, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*)

There can hardly be any doubt that Sigurd Erixon was the most influential ethnologist in Europe from the early 1930s to the late 1960s, as well as the foremost advocate of a unified discipline that he had named "European ethnology" already in the 1930s. Erixon's vision was a discipline that covered material, non-material (spiritual) and social perspectives, in a historical dimension but extended even to the present, and which acknowledged the close relationship to general ethnology or anthropology. His insistence on "life", as in his review *Folk-Liv* as well as in the Swedish term for the discipline – *folklivsforskning* – gave many scholars on the European continent a feeling of a new dimension to the concept of popular culture. In many ways, "life" was more important in his theoretical framework than "folk" (cf. Hultkrantz 1968–89; Rohan-Csermak 1968–69).

Folk-Liv, which he founded in 1937 and edited through 30 years – and 30 volumes – until it was transformed into *Ethnologia Scandinavica*, made Swedish ethnology respected and admired in Europe. European ethnologists commonly talked about the "Swedish school" and even "l'école erixonienne". The impact was no less on the British side of the Channel. When the study of oral traditions met competition from material and social culture studies after World War II, the term "folk life" was taken over by the two new Irish societies and their journals – cf. *The Society for Folk Life Studies*, established in 1961, the review *Folk Life*, founded in 1963 (Peate 1963; Rogan 2013b).

Erixon's four decades on the international scene coincide with the coming of age of ethnology, or what has been called the period of "normal science" within the discipline. Quite a few folklorists of the old school, in Sweden but even more abroad, regarded the progress of ethnology and Erixon's expansive politics with a certain apprehension, cf. Boberg 1952:1–2. Even if it is not always expressed clearly in the documents, this attitude was an important underlying factor for the controversies and opposition Erixon met on the international scene in the 1950s and 1960s.

1. Sigurd Erixon on a conference journey, probably in Vienna in the early 1950s. Erixon is seated second from the left. The standing man in a black suit is Richard Wolfram (1901–1995), professor of Volkskunde in Vienna and specialist in Swedish language and culture.[5] Photo Nordiska arkivet, SE 8:86. Photographer unknown.

Although Erixon was influenced by a functionalist perspective, especially before the war, his overall intellectual approach was that of diffusionism in a historical and social perspective. But there is a seeming inconsistency between learning and life: He constantly argued for the close bonds to general ethnology and the necessity of theory, but his own research – very comprehensive as it was – was strongly marked by an empirical approach. However, it is probably correct, as John Granlund observed (1970), that there are two lines running parallel all through Erixon's scholarly work. One is the empirical approach to practically every material detail in the Swedish landscapes and the effort to locate them in space, time and social milieu. The other is his attempts to penetrate *whole culture complexes* in an anthropological perspective, as can be seen in his comprehensive monographs on villages and industrial communities, almost encyclopaedic in all their details. In his actual work on the European scene, however, he took a much stronger interest in methodological issues than in theory. The methodology for which he fought restlessly was that of cartography, and the goal he never let out of sight was a European atlas of popular culture.

The article treats in detail the battle around CIAP and its successor SIEF, from the late 1950s to the mid 1960s. In the voluminous correspondence that this study is based upon – there are thousands, if not tens of thou-

sands, of letters in the above-mentioned archives, as well as other types of documents – one may easily lose sight of the main lines of policy and the strategies that Erixon followed consistently during the whole period. An important question then is why this organization seemed so important to Sweden's foremost ethnologist. A short answer may help the reader through the text.

To Erixon, it was hardly CIAP in itself that counted, that is, CIAP as an international meeting place, but rather CIAP as a tool to reach further goals. Over the years he had experienced time and again how powerless individual researchers were, without strong national backing, when it came to international cooperation.

In Erixon's eyes, the future of European ethnology depended on solid national structures, based on high-class teaching and research institutions, archives and museums – hence his recurrent projects of mapping institutions in Europe. At the top of the national structures there should be representative national committees or councils, scholarly qualified and democratically elected. To carry through comprehensive projects would require international coordination of research teams on the national level – through these national committees invested with the necessary authority, which should also secure funding nationally.

In his eyes, this would be the only way to overcome not only all the national differences, but also all the personal discords and local and regional dissentions, that he could observe across the European continent – from Eastern Europe to France, Portugal and the Mediterranean countries. In multilingual countries, like Belgium and Switzerland, the internal differences and local schools were often more conspicuous than the differences that could be observed across the national borders.

As Erixon saw it, CIAP's role should not primarily be to organize conferences nor to accumulate a lot of individual members and bring them together, but to coordinate the national committees; only such committees could guarantee the success of joint international projects, which required firm steering. Without a common organization (CIAP) that was subordinated to UNESCO – for administrative control as well as for funding – it would be as impossible to organize ambitious projects like a European atlas as it would be to work towards a unified discipline. Such was his strategy, as I read it out of the available sources.

With the defeat in Athens in 1964, Erixon had to adapt this strategy to the new realities. For the atlas project, he saw the future in a specialized international atlas organization – *Die ständige internationale Atlaskommisson* (*SIA*), liberated from SIEF but in close contact and cooperation with the various national atlas projects. And the scientific unity of the discipline could be pursued through a more loosely organized "working group", as he preferred to call it, with carefully selected members. Their main tools would

be a series of handbooks and a scholarly journal, that is, tools that CIAP had never managed to realize (beyond the three issues of *Laos* in the early 1950s, see Rogan 2013:115–118). His new journal *Ethnologia Europaea* (*EE*) was founded in overt opposition to the reconstructed SIEF. The years 1964 to 1968, with the working group, *EE* and *SIA*, will be treated in the fourth and last article.

It is perhaps this conviction and his democratic ideals that made Erixon so little polemic, even when he was at the centre of the battle and a victim of the transgressions of his opponents. He could be ironic and make sharp characterizations in private letters to close colleagues. But in all his formal correspondence he was polite and prudent, even when under attack. He always tried to keep under the firing line.

II Overview of a Cumbersome Decade for CIAP (1950s)

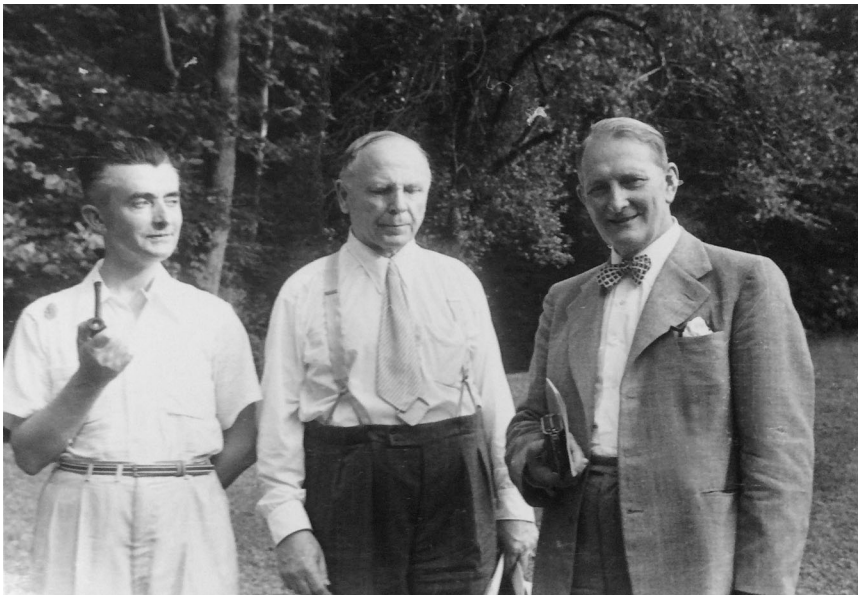
> Le caractère lui-même des études des cultures traditionnelles implique un amour excessif de la chose régionale et particulière […] qui est sans doute un des grands obstacles à l'entente de tous les investigateurs à l'intérieur même de chaque pays […], ce qui d'entrée fut une force – l'amour pour les faits de la culture locale, qui a marqué l'essor des études folkloriques –, est devenu un obstacle à leur plein développement comme science […].
>
> Cette situation s'aggrave encore du fait qu'en beaucoup de pays il n'y a pas de tradition universitaire en ce qui concerne l'ethnologie régionale, toute la recherche demeurant dans les mains des moindres groupes d'amateurs curieux, très souvent avec beaucoup de mérite, mais généralement contraires à une organisation supérieure […] (Jorge Dias, in his report and "letter of resignation" as general secretary of CIAP, June 1957)[6]

After World War II an initiative was taken to revive CIAP. In the post-war optimism that reigned, the "commission" kept its name but it chose an open membership system based on individual scholars instead of representatives appointed by national committees, as had been the case before the war. Furthermore, the pre-war experience with the strict regime of the League of Nations did not invite any collaboration with its successor, so CIAP wished to be independent of any supervision by UNESCO.[7]

Erixon was sceptical about what might come out of this loose grouping of "amateurs" and "dilettantes"[8] and kept Sweden on the sideline for some years. In 1948–49, however, he organized a Swedish national committee and made Sweden join CIAP. The background was the establishment in 1949 of the UNESCO sub-organ CIPSH – *le Conseil International de Philosophie et des Sciences Humaines*, which gathered a group of scholarly organizations, CIAP included. Only as a member of CIPSH could CIAP find some funding for its scholarly projects – the *Internationale Volkskundliche Bibliographie* (IVB), the journal *Laos*, a dictionary of eth-

nological terms, and possibly some commission reunions, especially cartography conferences. The journal, the dictionary and a couple of the commissions (on cartography, on a European atlas, on rural housing) would all become the responsibility of Erixon during the 1950s. Erixon also consolidated his position through the organization of the congress on "European and Western Ethnology" in Stockholm in 1951. In the cold war climate that reigned, European ethnology could hardly be anything else than "Western ethnology"

However, CIAP experienced a decline during the early 1950s, due to administrative problems (the general secretary was forced to resign in 1953 for disorder in the accountancy, missing archives and allegations of embezzlement), to a membership system that did not function, as well as to financial problems and too small allocations from UNESCO. To this may be added a legitimacy dispute about the leadership of CIAP in an interim period without a president. Towards 1953 the situation became critical, but a CIAP Board meeting and a General Assembly held in Namur in September 1953 decided to start a thorough reorganization process. This conference was also marked by Erixon's keen interest in cartography, which inaugurated his close but short collaboration with the young French anthropologist Marcel Maget (1914–1994). The responsibility for the reorganization of CIAP was put on the shoulders of Georges Henri Rivière (1897–1985) – the leader of the French national museum of popular culture, and Erixon, who acted as



2. Seán Ó Súilleabháin (Dublin, 1903–1996), Sigurd Erixon and Åke Campbell (1891–1957). From the 1950s. Place and photographer unknown. Photo Nordiska Museet, SE 8:74.

the interim general secretary. The two were acquaintances of long standing (Rogan 2008a).

The following General Assembly of CIAP, held in Paris in July 1954, voted new by-laws and new officers. Most important was a new membership system based on national committees – as required by CIPSH and UNESCO and warmly recommended by Erixon and Rivière. Each national committee could appoint up to three members to CIAP's General Assembly. As for the election of new officers, Erixon was strongly urged to stand for the presidency. Instead he launched another candidate, the folklore professor Reidar Th. Christiansen (1886–1971) from Oslo, who was elected – and who would remain CIAP's president for the next ten years. When Erixon's choice fell on Christiansen, it was probably because the latter was a folklorist who regarded folklore and ethnology as two faces of the same coin (Rogan 2012). Erixon knew only too well that the great majority of European folklorists opposed his vision for a common discipline. With Christiansen to front CIAP, he would have better chances to reach his goals. For himself Erixon preferred the rank of ordinary member of the Executive Board – a position from where he could survey the train of events.

Jorge Dias (1907–1973), a Portuguese professor of cultural anthropology, was elected to the office of general secretary, and as treasurer Ernst Baumann (1905–1955), a folklorist from Basel and president of the Swiss Folklore Society. Jorge Dias was an efficient administrator as well as an acknowledged scholar. As it would soon turn out, the choice of Dias was as fortuitous as that of Christiansen was unfortunate (Rogan 2015).

In 1954–55 all the arrows pointed upwards for CIAP. Jorge Dias was not only an eminent scholar with a broad (Erixonian) conception of ethnology, but also an assiduous administrator who worked hard to recruit national committees from all over the globe. New commissions were appointed, a working programme adopted, and peace reigned with UNESCO – if only for a while. The CIAP's commissions (working groups) of the time all consisted of only a handful of appointed specialists. They were not meeting places for interested scholars, but small teams for planning and organizing common projects. CIAP's ascendance was topped off by two successive and successful events. The first was the Arnhem congress – organized by Winand Roukens (1896–1974), the director of the Dutch national museum of popular culture in Arnhem, in close collaboration with Dias. The second was the follow-up "specialist" conference in Amsterdam, organized by Piet Meertens (1899–1985) in close collaboration with Erixon. At the latter conference a definition of "European ethnology" was adopted that perfectly matched Erixon's (as well as Dias' and Meertens') conception of the field, that is, a discipline that covered material, social and spiritual aspects of culture, as a sub-discipline of general ethnology or

anthropology. Only the German-speaking participants made their reservations; to replace *Volkskunde* (and *Völkerkunde*) by "European ethnology" would hardly be feasible. These two events, and especially the Amsterdam conference, represented a highlight in Erixon's international activities. He could return to Stockholm bringing a hard-won victory. Little did he know that the more conservative folklorists would take a resounding revenge nine years later.[9]

From then on CIAP entered a downward slope. Jorge Dias worked assiduously to have national committees established, and on the paper, if not in reality, more than 60 such committees – in Europe, Latin America and Asia, came into being between 1955 and 1957. In a very few cases, as in Sweden where Erixon had full control, they consisted of appointed members representing the national scholarly community at large. In many cases, some pre-existent national society took on the charge, like the German *Verband der Vereine für Volkskunde* (later DGV), the Irish Folklore Commission, the British Folklore Society, or Dansk Folkemindesamling. Some countries, however, like Belgium and Austria, had competing (regional/linguistic) societies, which complicated the choice. In other cases the approached scholar only asked his closest colleagues to form a national committee – what Rivière used to call a local "congregation" ("*chapelle*"). The general problem that Dias encountered, just as his predecessors had done, was that the membership fees were extremely difficult to collect. CIAP had almost no revenue, a fact that endangered its relationship to UNESCO (more below). Dias was a very popular general secretary, respected and loved in most camps, but he found the office very strenuous, partly because of the UNESCO bureaucracy, partly because of the steadily vanishing national committees, as well as the constantly bad economy. When the treasurer Ernst Baumann died in December 1955, no one was willing to take over the treasury. In addition, after three years as general secretary Dias had had his share of resistance to cooperation from small milieus, mainly folkloristic (cf. his report above). He had more than enough to do in Portugal as well as in the Portuguese colonies overseas, and in June 1957 he threw in the sponge.

President Reidar Th. Christiansen was an acknowledged folklore scholar with long experience of international relations. But he was a prudent person who shunned conflicts[10] – and conflicts were precisely what he encountered in CIAP. He had long absences, when his research and periods as visiting professor led him to England, to Ireland and to the United States (Rogan 2012) During the first part of his presidency he spent two years abroad (1956–58), when he paid too little attention to CIAP. Furthermore, he turned 70 in 1956, his health was not strong, and as a retired professor he had no infrastructure to lean upon. The physical distance from Oslo to Paris, the seat of CIAP's only benefactor UNESCO, was also

3. Erixon leading a student excursion to Finland, September 1954. Photographer unknown. Photo Nordiska Museet, SE 8:88.

a complicating factor. When Jorge Dias decided to resign in spring 1957, Christiansen lost almost all administrative support and was stuck in a trap he never got out of. As he wrote to Sigurd Erixon in 1959, when the problems piled up: "I regret sincerely that I did not resign, I too, when the secretary left. But I thought for honour's sake that I had to try and keep things going."[11]

In July 1957 Winand Roukens accepted the double function of general secretary and treasurer. But the inherent problems of the national committees and his lack of success in collecting overdue fees made him resign after only five months.[12]

The bylaws of CIAP prescribed a Board meeting once a year, but between 1955 and 1964 there were only two Board meetings: one regular in Paris 1957 and one improvised in Kiel 1959. Due to a constant lack of money to cover travel costs, Board members met only occasionally at various folklore conferences. No congress or General Assembly was arranged after 1955 and there were no elections between 1954 and 1964. As UNESCO required that its member organizations hold regular assemblies and elections, the danger of exclusion from CIPSH was imminent.

These problems should by no means be attributed to the president only. With the exception of Sigurd Erixon, and to some extent the Belgian vice president Albert Marinus, CIAP Board members were passive. In a series of letters to Erixon, Christiansen repeatedly mentions the difficulties of getting response and support from the others for arranging meetings. And the more or less non-existent national committees seldom answered summons or invoices.[13]

CIAP's difficult relations to CIPSH and UNESCO would become a recurrent theme in the following years. A certain percentage of the membership fees should be returned to CIPSH, in return for more substantial allocations back to CIAP for scholarly projects. From 1957 onwards UNESCO repeatedly complained about lacking return payments. UNESCO threatened to reduce or withhold its subventions for the bibliography and the dictionary, as the publishing was seriously delayed. In 1957 UNESCO had signalled that a fusion with another member organization, IUAES (*The International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences*),[14] was desirable, and in 1959 CIAP had to accept a *de facto* joint representation with IUAES in CIPSH. If the ethnologists saw this as a minor evil – they only feared harder competition for the allocations — many folklorists feared an anthropologization of their discipline. Not all of them, however. As Christiansen wrote in 1959, when the administrative fusion was a fact: "I think it itself it is a reasonable alliance, as after all the field of activities is the same, and any definite distinction, say between ethnology and folklore, is very hard to draw."[15]

By the end of the 1950s, CIAP was bankrupt and paralysed. There was almost no communication with the membership, as both the scientific journal (*Laos*) and the newsletter had ceased to appear in the mid 1950s – for lack of money. With members unwilling to open the purse and hardly any administration to collect the overdue fees, it was a vicious circle. CIAP was no longer a catalyst for international cooperation. Or as Christiansen told Erixon in September 1959, he now regarded CIAP only as "a moral support"

to the commissions and working groups that Erixon presided.[16] And Erixon was actually the leader of all the surviving commissions and working groups except the one on bibliography – i.e. of cartography, of a European atlas, of rural housing, of ploughing implements, of the dictionary of ethnological terms.

One example may illustrate the situation. The commission for rural housing had been founded in Paris in 1954, but until 1961 it had never convened. Erixon had only met the members individually at different conferences and travels. In 1961 he threatened to dissolve the rural housing group, in spite of his conviction that "The scholarly research in this sector of ethnology is very viable. There are hardly any other sectors that may give so informative results on a secure foundation".[17]

Christiansen now constantly sought advice from Erixon, his close confidant, but he also corresponded with Stith Thompson and a few others on the "cumbersome" or "confounded" CIAP. But no one could offer him any real help. In the spring of 1958, when Roukens had resigned as general secretary and Christiansen lacked both resources and help, Stith Thompson wrote to him from Kansas:

> In some ways I am glad I am not in Europe to bother about this organisation. But I know that your shoulders are broad and that you can carry the burden.

4. Stith Thompson (Bloomington, Indiana), to the left, talking with an informant in Ireland, probably before the war. Thompson was CIAP's Vice president from 1954 to 1964, and a close colleague of its president Reidar Th. Christiansen. Photo: National Folklore Collection, University College Dublin.

> I feel considerably discouraged about CIAP. I am not at all certain that with the limited functions it now has, it is worth the time + energy we have put into it. Its present function seems to me to be almost confined to the periodical request for funds to carry on Wildhaber's bibliography and Erixon's dictionary of Ethnological Terms. Would it not be possible to entrust this function to some other branch of UNESCO? The alternative, [it] seems to me, would be to have an active meeting of the important folklore workers and think through the international activities in folklore that might well expect support from UNESCO.[18]

The president's shoulders were not broad enough, however, and Christiansen seemed incapable of taking any initiatives, as well as of resigning, only hoping for more generous credits for the running projects or asking for deferments from an unwilling and critical UNESCO administration. In this situation Sigurd Erixon, an ordinary Board member, with the consent of Christiansen, took over the leadership of CIAP, while Christiansen nominally remained president.[19] However, this "Nordic alliance" would soon be challenged by a much younger colleague, Kurt Ranke, professor of *Volkskunde* in Göttingen.

It was decided in September 1959 in Kiel, at the improvised Board meeting, that a third remoulding of CIAP after World War II had to take place, but the work did not start until two years later, at a small conference in Oslo. The process ended three years later in Athens, with the dissolution of CIAP and the founding of SIEF in September 1964. The reorganization was a painful process, full of antagonism and conflicts. As with many conflicts in Academia, it is sometimes difficult to see what was at stake for the discipline(s), as so much of the debate was on organizational questions. What emerges clearly from the sources, however, is that the battle of CIAP was not only an effort for the development of European ethnology. It was also, and at periods perhaps just as much, an effort for power and control – to the extent that these factors are possible to separate (cf. Rogan 2014). Many of the discipline's inherent challenges came to the fore, and several of its most important scholars participated – some visibly, some behind the scenes.

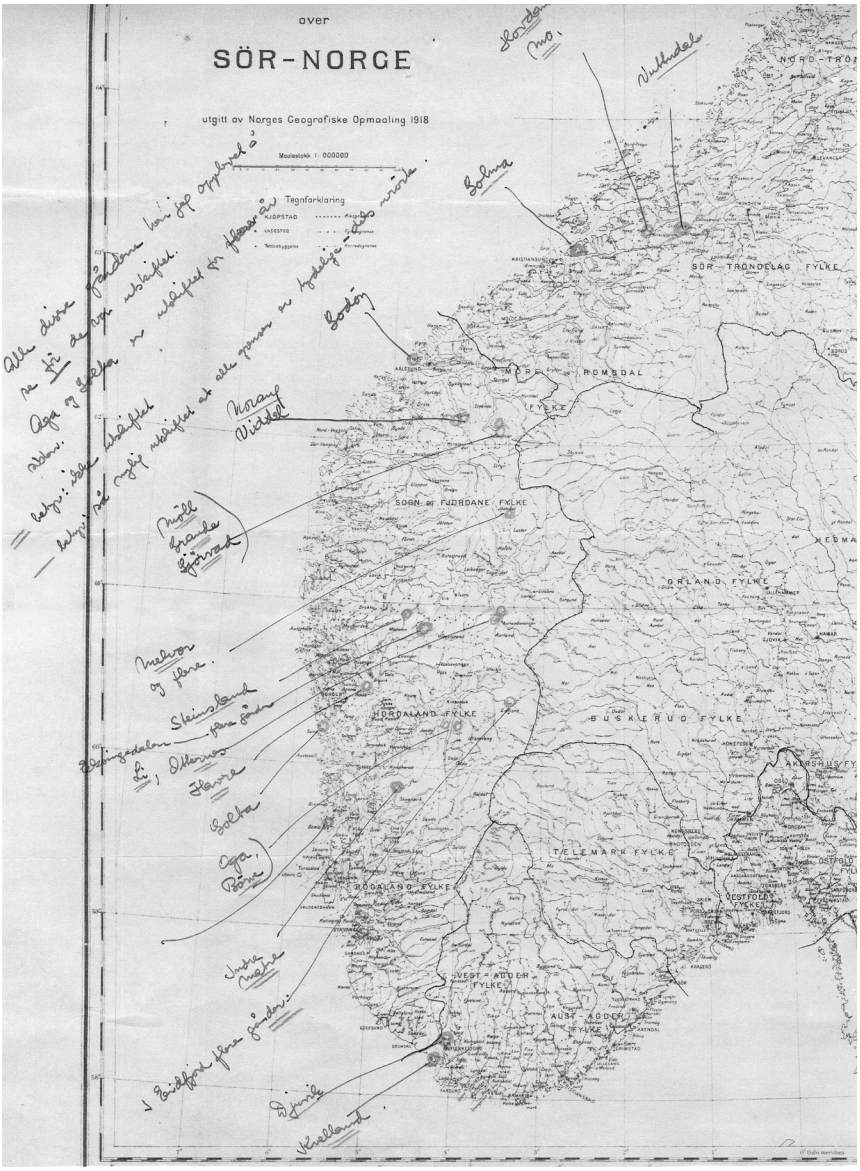
Before we engage in this story, we shall pay a short visit to another theme, that of Sigurd Erixon's frequent journeys abroad.

III The Travelling "Doyen of Folk Life Studies in Europe"

There was hardly any community or remote corner of Sweden that Erixon did not visit during his long fieldworking career (Arnstberg 1988). But travels abroad were also a central part of Erixon's life and scholarly activities (Rogan 2013:102–105), much more than for any of his Nordic colleagues. He regularly made long travels abroad, most often in combination with international conferences. His last long journey by car took place in his 80th year, less than six months before he died, when he toured southern and

south-western Norway with Karl-Olov Arnstberg as driver (Rogan forthcoming).

He obviously appreciated travelling for travelling's sake and he often wrote detailed reports on his journeys. Very often he related the price of the hotels, of his meals, whom he met, etc., in addition to what he observed, not



5. In June 1957 Erixon toured the Norwegian west coast, following the map that Rigmor Frimannslund (Holmsen) had drawn and annotated of the land consolidation process. Nordiska Museet, SE 8:106.

least of ethnological details. When he went to Stith Thompson's Midcentury International Folklore Conference in Bloomington in 1950, he wrote a six-page report about the transatlantic passage alone, full of details of the ship, the meals and life aboard, as well as of the arrival and immigration control in New York.[20] Every journey abroad, whether for conferences or holidays or – more usually – a combination, was also a fieldwork and museum excursion.

His archive contains a long series of notebooks from these travels, full of drawings and notes – in his often almost illegible handwriting, combined with observations and more private outbursts. Just one example from his journey in France in 1954, when he suddenly makes the following remark in his notebook, in between the ethnographical data: "Jag orkar ej ta huvudansvaret för lexikonet […]" – "I don't have the energy to take the main responsibility for the dictionary […]."[21]

During the 1950s and 1960s he went abroad several times every year, sometimes for journeys lasting a month or more. As can be seen from his archive notes, he put much energy into planning the travels and finding ways to finance them – with money from the Nordiska Museet, the Wenner-Gren Foundation, UNESCO, etc.

In the early 1950s he took a special interest in France, probably as a consequence of his close collaboration with Georges Henri Rivière, Marcel Maget and Arnold van Gennep. After CIAP's Namur conference in September 1953 he spent several weeks, partly together with Marcel Maget, in northern France, where he toured Burgundy, Savoy and the French Alps. Erixon enthusiastically related to *Svenska Dagbladet* (7 October 1953) how French ethnology was making rapid progress, about the revival of local village traditions and the high quality of many French museums and exhibitions – which he found often equalled Swedish museum standards. He was enthusiastic about the new burgundy wine museum in Beaune and Georges Henri Rivière's exhibition on the French art of cooking and home production in the Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires in Paris. Later in October Erixon was back in Paris, representing CIAP at a UNESCO meeting. The following year, Erixon profited from CIAP's General Assembly in Paris to spend a couple of weeks in northern France, Luxembourg and adjacent regions in July. Just before, in June, he had organized together with Axel Steensberg the conference on ploughing implements in Copenhagen (Rogan 2013:129–131). In September the same year he led a student excursion to Finland, where his close collaborator Kusta Vilkuna and Jouko Hautala acted as hosts. He organized student excursions to the other Nordic countries every few years.

The travels abroad the following years are too numerous to be related in detail. The main occasions were CIAP meetings, normally hosted by other conferences, a series of atlas and cartography meetings, several of which

6–7. An ardent fieldworker and photographer. Erixon in western Norway, 1957. Photos by Rigmor Frimannslund. Riksarkivet, Privatarkiv 1342, Rigmor Frimannslund Holmsen.

took place during congresses arranged by the *Gesellschaft für Deutsche Volkskunde* (GDV) or the *Atlas der Deutschen Volkskunde* (ADV), and IUAES and UNESCO meetings.

Furthermore, he was a popular conference participant in the British Isles. When *The Society for Folk Life Studies*, the recently established society for folk life studies in Great Britain and Ireland, invited Erixon in September 1962 to its second congress, he was hailed in the programme as "the doyen of Folk Life Studies in Europe".[22]

The month of August was often spent on fieldwork in Sweden. But he also found time for fieldwork trips to the other Nordic countries, as when he visited the west coast of Norway in June 1957, in the company of Rigmor Frimannslund (later Holmsen) and Nils Lid. The object of study was agriculture and landscape, vernacular architecture and settlement, especially in relation to the still not consolidated farms. The question of villages and farmland consolidation (reallocation, parcelling, enclosure) in Sweden had since long been one of Erixon's main research fields. Rigmor Frimannslund furnished Erixon with her private annotated map of unconsolidated (or recently consolidated) farms from Orkdal in southern Trøndelag to Flekkefjord in Vest-Agder (see photo of map).[23] As far as can be seen from the series of photos taken by Erixon, the visits to Vuttudalen in Trøndelag and Steinsland in Hordaland, with their still not consolidated farming landscapes, were the highlights of the trip.[24]

IV Kurt Ranke Enters the Scene (1959–)

[…] There is one thing I ought to mention. Have you realized that CIAP does *not* dispose any money whatsoever to pay travel costs, neither to its leaders nor to the members of the Board? That is the sad fact; consequently we must continually try to organize meetings at some congress or other, where as many as possible of our members are present. I would just mention this. Of course I would appreciate your presence […] but if you don't think it's worth the costs, we will manage some way or other […]
(R. Th. Christiansen, 7 August 1959 to Anna-Maja Nylén, interim general secretary of CIAP)[25]

There was no CIAP Board meeting in 1958, and President Christiansen spent much of the year at the Irish Folklore Commission in Dublin, concentrating as usual on scholarly activities and preparing a catalogue of the Irish folktale and a comparative monograph on Scandinavian and Irish folktales. Erixon managed to engage Anna-Maja Nylén, curator at the Nordiska Museet, as general secretary for a while. But she was quite critical of Christiansen's priorities and lax management, and in the summer of 1959 she declined to continue.[26] The message (quoted above) about the travelling expenses for the 1959 Board meeting in Kiel certainly did not make her change her mind!

The occasion for this CIAP meeting in August 1959 was a folk narrative congress organized by the German *Volkskundler* Kurt Ranke (1908–1985) in Kiel. Ranke was professor of folklore in Kiel, and from 1960 in Göttingen. Ranke had a dubious past from the war, but he rose quickly in the post-war hierarchy of German *Volkskunde* and became one of the leading folk narrative scholars of his time. He founded the journal *Fabula*, an encyclopaedia of international narrative research – *Die Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, as well as the world-embracing *International Society for Folk Narrative Research* (ISFNR, 1962–).

Ranke offered a venue for CIAP in Kiel and Christiansen gladly accepted. Erixon agreed – grudgingly – to be present one day if he could be "exempted for a whole week of discussions on oral tales".[27] Obviously, Erixon had lost his patience with Christiansen. Or as he wrote ironically: For lack of secretarial help, and because the meeting in Kiel came up too late, Christiansen had "himself, in a state of emergency, with dictatorial powers of action" dispatched a demand to UNESCO for grants for the two following years.[28]

Ranke was one of the first German *Volkskundler* after the war to establish a broad network of international contacts, and some Nordic folklorists observed his activities with a certain apprehension. Or as Laurits Bødker, Danish member of the Kiel committee, wrote to Christiansen just before the conference:[29]

There is one problem, however, that I think we should observe, that is whether Ranke is working to establish a new, international *Märchen* organization [ISFNR]. I don't know if this is the case, but some of his remarks during the last year indicate that such are his plans. In that case, we need to know beforehand approximately what he is aiming at. Will he establish an international centre like CIAP's secretariat of ploughing implements in Copenhagen? What will be the relationship between this new organization and CIAP? Will he establish *Fabula* as a central organ, and will he launch a new monograph series? These questions are important for the Nordic countries, where we already have organs and series that we must protect, that is *Arv* and FFC [*Folklore Fellows Communications*] […] I hope to see you in Kiel […]

It is possible that apprehensions like these contributed to Christiansen's negative reactions to Ranke and his *Memorandum* (see below). The "new, international *Märchen* organization", the ISFNR, was launched at the Kiel congress in 1959 and formally inaugurated in Antwerp in 1962.

Only four Board members, the German member Helmut Dölker included, were present in Kiel. Although not a member, Ranke was invited to join the meeting, together with Robert Wildhaber, the editor of CIAP's *Internationale Volkskundliche Bibliographie*. The bibliography was in a severe economic crisis, and Ranke proposed a solution: He promised to secure a considerable economic contribution from the German *Bundesministerium*, on condition that the administration of the bibliography be transferred from Switzerland to Germany and a German publishing house take over the publishing, but still with Wildhaber as editor. The proposal was not heartily received, as some feared that the Bibliography would once again become a German affair, as it had been before the war. But the Board finally accepted Ranke's proposal. The ambiance at the meeting was marked by the critical signals from the UNESCO administration concerning the missing payments, the cancelled meetings of the General Assembly, as well as the enforced relation to the anthropologists. And Christiansen complained about the difficulties caused by the vacancies in the functions of both treasurer and secretary. Those present at the meeting decided to convene in Oslo later to discuss a reorganization of CIAP.[30]

The year 1960 passed, and nothing happened.[31] Christiansen was partly in Oslo, partly in his beloved Dublin at the Irish Folklore Commission. Erixon had engaged his nephew, the dentist Hans Nettelblad, as treasurer of CIAP. Christiansen sent his authorization to the two latter to perform all the necessary transactions.

In January 1961 Erixon could hardly conceal his impatience, or as he wrote to Christiansen in January:[32]

And now to the question of the CIAP meeting this year. As you know, I have been of the opinion that we would all be very satisfied if Norway takes the responsibility […] You and I have sometimes discussed this question, but with your prudence and the fine discretion that mark your approach you have normally declined. As it happened […] we have now solicited [Hilmar Stigum to ask if Norsk Folkemuseum will take care of the arrangement] I don't know if you dislike this request to Stigum […]

but I'm certain nothing will happen unless you suggest it. I hope you will understand our intentions and good will.

The 75-year-old Christiansen had striven hard to find money to arrange "this damned meeting", as he repeatedly calls it in letters to Erixon, but he finally obtained a small allocation from UNESCO. A venue was found at Voksenåsen, in the woodland surroundings of Oslo, in late August 1961. Erixon had to take over the planning.[33] Only two Board members – Sigurd Erixon and Winand Roukens – turned up, plus three other foreign guests: Kurt Ranke, Paul de Keyser (Ghent), and Åke Hultkrantz (Stockholm), the editor of the dictionary of ethnological terms. A few researchers from the Norwegian open-air museum filled up the meeting. Also present was Hans Nettelblad, the interim treasurer of CIAP, who agreed to function as general secretary until the next General Assembly.

There are no formal minutes from the meeting, only a very delayed report written by Christiansen in May 1962 – after several impatient reminders from Erixon.[34] According to this report,[35] Christiansen had presented the state of affairs in CIAP, with a focus on the relation to the IUAES; there had been the usual reporting on the current CIAP projects (the dictionary, the bibliography and the atlas work) and Hans Nettelblad had given a statement on the financial situation. The report ends with the stoic phrase: "For the rest, the financial problem is unsolved". Kurt Ranke had dominated the debate,[36] coming up with several ideas and proposals for strengthening the economy of CIAP. He had even proposed a close collaboration between CIAP and the German *Archiv für Volkserzählung*.

Christiansen does not mention in his report that Ranke had volunteered to lead a working group that was to propose new bylaws for CIAP.[37] The other members were Erixon, Roukens and Hultkrantz. Ranke's draft, spurred by an increasingly impatient Erixon,[38] appeared in April 1962. It was entitled *Memorandum der Kommission zur Reorganisation der CIAP*, but referred to as *Ranke's Memorandum* in later documents. It would become one of the most decisive documents in the history of CIAP – not so much for its contents as for its role as a symbol and an incentive to turn the page. Through the campaign of The Four (see below) this short and quite unobtrusive document acquired an almost mythical status, and several folklorists around Europe ordered copies of it. It is undated and unsigned, and it presents itself as the work of a committee. However, Ranke was the sole author.

The *Memorandum* contained a full programme [*Prinzipprogram*] for a new society, called a *Verein für moderne kritisch-empirischer Social- und Kulturwissenschaft*. It opens with a declaration on how regional ethnology during "the last decade" had developed from romantic-mythological research on relics to a modern critical-empirical science covering culture and social life – an introduction that annoyed Scandinavian researchers. Erixon

states that the postulated recent romantic-mythological approach might be valid for Germany, but not elsewhere.[39] The document briefly describes the contemporary challenges to the discipline of *Regionalethnologie* – comprising *Volkskunde*, *Volkslebenforschung* and *Folkloristik*, its interface with other branches of the humanities and the social sciences, and it states that CIAP has failed to satisfy the expectations of the scientific community. The goal envisaged by Ranke is a strong network organization, capable of initiating and supporting a wide range of loosely formulated cooperation projects and of funding comparative research. The paramount challenge, we are told, was to find ways to finance this expensive programme. UNESCO should be approached in a more energetic way, in order to obtain the status of an autonomous institution for CIAP. If this was unfeasible, the alternative was closer contact with UISAE, where the three sciences – regional ethnology as practised by CIAP, anthropology and general ethnology – should be on an equal footing. Furthermore, a change in the membership principles and the opening up for several categories of members should secure the finances. The latter proposal would mean that CIAP would be turned into a *Gesellschaft* – a society – instead of a commission with officially elected members.

Apart from the rhetorical introduction on the romantic-mythical research and the paragraph on the membership principles, there was hardly anything in the *Memorandum* that Erixon could not subscribe to or that he had not himself proposed earlier. Seen in the light of the later development, it is hard to say whether this text was a strategy to entice the ethnologists, or whether it was intended as a real proposal. However, Erixon welcomed it as a draft and a basis for discussion in the committee.

Christiansen, however, got so upset about certain elements of the text that he did not want the committee to discuss it. Christiansen feared that Ranke's proposal to replace a *commission* (CIAP) with national representation by a *society* based on individual membership would mean an end to the UNESCO funding. The aged professor of folklore was also uncomfortable with Ranke's conception of the field as "*ein anthropologischer Wissenschaft*" and the idea of widening the scope of CIAP to become a "*Verein für mo_derne kritisch-empirischer Social- und Kulturwissenschaft*". His formal argument was that this would make CIAP so similar to IUAES that it would lose its legitimacy in the UNESCO system. It is clear from his correspondence with Erixon that Christiansen disliked Ranke's involvement and his proposal for a "German-dominated *Verein*",[40] and he disapproved of the idea of a working group. Christiansen also seems to have disliked the idea of a strong German dominance in CIAP.

If Christiansen wanted to change as little as possible, Erixon was of another opinion. He saw much more clearly the necessity of reorganizing CIAP, and Christiansen could not prevent the spread of Ranke's memo-

randum – in German, English and French. From the summer of 1962 it is Erixon, with the help of the Swedish interim secretary, who takes on an active role and starts planning the next Board meeting. With no financial basis for summoning a meeting, the first possibility for CIAP to convene would be in Belgium in September 1962, where two consecutive events were being planned: a meeting in Antwerp by Ranke and the *Fabula* circle, including the official foundation of the *International Society for Folk Narrative Research*,[41] and directly afterwards a *Volkskunde* congress in Brussels, to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the *Royal Belgian Commission on Folklore*. On Ranke's proposal Erixon took the initiative – but with the consent of Christiansen – to arrange a CIAP Board meeting in Brussels.

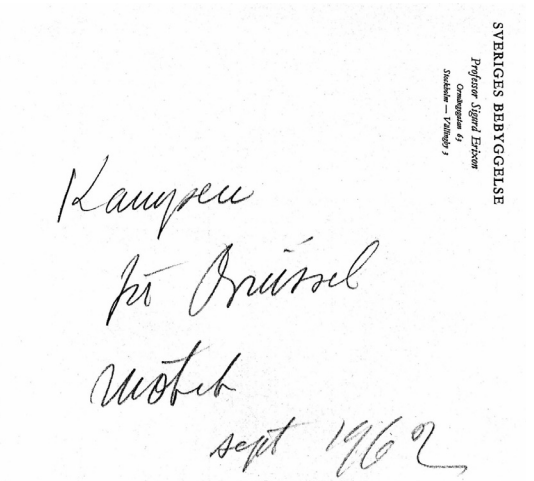
V "The Fight For the Brussels Meeting" (1962) – the First Putsch

> Though it is late I thank you very much Stith for your letter about the meeting [in Brussels …] I need hardly tell you that I am sick of the whole machinery, and wished that something new would revive CIAP. *I* haven't been able […] we will have to meet all of us, say in Athens in 1964.
> (Christiansen to Stith Thompson, December 1962).[42]

During spring and summer of 1962, Erixon was squeezed between an entrepreneurial Ranke and the passive Christiansen. In order to revise the text of the *Memorandum*, Erixon tried to organize a dialogue within the working group appointed at Voksenåsen. However, from the late spring and through summer Ranke hardly answered letters, nor did he give the group a chance to discuss the text, until September 1962, when the whole Board was summoned to convene after Ranke's congress in Antwerp/Brussels. The congress was hosted by Karel Peeters, professor of folklore in Antwerp. The belligerent caption of this paragraph is Erixon's, jotted down in his own hand on a file cover in his archive – certainly with the hindsight of Ranke's putsch in Brussels.

Only four of eleven CIAP Board members attended the meeting: Erixon, Marinus (BE), Roukens (NL) and Stith Thompson (USA). Christiansen had not yet recovered from his complicated leg fracture (or did not feel tempted to come). Erixon had a strenuous journey behind him, coming directly from England, where he had attended the meeting of the Society for Folk Life Studies and given a lecture on "The study of folk life". In Brussels he gave a lecture on the dock workers of Stockholm.

In spite of orders from Oslo/Stockholm beforehand, no one in Belgium had taken care of the secretarial functions. To Erixon's surprise, the Belgian organizers – Albert Marinus and Paul de Keyser, suddenly convened the CIAP meeting on another day than agreed – in the afternoon directly after



8. On one of the file covers in his archive, Erixon has written "Kampen för Brüssel mötet" – "The fight for the Brussels meeting. Sept. 1962". Source: Nordiska Museet, SE 8:31.

the closure of the congress. The venue was also changed, to a busy and noisy hotel lobby. The reason was obviously that most of the folklorists from the congress would leave Brussels the following day.

Instead of convening only the Board and a few invited guests, as planned, de Keyser opened the doors for the participants of the congress. The same morning they had invited the folklore congress in plenary to pronounce the following resolution: "Having observed that there is not, for the time being, any international organization working actively to the benefit of folklore, the congress expresses the wish that this shortcoming be amended without delay."[43] Or as Erixon dryly remarks in a letter to Christiansen: "… this implies a suggestion that CIAP is dormant."

There are two reports from the meeting. One of these,[44] which is unsigned but came to be claimed as the official minutes, was edited by the new committee of four (see below), on the basis of notes taken by the Belgian folklorist Roger Pinon. The minutes were never sent to the participants for approval, and Erixon repeatedly claims in his letters that parts of it are wrong.

The other one is a long letter from Erixon to Christiansen, written upon his return to Stockholm.[45] Stith Thompson also wrote a letter to Christiansen

about the meeting, but this one is lost. Erixon questions the legitimacy of letting members and non-members alike – without the formal right to vote – participate in the decisions; he had urged following formal procedures and contacting UNESCO before decisions were taken, but he had been overruled. The meeting of four CIAP members and about twenty non-members had decided that a new reorganizing committee be appointed and proceed immediately to the task. Erixon gives – in his sober style, rich in understatements – a description of a chaotic meeting, where the non-members Ranke and Wildhaber dominated. Erixon's letter does not differ from Pinon's "minutes" concerning Ranke's role. It was Ranke who proposed both *who* should be members of the new reorganizing committee and *what* they should do, insisting that everyone loyally support the new committee. And Wildhaber acted with "a frenzy" that Erixon had never seen before. Erixon states that CIAP must have been vividly discussed at the preceding seminar on folk narrative research. Four folklorists were elected – or appointed – as committee members: Karel C. Peeters (Antwerp/Leuwen), Roger Pinon (Liège), Roger Lecotté (Paris) and Robert Wildhaber (Basel). As a strange coincidence – or perhaps not – it was precisely Pinon and Lecotté that had been proposed by Wildhaber in Kiel in 1959 for the offices of general secretary and treasurer of CIAP.[46] Erixon's laconic final comment to Christiansen:[47]

> The one-sidedness of the composition of the Board [meeting] may perhaps explain the stubbornness. Now the gentlemen in Belgium and France have taken the lead in connivance with Wildhaber and Ranke. Let us hope it will result in renewed vitality for CIAP. I have given a realistic description [… and not an official report], so that you may have a clear understanding of the situation.

Of these four, only Robert Wildhaber (1902–1982) had some prior knowledge of CIAP, as the editor of the *Internationale Volkskundliche Bibliographie* (IVB) since 1950. His experience with CIAP had been tainted by the insecure finances of the IVB in the past,[48] as well as by his strained relationship to members of the Swiss *Volkskunde* society that had served as a link between CIAP and IVB. Or as he wrote to Jorge Dias in 1955: "And you know perhaps that there is from time to time a certain tension within Swiss Volkskunde; to many Germano-Swiss scholars I am too 'international', and in addition I come from the former Rhaeto-Roman part of Switzerland. So much for your information […].[49] He was often quite outspoken in his descriptions of colleagues.[50] His private letters often contain very harsh characteristics of colleagues, both Swiss and foreigners, as when he told all Bloomington – just before the Brussels meeting – that CIAP's vice president was "eine eingebildete, aufgeblasene Null".[51] No wonder that his "frenzy" surprised Erixon. Wildhaber was an acknowledged scholar and a *Volkskundler* working with both folklore and folk art topics, as director of the *Schweizerische Museum für Volkskunde* in Basel. He was the only one

9. From the Brussels meeting, 1962. Front row, from the left: Sigurd Erixon (Stockholm), Paul de Keyser (Gent), Roger Lecotté (Paris), unknown person, Olav Bø (Oslo). Photo cropped. Photographer unknown © Nordiska Museet.

among The Four with an international scholarly reputation and a broad contact network, in both Europe and the USA – with several visits to Bloomington in the 1960s.

The other three were specialists in folklore (in the restricted sense). Karel Constant Peeters (1903–1975) had recently been appointed to a chair in folklore at the private Catholic university of Leuwen. Roger Lecotté worked as a librarian at the National Library in Paris and Roger Pinon as a school teacher. The two latter were francophones and hardly ever produced or distributed documents and reports on CIAP in other languages than French, to the annoyance of some European scholars. Or as the Yugoslavian Branimir Bratanić, who was fluent in German and English, wrote a little later to Dias concerning the reports that The Four distributed[52]

Regrettably, for 13 years we have endeavoured to speak and write in English or German. On these occasions our francophone colleagues were deaf, dumb and blind. And now the deaf-and-dumb start to talk – in French, and with very, very old-fashioned definitions and their narrow, parochial way of thinking. (I have unfortunately read the *Folklore vivant* in its entirety. It was tedious, simply.)

VI "The Gang of Four" and Their Campaign

Lieber Freund!
[…] Die vier Mieglieder des Umgestaltungsausschusses der CIAP halten sitzung am 1. und 2. November in Antwerpen. Ihr Memorandum bildet die Base der Besprechungen. Ich werde nicht verfehlen am Ende der Woche über unsere erste Beratung zu Berichten. (Karel Peeters to Kurt Ranke, October 1962)[53]

Lieber Freund Karel,
[...] Selbstverständlich steht der Vierer-Kommission der Recht zu die Assemblée Générale einzuladen. Diese Assemblée Générale ist ja für Athen vorgesehen. [...] Ich bin durchaus einverstanden, dass eine Sitzung zwischen Euch Vieren, Herrn Roukens, Herrn Zender und mir schon am 7. und 8. Märtz in Bonn stattgefindet. (Ranke to Peeters, January 1964)[54]

The Brussels committee, often referred to as "The Four" – and who in their internal correspondence used nicknames like "*la bande des quatre*" or "*les quatre mousquetaires*" – held their first meeting in Antwerp in early November 1962, with Peeters chairing. They have left several hundred letters and mementos from this work, which can be traced in detail, and which indeed offer surprising reading. They produced three "reports", but they never bothered to make an analysis of the recurrent problems of CIAP, and their texts show a total lack of knowledge of CIAP's earlier history.

The Four started by editing their own mandate – the above-mentioned so-called "minutes" from the Brussels meeting, which they used to legitimate later actions and decisions. The winner writes the history, one might say … Instead of first writing a policy document, where goals and objectives for the new organization are discussed, The Four proceeded directly to a revision of the bylaws. The only real novelty in their proposal was the paragraph on membership. Instead of membership based on national committees, they proposed that both individuals and institutions (scholarly societies, museums, libraries, archives, etc) could join. And they gave the revised document a remarkable title: "*Statuts provisoires*" – i.e. temporary (or provisional) bylaws.

Instead of sending a proposal for new bylaws to CIAP's Board, they distributed the "temporary" bylaws to around four hundred researchers and institutions in and out of Europe – no less, for comments. The package also contained the "minutes", thus spreading the "official version" all over the world.

The minutes from their November meeting,[55] intended for internal use only, show that The Four were preoccupied by the relation to IUAES and the anthropologists as well as by the name of the organisation. However, the most astonishing reading is their proposal for the distribution of offices and functions in a reformed CIAP. Some 30 persons are mentioned by name; Erixon, Christiansen and ten others are safely put on the shelf as honorary

10. P. J. Meertens (Amsterdam) and Sigurd Erixon at the opening of the Volkskunde museum in Ghent, 16 September 1962, just after the Brussels meeting. Photo Klaus Beitl.

members, whereas 17 persons (The Four included) are assigned to a new Administrative Council. They even appointed six persons to the Executive Board – and three of them were themselves! At their very first meeting Peeters proposed himself as vice (executive) president, Pinon as general secretary and Lecotté as treasurer. As the proposed president we find Richard Dorson (USA), and as vice presidents Raul Cortazar (Buenos Aires) and Matthias Zender (Bonn).

One might have thought that this list was just a joke. Actually, it must have been a merry meeting, as Pinon returned to Liège in Peeters' overcoat, as he somewhat shamefully reveals in a letter of excuse the following day.[56] But it was no joke. Lecotté describes their meeting in the following manner to Peeters:[57]

> From our *mousquetairien* discussions I hold a strong impression of comfort, confidence and hope for a CIAP that will be reorganized through a real "blood transfusion". The key positions were distributed with a natural logic, in a commonsense way and with a fortunate simplicity that augurs well for the future. I feel especially confident that the Belgian "tandem" will contribute a straightforwardness and an easiness hitherto unknown to the Board member relations.

The "natural logic" is revealed a few days later in a memento, where Lecotté explains to the three others that he had written to Cortazar shortly after the meeting and offered to launch him as candidate for the position of vice president. In 1960 Raul Cortazar had founded an international

South American association, *Comisión Internacional Permanente de Folklore* – CIPF. Believing that CIPF was now dormant, The Four wanted to secure the support of Cortazar and thus obtain a great number of South American members. To Lecotté's surprise, Cortazar answered that CIPF was by then a vital organization, even applying for UNESCO/CIPSH membership. He politely refused the offer, but welcomed cooperation. An alarmed Lecotté reported to the three others that they had a new competitor for the UNESCO funds, instead of an accomplice.[58] The Four were no more lucky with the other vice president proposal. Matthias Zender refused the offer – with the addition that he felt "really ashamed" about their intentions.[59] But they cannot have been much ashamed themselves; a few days later Pinon wrote to Peeters:[60] "As for the headquarters of CIAP – if the secretariat rests with me, we must find a place in Belgium. […] I think it would be very nice to have it in the *Palais de Congrès* in Brussels, or in the *Cinquantennaire* [i.e. one of the most exclusive museum and park areas in Brussels]."

The explanation for these actions (but not of the lacking sense of reality) can be only one: the committee regarded itself already as the functioning Board of CIAP, and took it for granted that the "temporary" bylaws would be passed. According to the proposed procedural rules, it was the Board that was supposed to set up the election slate for candidates to the offices. Even before the temporary bylaws were sent out for comments, the committee had started practising them. Erixon had had his misgivings by the end of the Brussels meeting, when he had explicitly asked the participants for confirmation that they still regarded CIAP as active and existent, and that its elected officers and commissions would remain in function until the next General Assembly. This is left out of the "official minutes" from Brussels, produced by The Four themselves, but it is reported in detail in Erixon's letter.

Also, in their communication with UNESCO and other international organizations, The Four acted as if they were the Board of CIAP. Already in December 1962 they claimed in an unlawful manner to have "*pleins pouvoirs*" – full powers – to change the bylaws of CIAP before the end of 1962 and to begin immediately a process of rejuvenation of its officers.[61] During the winter of 1962–63 The Four started negotiations with the South American CIPF (above) and talks with UNESCO officials, and they continued to approach their selected candidates; in May Richard Dorson agreed to run for the presidency.[62] These activities were kept secret from the (old/legal) Board and several of their internal reports and letters are marked "Confidential", especially their reports from the fairly regular contacts with the secretary of CIPSH, Jean d'Ormesson.[63] During the spring and summer of 1963 The Four started intense campaigning, sending no fewer than around one thousand letters[64] to researchers and institutes

all around the world, asking for their agreement to join the "new CIAP", and they managed to gain around one hundred signatures before the end of the year.

At their meeting in May 1963 The Four went the whole way when discussing their legal position. The minutes[65] – intended for internal use only – state that:

> On the question of the authority of the Reform Commission, it should be noted that the instructions given to the Commission by the Brussels meeting include the preparing and convening of the reconstitutive assembly. This implies the setting of the agenda and taking all necessary steps for a successful implementation. The agenda may have the following items: […]

According to Erixon's report, as well as his reactions in letters when this news reached him, no such directives had been given in Brussels;[66] on the contrary, the majority had confirmed that they regarded CIAP's Board and elected officers as still functioning.

Words like "putsch", "rebellion" and "revolution" were used by several observers, and the rumours reached UNESCO. Lecotté reported – confidentially, as usual – from a meeting with the CIPSH secretary Jean d'Ormesson in November 1963:[67] "Mr d'O. also told me that some people think that our action is a rebellion against the old CIAP, that we are manoeuvring on the outside, impatient to take their places […] without respecting a regular transfer of powers […]".

The legality of many of their actions and dispositions was a constant worry to The Four; letters and documents produced by the committee repeatedly invoke the "legal right", allegedly acquired at the Voksenåsen and the Brussels meetings – and there are several cases of inexactitudes and creative history writing, too many to be referred to here.[68]

From spring 1963 CIAP had in practice two competing executive organs. One was the legally elected (old) Board and Presidency. The "legality problem" of the (old) Board was that they had by far exceeded their election period,[69] a fact that may have made it easier for many to accept the irregular procedure of The Four. The other executive organ was The Four, who based their position on a mandate from non-members and a dubious document, the "minutes" reconstructed by themselves.

In order to understand the following escalation, it should be observed that Christiansen, Erixon and the interim secretary Nettelblad for a long time ignored that The Four claimed full powers. When Erixon during spring 1963 continued his efforts on behalf of Christiansen to arrange a Board meeting, and when Nettelblad sent invoices for the yearly CIAP fees, this normal activity was perceived by The Four as provocation – or rather as a pretext to strengthen their propaganda by open letters and other actions.

The Four wanted "*les Nordiques*" to know as little as possible of their planning and campaigning. This is clear from their notes marked "Confiden-

tial" and from letters and memos where strategies are constantly discussed. They discuss how they should proceed in order to surprise their (supposed) opponents concerning the name of the organization, as in the minutes from their May 1963 meeting: [70]

> […] it was decided to propose, in the report to be sent out [no. 2], that the new name should be *Conseil International de Folklore*, and not *Société* … In order to prevent a manoeuvre from "*les Nordiques"*, we may propose to continue to use "CIAP", and then we may come back later with the new designation.

Or in a letter from Peeters to Lecotté in June 1963:[71] "I agree with your remarks on the terminology. We will talk it over confidentially next time we meet and officially at the next plenary, when the Scandinavians and other technologists [i.e. ethnologists] are present." Their actions could go very far, as Lecotté reports from one of his several lobby meetings with the secretary of CIPSH:[72]

> *Confidential*: Jean d'O. [d'Ormesson] has revealed to me that Christiansen has written to CIPSH to ask for subventions. *These are already available*. Jean d'O. asked me what to do? – I answered that if Christiansen were granted these funds he would immediately gain in importance in relation to us [The Four] and our efforts would have had no other effect than to maintain his position. J. d'O. agreed […] and as the application for money will be treated at the CIPSH congress, he will propose that the money be granted to CIAP but *withheld until the reorganization and the new elections are carried through*. J. d'O. believes this will be accepted by the CIPSH, when they are informed about our work […] and that they will dismiss Christiansen's request.

The same Lecotté knocked regularly on Rivière's door in Paris, in order to convince him to join their cause, to abolish the system of national committees and to accept the word "folklore" in the title of the new organization. It seems clear that Rivière disliked these visits, both because he disagreed on several points and because he was in serious doubt about the legitimacy of the actions of The Four. The quotation below from one of Lecotté's "confidential reports" reveals some of the things at stake for The Four:[73]

> He [Rivière] will absolutely not use the word *folklore*, he will impose the word *ethnology*, as this was decided at the Nordic congress, as he says […] He hardly acknowledges the popular tales and beliefs, but seeks refuge in the technology [i.e. ethnology], like Erixon. We are far away from the true folklore. […] And [he does] all this only to be accepted by the gentlemen at the University. In fact (and this between us) he has been drawn in this direction by his great friend Cl. Levy-Strauss, whom I consider a very intelligent person, but dangerous in the sense that he deconstructs everything and constructs nothing. His speeches and his works give immediately a brilliant impression. But after some reflection they leave behind a feeling of emptiness and chaos; his principle is to make everything dissolve (that's typical for his race, by the way). We must rally a majority to combat these technologists (technocrats) as effectively as we can.

If we disregard the anti-Semitic remark, two elements in this quotation contribute to a deeper understanding of the aggressive campaigning of The Four: the fight for an immaculate folklore, and the striving of folklore (in a restricted sense) to gain acceptance as an academic discipline in some countries. "Technologists" or "technocrats" were expressions used by Lecotté, Pinon and Peeters for ethnologists who studied material culture.

We shall return to some of these questions below. The epistolary sources disclose the strategies of The Four – but also the absence of strategies in the other camp. Erixon learned for the first time that The Four had claimed full powers when he received in mid June 1963 the first open letter addressed to him. He wrote to Christiansen:[74]

> Received today the enclosed protest letter from the revolution committee in Antwerp. I call it so, as it claims all powers. To me it is strange reading. I will not comment on the legal side of it. In the minutes from Brussels (which I have never fully accepted in some details) I have not found any basis for these claims, but I know that some people talked in a manner that sounded revolutionary. […] For my part, it is easy to answer, as they have misunderstood both my intentions and my decisions, not to speak of how they have misinterpreted the word "working group". This is sheer nonsense.

Worse attacks would follow, as discussed below. The reading of many of these documents is so surprising, and the campaign of The Four so aggressive, that one may wonder what was at stake, beyond the apparent territorial fights. Why did The Four distribute their reports to some four hundred scholars and institutes, why send out around one thousand preprinted formulas for adhesion, and why attack "the establishment" through open letters, spread to a broad scientific community?

One element of explanation may be sought in the structural constraints; CIAP was very difficult to change from within. Its bylaws prescribed voting rights for few persons – as its General Assembly was composed of up to three delegates only from each national committee. And the delegates had a right to vote only if the fees had been paid – which was the exception rather than rule. These rules were decided by UNESCO, and radical changes in the bylaws implied the risk of losing the seat in CIPSH and consequently the UNESCO funding. A revolution from the inside of CIAP was almost as difficult to imagine as a rising of the buried in a churchyard. Hence the usurpation of full powers.

Christiansen's dream was to strengthen the national committees, to make them function as intended. And when the secretary renewed his efforts, in spring 1963, to collect the overdue fees, it *could* be understood as a countermove to make the old system function; hence the strong reactions from The Four. Their logic was that the system could be changed only from the outside. They had to instigate a popular movement – through hundreds of postal missives and the spreading of minutes (whether forged or not), reports and

open attack letters. Also, they had to conquer the right to convene the General Assembly – which had to be an open-to-all assembly, with voting rights to all present.

The Four claimed to have a democratic approach; Erixon called it revolutionary. Erixon claimed to have a parliamentary approach; The Four called it despotic.

We cannot here follow in detail the work of The Four, which lasted almost two years and has left a rich heritage of letters and documents. In a later section I will focus on some main documents and the debate they triggered.

However, the relationship between Kurt Ranke and The Four deserves a few comments. Folklorists of today associate Ranke with ISFNR, his success story. Few if any know about his relations to CIAP and SIEF.[75] Apart from his election to the SIEF Council in 1964 (as one of 15 members), it is correct that he never held any office in these organizations, but his role was none the less for that. As it should be clear from the preceding pages, Ranke played a central role in the early phase of the reorganization process. From then on he had The Four do most of the work. It is no exaggeration to talk about the grey eminence and his henchmen.

Their correspondence is revealing. The day before their first meeting, in November 1962, Peeters wrote to Ranke to tell him about the forthcoming meeting:[76] "Your memorandum will provide the basis for our deliberations. I shall not forget to inform you about our first talks before the weekend." And shortly after:[77] "It will be a special pleasure for me […] to tell you all about our activity concerning CIAP […]." Under normal circumstances it should have been the president of CIAP that was consulted and informed. Even the confidential information was sent to Ranke, as for instance the list of persons whom they trusted and wanted to have as officers in the "new CIAP". As Peeters wrote to Ranke:[78]

> Enclosed you will find a copy of the list of persons to whom we have sent documentation on CIAP, as well as Lecotté's minutes; this is a confidential document, because the names of the candidates are mentioned in it […] We will talk more about it when we meet. I will keep you currently informed about everything that happens concerning our common enterprise [*unserer gemeinschaftlichen Unternehmung*].

The reporting continued all through the period; "The 21st of December [1963] we (Lecotté, Pinon and I) will come together for the last CIAP meeting. Immediately afterwards I will inform you about our results."[79] A notable difference between the two letters from Peeters quoted above, spanning 15 months, is the change from *Sie* to *Du*. There is a strange tone of connivance in the correspondence. As Peeters thought that very much information about the work of The Four should be kept secret, the words *vertraulich* or *confidentiel(le)* are often found in these letters. And Peeters regularly addressed Ranke for advice, almost orders even: "I would be happy to have an

answer from you, which I will forward to the three other members of the CIAP Reform committee, so I can inform them about your advice and your opinion."[80]

Ranke corresponded more freely with Wildhaber, whom he informed about important events: "One of the first days I will send an 'open letter' to the president of CIAP. I will duplicate it and send it to a great number of colleagues."[81]

Peeters reported happily to the other three when he had received messages from Ranke: "… [Ranke] has not yet found time to write his 'open letter' to Erixon [sic], but I think he approves completely of what we are doing."[82] Or: "Ranke wants the 4 to come together in November to conclude and to set up the list of names of the people who have joined."[83] There is no doubt that The Four regarded Ranke as their commander-in-chief: "Concerning the letter to Erixon, I [Peeters] do agree with our friend Wildhaber to send a copy to all those who were present in Brussels. […] In this way Ranke's position will be strengthened and the open letter will have more effect."[84]

Occasionally, the commander in Göttingen sent a clear admonition when he was dissatisfied, as he did to Peeters when Lecotté made a blunder or went too far:[85]

> The reason why I write you today in all urgency, is a letter I got from Professor Dias in Lisbon, where he informs me that Mr. Lecotté has tried to invite him and his Lisbon colleagues (as well as other European colleagues, I presume) to a meeting in Paris to discuss the organization of CIAP. I consider this very awkward and unfortunate for our own efforts [*einen sehr unerfreulichen Querschuss zu unseren eigenen Bemühungen*]. This information has made me very uncertain if I shouldn't just drop the whole CIAP business [*ob ich die ganze CIAP-Angelegenheit nicht in die Ecke werfe*] and devote myself to other, more rewarding tasks.

As will be seen from this and other letters, the lines of command followed a fixed pattern: with very few exceptions, Ranke's contact was with Peeters, whereas messages to Pinon and Lecotté went through Peeters. Wildhaber, on the other hand, communicated freely and directly with Ranke.

Without exposing himself, as he would have had to do if he had been member of the Reform committee, Ranke steered the process and got all the information he needed from his willing collaborators. He received reports, written as well as oral – as they met on quite a few occasions – and copies of important letters, and he gave his advice on policy questions. And he could let The Four attack Erixon and Christiansen as best they could, through open letters and other propaganda activities. As far as can be seen from the epistolary sources, Ranke did not meddle with details or interfere with the committee's discussions concerning the folklore debate or the name question. Actually, the texts which The Four produced in their reports concerning the delimitation of the field, the goals of folklore, etc., are so me-

diocre that Ranke cannot have had anything to do with it. But on a strategic topic like the right – or not – to convene the General Assembly, he told them what they could and could not do.

The campaign of The Four to attract future members was a way of measuring the support. But these lists were also a useful tool for Ranke and The Four when planning whom to invite to the Bonn and Athens meetings.[86]

The activities of The Four would have had little or no interest to posterity, had it not been for the fact that it was they who managed to rally the scholarly community and to conquer CIAP in September 1964. However, their plans, which on several points lacked a sense of reality, and their propaganda, which is best characterized by its bluntness, would hardly have succeeded without a better strategist in the background – that is, Kurt Ranke.

VII Three Reports and Hundreds of Comments

> Personally I feel that material culture is outside the French and Belgian colleagues' interests. And as I am a professor just in that subject, I do not wish personally to join the new organization, nor do [sic] my institute. But that is not to say that we are hostile against it. […] The papers you had forwarded [Report no. 2] were very confusing according to the discussion. Not even the explanation of "folklore" is sure, and the connection with [… IUAES] seems to be rather vague. (Axel Steensberg to Wildhaber, June 1963)[87]

Between the Brussels meeting in September 1962 and the General Assembly in Athens in September 1964, held in conjunction with a folktale congress arranged by Ranke's ISFNR, there were no regular CIAP reunions. However, in April 1964 the CIAP question was discussed in Bonn at a meeting planned by Kurt Ranke, during an atlas conference hosted by Matthias Zender.

The Four met in Antwerp in November 1962 (discussed above), in Paris in May, September and December 1963, and in Bonn in March 1964. In addition, the two Belgians – Peeters and Pinon – saw each other regularly, and there was intense correspondence, especially between Peeters, Pinon and Lecotté. Wildhaber spent the academic year 1963–64 in Bloomington, invited by Dorson, and for periods he was less active than the three others. But he kept regular and intimate contact with Ranke, to judge from the correspondence – letters which by the way do not lack sharp and even blunt characteristics of both adversaries and allies.

The Four made a report (no 2) on the basis of the 30 to 40 comments received on the first report. Report no. 2 was distributed in late May 1963 together with a revised proposal for bylaws, for a new round of comments. This came as a surprise to Erixon and Christiansen, who had expected that the committee would complete its mission by a report to the Board. Early in 1964 appeared report no. 3, based on around 100 letters received as well

11. "The Gang of Four". From the left Roger Lecotté (Paris), Roger Pinon (Liège), Robert Wildhaber (Basel), Karel C. Peeters (Antwerp). Photographer unknown.

as a series of minor gatherings, bilateral meetings, sessions at folktale conferences, etc. Especially the congresses in Santo Tirso (Portugal, June 1963) and in Budapest (October 1963)[88] served as forums for discussions on CIAP. Reports 2 and 3 were in greater part worked out by Pinon, the intended general secretary of the "new" CIAP. Report no. 3, with the adjusted bylaws, formed the basis for discussions in Bonn in April 1964. During 1963 and 1964 CIAP seems to have been discussed in every corner of Europe, and also on some North and South American university campuses.

Whereas the first bylaw proposal had been more or less a copy of the bylaws from 1954, the May 1963 version is much more elaborate after all the comments. The document is no longer called *Temporary bylaws [...]*, but *Proposed bylaws for the adoption of the General Assembly*.[89] Another important difference is that the "*arts et traditions*" of CIAP is replaced everywhere in the bylaws by *folklore*, except in the name of the organization (cf. the strategy revealed in the minutes). Also, Report no. 2 presents a set of arguments for using the term *folklore* and for adopting a more folkloristic profile.

The flow of comments to the reports covers hundreds of details. Among the most important issues were the questions of national committees, of the disciplinary field(s) to be covered, of the definition of *folklore*, and of the name of the organization. Opposition to leaving the system of membership based on national committees came from, among others, Rivière and Bratanić (Zagreb), in addition to Erixon and Christiansen. Gerhard Heilfurth (Marburg), himself president of one of the few functioning national organizations – the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Volkskunde*, also reacted negatively.[90] The argument for maintaining the national committee system, preferably in a strengthened form, was not only UNESCO's formal requirement. It was argued that national committees were indispensable for planning and

organizing big international projects, such as the European atlas. And there was the "democracy" argument: elected/designated national delegates would secure a more equal and even representation and prevent special groups from dominating the organization. But the majority wanted individual membership. To all those who would never have a chance of being designated, individual membership seemed more "democratic". By addressing a large number of scholars, The Four would logically get support for individual membership.

Not surprisingly, the proposed name of *folklore* for the discipline, and for the field(s) to be covered by a reorganized CIAP, was felt as a provocation to many commentators. Substantial parts of report no. 3 (35 pages) deal with nomenclature and delimitation issues. It is far from clear what the committee means by folklore, in Pinon's long, intricate and not always coherent text – a fact that was mentioned by several commentators. The arguments are often inextricably mixed, as the debate included the three issues – the delimitation of the field(s), the name(s) of the discipline and the name of the organization.

Many commentators, not least the Eastern Europeans, reacted to what might be read as a defence of the supremacy of folklore; some were quite critical, like Wolfgang Steinitz (East Berlin), or moderately, like Branimir Bratanić and Milovan Gavazzi (both Zagreb).[91] But reactions also came from Scandinavia. The comment to report no. 2 from Professor Axel Steensberg, the leader of the secretariat of ploughing implements in Copenhagen, is quoted in the introduction to this paragraph.

When Wolfgang Steinitz, earlier vice president of IUAES, reminded of the meaning of the term *folklore* in Northern and Eastern Europe and asked for a plan for a division of labour with IUAES, The Four retorted aggressively, almost holding Steinitz up to ridicule. The result was a polemic debate, which ended with a turnabout from Peeters, in the form of a submissive letter, attempting reconciliation.[92] The Four realized that they needed allies in Eastern Europe, and Steinitz – one of the foremost *Volkskundler* behind the Iron Curtain, would have been a difficult opponent.

Report no. 3 maintains that *folklore* – which they now openly wanted to use in the name of the new organization – covers both spiritual and material culture, but the text is still full of ambiguities, as are also the examples used. Many critics raised their voice against *folklore* in the name of the organization, whereas others expressed their satisfaction: "I am glad to see that they are inclined to retain the name Folklore", wrote Stith Thompson; to him, as American, folklore was the generic term for culture studies.[93] Another difficulty was that the description of the field (by The Four) is all the time held in negative terms, i.e. as a delimitation *against* other (anthropological, ethnological and ethnographical) disciplines.

Another reason for the lack of clarity of the reports is that The Four themselves held deviating opinions of these questions. Pinon and Lecotté adhered to a restricted conception of *folklore* as spiritual culture. In their internal correspondence, the two repeatedly argue for the "true" or the "pure" folklore as a distinct scientific discipline, and they do not conceal that they would prefer to make CIAP an organization for folklore in a restricted sense. Peeters and Wildhaber, on the other hand, included both spiritual and material culture in the concept of *folklore*. Lecotté and Pinon insisted on *folklore* as the sole term in the name of the organization (a stance they hid as long as possible, to avoid a confrontation with *les Nordiques*), whereas Peeters seems to have been indifferent to the name.

Report no. 3 contains a description of a future CIAP which was remarkably unrealistic, for its conception of the discipline as well as its organizational framing. The "new CIAP" is presented as an "international centre" for a "synthesis of folklore", where "the laws of folklore" should be unveiled. The Four propose a worldwide organization, based on continental sub-organizations (Africa, America, etc.), and with the European one hosting the central administration – hence perhaps Pinion's dream of the *Palais de Congrès* as the headquarters. And they proposed a hierarchical cycle of recurring congresses – on national, international and intercontinental levels – which would offer respectively local, comparative and synthesizing approaches.[94] Not less remarkable – in a committee report – is the overt attack on Christiansen and Erixon, and the no less overt subjection to Ranke, with reference to his *Memorandum*.

VIII 1963 – CIAP's Annus Horribilis

> Dear Hans
> Sigurd Erixon has sent me a copy of his answer to a letter from the Revolution Junta [… the dispatch of report no. 2 from The Four]. Erixon's answer was clear and decorous. When you write and ask me what we should do, I don't know. Personally I would propose "Shut up" or "Go to hell" – if it can be put in an academic manner […] Or something like that – you must discuss with Sigurd Erixon, whether we should react "officially", more than is already done. None of those gentlemen have yet answered any letter from me.
> (R. Th. Christiansen to Hans Nettelblad, July 1963).[95]

> We have tried to protect Ch[ristiansen], but I think it's all over with him now. (Erixon, September 1963)[96]

The spring and summer of 1963 represented an escalation. This situation must be seen against the backdrop of a planned CIAP Board meeting, which Erixon tried to organize in June in Stockholm. As this incident contributed in a decisive manner to a worsening of the climate, a brief rehearsal is necessary.

In the winter of 1962–63 Kurt Ranke – still as a non-member – took an

initiative for a CIAP Board meeting in Göttingen in September 1963. Christiansen and Erixon, who were on the lookout for possible venues and funding for convening the Board, in order to conclude the process, accepted the offer. However, an unexpected possibility that turned up in January 1963 gave hope for the funding of a Board meeting in Stockholm as early as in June, as well as offering a venue for a General Assembly. The recently established Wenner-Gren Center in Stockholm and its Nordic Council for Anthropological Sciences offered to host a CIAP meeting, in conjunction with the council's seminar on anthropological research in Europe and UNESCO's role. Christiansen agreed, and so did Ranke – who withdrew his proposal for Göttingen.

Erixon started planning a broad gathering, for both the Board and the General Assembly as well as for the former Voksenåsen and the present Brussels committees. He followed Ranke's advice[97] to make thorough preparations, by setting up a local organizing committee – with himself as chairman and Gustav Ränk, Åke Hultkrantz and Anders Nyman as members.[98]

On a visit to UNESCO, however, the Nordic Council's secretary learned that CIAP was no longer considered a full member of CIPSH – and not even a member merged with IUAES, but only a sub-commission *under* IUAES. CIAP had been "degraded" a second time in the UNESCO system because its national committees still had not paid their fees. The Nordic Council lost interest in CIAP, but after long deliberations it offered a reduced contribution towards the travel costs for Board members only, for them to join the Council's June seminar in Stockholm. Erixon, who was still very intent on convening the Board in order to discuss new bylaws and the UNESCO status, sent out invitations. By the end of March, however, the Nordic Council unexpectedly changed the date of the seminar to the beginning of May. With far too small a grant at his disposal, a changed schedule and too short time to organize things properly, Erixon had to cancel the meeting.

In the letters of cancellation Erixon informed that Christiansen alone would meet the CIPSH secretary in Stockholm, in order to obtain information about CIAP's present status. He also informed that the local organizing committee would discuss the bylaw proposal, in order to prepare the next Board meeting.[99] Erixon's initial initiative for a Stockholm meeting was in itself badly received by The Four, as well as the announcement of Christiansen's talks with d'Ormesson and the work of the local organizing committee.

The results of Christiansen's talks with the UNESCO officials turned out detrimental to the plans of The Four. Christiansen got the green light from CIPSH, including allocations for 1963–64, acceptance to defer the convening of a General Assembly to September 1964 (Athens), as well as a special allocation for this event.[100] This meant that Erixon now con-

trolled the train of events, because the right to convene the General Assembly and to define the agenda were of vital importance. When Christiansen also signalled, in a letter to Ranke and The Four, that d'Ormesson thought that the proposed bylaw changes could easily be adapted to the present bylaws and an improved system of national committees, and that the name of CIAP could be kept, the alarm bells must have rung. When this news reached The Four, Peeters wrote to Ranke: "It is clear from this letter that we must make an effort if we still want to secure CIAP", adding: "[…] this has changed nothing to our plans for CIAP".[101] Lecotté formulated it this way:[102] "Christiansen's letter gives food for thought. If we do not convene an Assembly, all we have done will be *neutralized*, to his advantage; he will take all the credit and in Athens people will be impressed by him."

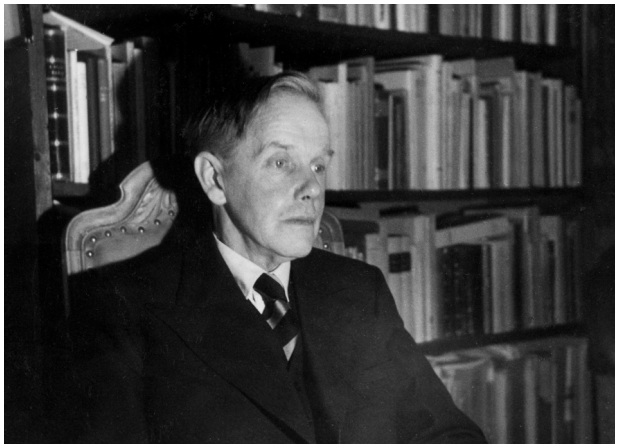
The countermove was two letters from The Four, one to Erixon (8 June) and one to Christiansen (10 June). The letter to Erixon contained some reproofs and inquisitorial questions, and it had an aggressive but not impolite form.[103] This letter was "open", in the sense that copies were distributed to around 30 persons.[104] Not being informed about this broad distribution, Erixon had no chance to correct publicly the misinformation it contained. Two days later the other open letter arrived, and Erixon sent a note to the secretary Nettelblad:[105]

> […] the train moves on. Yesterday I got a message from Christiansen who informed me that he had received a copy of the [open] letter to me from "the revolutionary committee", but he thought I should ignore most of it. This evening however the main grenade hit the president's stronghold, through a complicated document [… a very hard personal attack on Christiansen.]

The letter to Christiansen, "the main grenade" as Erixon called it, was a frontal attack on Christiansen and the national committee system, with the following conclusion:[106]

> […] all we do is to catalyse the discontent and the discouragement of all the members, which are expressed on all levels by those who have been in contact with our organization. Your nine years of presidency is the most disappointing in the whole of CIAP's history. Why don't you draw the conclusion?

Little did Erixon know that a much heavier gun was just being loaded and aimed at Oslo – this time from Göttingen, from Ranke himself. Ranke hid as much as possible behind The Four. On this occasion, however, the grey eminence chose to expose himself. The cancellation of the Board meeting in Stockholm was to Ranke's advantage, giving him an opportunity to expose Erixon and Christiansen to criticism and to come to the rescue with a proposal for another venue – where it would be much easier for him to exert control. So early in May Ranke informed Peeters that he found Erixon's explanations for the cancellation "so groundless" and the deferment of the reform so negative for "the urgent renewal process" that he would send Chris-



12. Reidar Th. Christiansen, president of CIAP from 1954 to 1964. Probably taken before the war. Photo belonging to Elin Christiansen Smit.

tiansen an open letter, in addition to looking for a new venue somewhere in Germany.[107]

It was too late now for Ranke to repeat his former proposal for a Board meeting in Göttingen in September 1963. The next upcoming possibility was a German atlas conference in Bonn in April 1964. Ranke stressed that it would be "a heavy burden to prepare it",[108] but Matthias Zender was willing to cooperate:[109] "It will be possible for him to invite a number of West European scholars, who would be on our list anyway. I will try to find money to invite the additional people. I am thinking of a group of 30 to 40 persons." "The list" Ranke referred to contained the names of those who had responded positively to the loyalty campaign of The Four, and whom it might be suitable to invite.

Ranke's open letter to president Christiansen – *Offener Brief an den Herrn Präsidenten der CIAP* – was dated 2 July 1963 and distributed in both German and French.[110] This long letter is an extraordinary text, held in a polite style and making elegant use of a series of rhetorical effects. It has nothing of the aggressiveness or bluntness of the two prior open letters from The Four. Ranke starts by thanking Christiansen warmly for all his efforts. He then expresses his profound concern for the failure of all these efforts, he praises the work of The Four, presents the activities of Christiansen – however well-intentioned they might be – as detrimental, even inimical to the efforts of The Four. He proceeds to draw a list of similar organizations worldwide, claiming their great successes – implicitly asking: Why has ours failed? The scenario is that they will take CIAP's place. Ranke then generously offers to serve as a mediator and bridge builder, to find compromises between the two sides, and then comes up with a series of proposals, including an invitation to Bonn.

Finally, after having drawn Christiansen down in the mud, he lifts him up again and appeals to his future cooperation and support. Ranke balances on a razor's edge. He does never lie, but he plays ignorant where he certainly knew better, and he contributed to the spreading of dubious information where he should know better. In short, Ranke elegantly executed Christiansen publicly, and at the same time appeared himself as CIAP's rescuer. "An eloquently put letter", was Dorson's comment when it reached the other side of the Atlantic.[111] Erixon's comment, with regard to Christiansen, was even more telling: "I think it's all over with him now." Other reactions show that the letter had a solid impact on folklorists who had little or no knowledge of the process.

Why attack only Christiansen, when it was Erixon – as Ranke knew very well – who first and foremost had to be neutralized? Erixon enjoyed a deep respect among European ethnologists and folklorists, for his scholarship as well as for his unflagging fight for European ethnology and his many services to CIAP. A public attack on Erixon would have had little credibility and probably a reverse effect. Actually, several persons reacted to the attacks of The Four against Erixon. Erixon was also a feared opponent. In one of their strategic discussions, Pinon actually called Erixon "*la grosse artillerie*" – "the heavy artillery" of the North.[112]

Ranke was careful not to engage in an open conflict with Erixon. When addressing Erixon directly and privately, he was amiable and polite, as can be seen from a letter from Erixon to Nettelblad two months later: "[…] Today I received a very kind letter from Professor Ranke […] He says that he understands and acknowledges my attitude and my actions, and also that our efforts to help CIAP clearly are well intended and unselfish."[113]

So Ranke's strategy was as clear as his letter was eloquent: By discrediting the weakest part of the chain, he would neutralize both. And Erixon, seeing very well the impact of the direct grenade hit in Oslo, reacted exactly as Ranke must have hoped – that is, to stay neutral. Or as he stoically wrote in a note a little later:[114]

I have consulted Hans Nettelblad the 12/9. We decided to await some sort of sign of life from Christiansen. As things have moved now, it is best to stay neutral. We have tried to protect Ch[ristiansen], but I think it's all over with him now.

IX 1964 – via Bonn to Athens

Je souhaite très vivement que des relations organiques s'établissent entre ce congrès [ICAES/UIAES in Moscow, Aug. 1964] et la CIAP. Notre discipline s'est étiolée à force de s'isoler de l'ethnologie générale, elle devrait restaurer tous ces liens avec elle, sans méconnaître pour autant ses tâches spécifiques.

L'idée des comités nationaux s'est évaporée dans les statuts [de la CIAP …] J'espère qu'on reviendra un jour à cette structure, que je crois seule vraiment capable, à l'exemple de ce que font les grandes organisations internationales, d'organiser en

dehors des chapelles une solide coopération entre les experts des divers pays.
(G. H. Rivière to Hans Nettelblad/Sigurd Erixon, August 1964)[115]

To explain why Erixon, who turned 75 in 1963, invested so much energy in CIAP, one must keep in mind both the immediate issues at stake, that is, to assure the financing of the current projects, as well as his further visions for greater projects and a unified discipline. In his letters he shows a deep concern for the reactions from CIPSH to the disorder in CIAP and their threats to withhold or stop the grants. With his earlier experience as a delegate to the UNESCO commissions, Erixon had a better knowledge of the international bureaucracy than many of his colleagues.

It was Erixon who had impatiently pushed Christiansen to arrange the Voksenåsen meeting in 1961. For months he asked no less impatiently for the minutes from the meeting. And it was Erixon who spurred Ranke in spring 1962 to come up with a draft, and it was Erixon who wanted to deliberate with Ranke and Roukens – in spite of Christiansen's hesitation. It was Erixon who planned the Brussels venue in September 1962 – even if others grasped the occasion for a putsch. Again it was Erixon who tried to organize a meeting in Stockholm in 1963 – and who succeeded in making Christiansen meet the UNESCO representatives. And during the president's silence after the escalation in summer 1963, it was Erixon who took new initiatives before the Bonn meeting in 1964.

After the cancellation of the Stockholm meeting, Ranke had offered a venue in Bonn to discuss report no. 3 from The Four, to be held in April 1964. Ranke wanted Christiansen to summon this meeting, but Christiansen refused.[116] Erixon and Christiansen would not accept defining it as a Board meeting. Christiansen, who spent the academic year 1963–64 in Leeds and still used crutches, did not want to go Bonn himself. But he sent a letter, proposed and drafted by Erixon, to be read to the participants. The letter welcomed a necessary reform process but warned against dropping the national committees.[117]

Erixon decided to participate, partly because Zender's main conference was on atlas questions and he wanted to propose a consolidation of the CIAP atlas commission, and partly because he wanted to discuss the membership paragraph in the bylaws proposed by The Four. Erixon hoped to a find way out of the dilemma by proposing a double system, with nationally designated members (to maintain the UNESCO funding) in addition to an open membership system. In cooperation with the Swedish national committee he worked out an amendment proposal, which he sent to Peeters before the Bonn meeting.[118]

In the other camp, the April meeting in Bonn was well prepared. Ranke organized a preparatory meeting in Bonn in early March, with Zender, Roukens and himself present plus The Four. According to the minutes[119] they gave the bylaws a last finish; the name of CIAP was kept – strategically

– but "folklore" was used everywhere in the text, and the national committees were still left out. They decided whom to invite – with the list of loyal persons at hand.

It was by no means an open meeting. Peeters decided not to mention the April Bonn meeting in report no. 3, or as he explained in a letter to Pinon: "[…] because others will ask why they were not invited to that meeting."[120] At the preparatory meeting they also discussed how to deal with the present Board – whether they should ask it to resign or simply regard it as not having a legal basis any longer. Their conclusion was to follow the advice of the CIPSH secretary d'Ormesson, "to act legally and not make a scandal". However, the meeting charged Roukens with the task of trying to persuade Christiansen to resign before Athens. The only admonition seems to have come from Zender, who warned that the German *Volkskundler* wanted to collaborate with all their colleagues and would not accept that they went too far. The Athens agenda was also discussed; the meeting should start with the dissolution of the old Board, and then a provisional Board should lead the deliberations and the election.

A few days before the Bonn venue (27-–29 April 1964), Lecotté sent a post card to Peeters. He was alarmed by a new memorandum which had just arrived at his desk:[121]

> […] a memorandum signed Géza de Rohan-Csermak. He's an *attaché* at the *Musée de l'homme*, a friend of G. H. Rivière and very active. Already in Santo Tirso he cultivated his contacts. He talked for a long time with GHR [Rivière] and his thesis closely reflects the views of the latter, who will not hear of anything but Ethnology. I think the author has received our reports […] He could have responded and expressed his opinion like others – he prefers to play superstar […] we will talk about it in Bonn.

Géza de Rohan-Csermak's entry on the scene came to mean a good deal to Erixon, especially from 1965 onwards, when they started close cooperation. The unreserved support of the young and rather militant de Rohan-Csermak (1926–76) seems to have spurred the old veteran to a continued fight. Among other things, de Rohan-Csermak would become the co-founder and first editor of Erixon's journal *Ethnologia Europaea*. Several persons were positively surprised when de Rohan-Csermak's memorandum unexpectedly appeared. Or as Bratanić wrote to Erixon:[122] "[…] it was a pleasure, for once, to read something intelligent. Don't you think that here we see the emergence of a young *Secrétaire Général*?" But Pinon was deeply offended by this "*super-réformateur*" who showed so little respect for the Reform committee. He immediately made a detailed analysis[123] of the document. He had to admit that it had certain qualities, but he dismissed its ethnological and anthropological profile.

The memorandum, *Pour une association d'ethnologie européenne*,[124] is a well-structured and coherent document of 46 pages, dated "Easter

1964". The first half gives a historical overview of European ethnological cooperation since the end of the nineteenth century (and this overview impressed even Pinon), discusses the different traditions, as well as the relation between European ethnology in Europe and the study of European heritage and traditions worldwide – thus bridging the European and the global, and situating European ethnology as a global discipline. Its aim is a synthesis of European and non-European ethnology and a closer integration of the three main study objects of ethnology: spiritual, material and social culture.

The second half discusses practical issues of a reform: the name, the relationship to UNESCO and other organisms, a future review and the bibliography, as well as questions of financing. As for the bylaws, de Rohan-Csermak gives – somewhat reluctantly – his acceptance to the ones proposed by The Four, on condition that *folklore* be replaced by *ethnology*; the term for a field of study could not be the designation of a scientific discipline. He keeps a neutral tone, but when discussing the problems of terminology, folklore and anthropology, he cannot refrain from an assault on The Four, for "imposing their personal opinion […] on a whole science" and for having engaged in "an aggressive and impolite diatribe against a respected professor of ethnology" [i.e. Steinitz].

At the April meeting in Bonn, with around 40 scholars present and Roukens presiding, de Rohan-Csermak's memorandum – by all standards the most coherent and scholarly solid document produced in the reform process – was quickly dismissed with two remarks: it was not an official document, and it coincided on several points with the proposals of The Four.[125] The latter judgement was a completely incredible comparison. Nor is there any trace in the minutes of a debate on Erixon's compromise proposal for a membership system with both individual members and national delegates. It was agreed that the name of CIAP should be kept. The most noteworthy change is that *folklore* was replaced by *vie et traditions populaires* – "folk life and folk traditions" – in the bylaws. This was explained in the minutes as "a compromise to end all the quarrels on the name of the discipline". As it would turn out, the latter decisions were only strategic moves from The Four, to be violated at the Athens meeting. And the Reform Commission – The Four, who formally had completed their mission – was prolonged, with a mandate to prepare the Athens meeting – that is, a mandate from a loose group with no formal authority on CIAP questions.

The Four had proposed a "CIAP *universelle*", a worldwide organization, based on continental sections. However, a majority in Bonn found this too difficult; among other problems, there already existed the South American CIPF (see above). It was decided that only a European section should be started in Athens, but the bylaws should be formulated in a way that would later permit the establishment of continental sections.

The relations to Eastern Europe came more into focus in this late phase of the reform process. In the 1950s, contacts were rather few across the Iron Curtain, and after the war CIAP had been an organization for Western Europe. Only one Eastern country had been represented on the CIAP Board, when Professor Xavier Pywocki (Warsaw) was elected in 1955. But with the decline of CIAP in the following years he hardly took part in any activities. Contacts were better with the politically freer Yugoslavia; Milovan Gavazzi (Zagreb) was on the Board since 1954, and since the Amsterdam conference in 1955 Branimir Bratanić (Zagreb) joined the cartography commission. The East-West incident that took place between Oskar Looritz (Estonia/ Sweden) and Wolfgang Steinitz (DDR) at the CIAP congress in 1955 (Rogan 2013:142–43), had created a cold front between CIAP and Eastern Europe for some years. However, the early 1960s represented a somewhat warmer climate, and both camps in the CIAP conflict saw the necessity of closer contacts (see below on the atlas question).

The same Steinitz had criticized The Four in 1963 for their narrow conception of folklore and ended up in a hard polemic with them (see above). After the Bonn meeting there was a kind of reconciliation; in the summer of 1964, Steinitz reported to Peeters and Pinon that he had registered reluctance to the CIAP reform among Soviet, Bulgarian and other Eastern European colleagues. One of their concerns was the reformers' demarcation against the anthropological sciences. At the ICAES (IUAES) congress in Moscow the same summer, where folklore and European ethnology were allotted several sessions, CIAP and its reform had been discussed. The Eastern Europeans did not hail the idea of a rival organization to IUAES. Steinitz explained that he had done his best to convince his colleagues, but he advised The Four to establish better contacts with Eastern Europe, and even to invite a person from a socialist country to join the Reform committee.[126] The Four immediately saw the point of an East European campaign and established contact with two folklorists – Gyula Ortutay (Budapest) and Mihai Pop (Bucharest). The latter would soon afterwards become one of the vice presidents of SIEF.

After the Bonn event both camps invoked the right to convene the meeting in Athens. Erixon and Christiansen planned an agenda, and so did The Four. And both sent invitations for the same venue; the president and the secretary to the national committees and other official delegates, and The Four to the scholars on their adhesion list. When Nettelblad sent out invoices for the fees (for the years 1959 to 1964!), in order to secure as many legal votes as possible according to the (old) bylaws, The Four regarded it as a "manoeuvre". And when Christiansen applied to CIPSH for support for travel costs for Board members and other participants, The Four intervened in order to stop the grant. CIPSH secretary Jean d'Ormesson, wanting a re-

form but insisting on legal procedures, must have found the situation rather delicate.[127]

On 27 July 1964 the secretary Nettelblad knocked on Rivière's door in Paris. The topic of their conversation was whether Géza de Rohan-Csermak could become general secretary of CIAP. Csermak was willing, but Rivière's acceptance was necessary, as his superior at the museum.[128] Rivière gave his acceptance, and Christiansen immediately appointed Csermak as interim general secretary, to replace Nettelblad at the assembly in Athens. In late August Csermak went to Stockholm, where he had talks with Erixon and Nettelblad. Erixon, who had first been hesitant about this solution, changed his mind after Csermak's two-day visit. "We found him wise, very balanced and diplomatic", Erixon wrote to Bratanić.[129] And Dias, who had met him at the Santo Tirso congress, was no less enthusiastic in a letter to Erixon:[130] "He is young, intelligent, and ambitious; he speaks foreign languages and – what is especially important – he has a broad and scientific outlook on ethnology and he does not share the narrow and limited conception of the folklorists." It is also clear that Pinon and Lecotté feared him, to judge from several base comments on him in their internal correspondence.

The Athens meeting was imminent, and Csermak did not waste his time. The proposition for alternative bylaws, presented in the name of Christiansen, was his work. His main amendments were the suppression of the opening for continental committees and the reintroduction of national committees, supplemented by individual membership – i.e. Erixon's proposal. And he obtained from the CIPSH secretary d'Ormesson economic support for the travel of the Board members. The latter could not resist adding that he had now "received from several sides initiatives, the strict legality of which might be questioned".[131]

For various reasons, neither Erixon nor Rivière nor Dias could be present in Athens. Correspondence in the weeks preceding the assembly gives a picture of what was at stake. In a letter[132] to his deputy, Marie-Louise Tenèze (MNATP), Rivière gives directives as to how she should vote. Concerning the terminology, she should accept the compromise *folk life and folk traditions*, which replaced *folklore*. She should repeat Rivière's proposal from Bonn that CIAP's close relationship to IUAES should be specifically mentioned in the bylaws. And she was ordered to propose the reintroduction of national committees, with a motivation that coincided with the view of Erixon – beyond that of the purely economic (UNESCO) considerations: "I still sincerely believe that the only way for an organization, with high ambitions to develop itself with the desired efficiency and equity, is to structure itself on the basis of national committees; otherwise the risk is to end up with congregations and sects."

Rivière's fourth admonition concerns the Reform committee's proposal for continental committees, that is, the planned umbrella structure that was

supposed to make CIAP (at a later stage) a worldwide organization, and thus satisfy UNESCO's requirement of being global. To him, as well as to Erixon, Dias and de Rohan-Csermak, the universal aspect of CIAP should derive from scientific considerations and grow out of its object of study, and not be linked primarily to an administrative structure. The idea of CIAP trying to create something parallel or rival to IUAES was to him both unrealistic and foolhardy.

Erixon, who had no special interest in joining the folk narrative conference in Athens, found the travel from Stockholm to Athens too strenuous and expensive. Like Rivière, he gave priority to the IUAES (ICAES) congress in Moscow in August, where atlas questions were among the topics to be discussed. In Moscow close links were knit between CIAP's cartography commission, IUAES and Russian researchers, with a view to covering all of Europe. For Erixon, as for Rivière, it seems that IUAES had become just as interesting as CIAP. Furthermore, Erixon was very satisfied with the strong interest among Russian cartographers for material culture issues. He reveals in letters to other cartography specialists – Vilkuna, Dias and Bratanić – that he was in doubt as to whether the cartography commission should be considered a CIAP commission any longer, as it had received no support since 1954.[133]

In the weeks before the assembly in Athens, Erixon exchanged views with several actors. He was preoccupied with formal aspects of voting and proxy voting, as most of the Board members would be absent. Bratanić and Erixon carefully analysed the situation, concluding that it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to carry through a General Assembly in a fully legal way; there would be too few present with a vote, if the bylaws in force were to be followed, to reach a valid decision. Some sort of compromise had to be sought.[134]

Erixon had not quite given up hope of getting CIAP on the rails again, so he asked – in agreement with Christiansen – Dias to stand for the presidency. They could accept Ranke as vice president. Pragmatic as Erixon was, he would even – "in an emergency"[135] – accept Ranke as president, if Dias was willing to be vice president. Erixon certainly had his suspicions, but he could not know – as little as anyone else – about the very close bonds between Ranke and The Four. Their candidate for the position of general secretary was Géza de Rohan-Csermak.

Dias agreed wholeheartedly on the choice of secretary, but feared that "the consolidated folklorists will try to fill all important positions in CIAP". As for his own candidacy, Dias replied that the desire to be president of "a folkloristic CIAP" was indeed small, and that he would never accept the vice presidency under a folklorist president; "[…] this would force me to unproductive compromises […] and deprive me of my liberty to perhaps join an effort to establish another European ethnological organization […]".[136]

We may conclude that what was at stake – and more or less explicitly discussed – on the eve of the meeting in Athens, were the membership basis (national committees or individuals); the geographical scope (Europe or the world); a universality founded on administrative criteria (a federation of continental sections) or on scientific criteria (subject matter); the division of labour and the organizational relations to the anthropological sciences; the definition of the discipline (folklore in a restricted sense, or material and social culture as well). There was certainly a hegemonic struggle between folklore and ethnology, but also – regarding Ranke – a struggle for personal power (Rogan 2014).

This is not to say that there was an absolutely clear-cut division between two camps. To some extent, there were crossing and intersecting interests. Not everyone on the adhesion list would subscribe to all that The Four proposed.

Erixon had won great victories in Paris in 1954 and especially in Amsterdam in 1955, when many of the above issues were discussed. In several ways, Athens would offer a replay of the results he had harvested on these two occasions.

X September 1964 – Athens and the Second Putsch

Auf diese Weise wurde in Athen eine "Abstimmungsmaschine" geschaffen, die blind alles annahm oder ablehnte, was von ihr erwartet wurde […] Es war nicht schwer mit solchen Mitteln jene zu "besiegen", die nicht für solche Methoden vorbereitet waren, die sich auf die Kraft der Argumente verliessen und Vernünftigeres zu tun hatten, als sich für einen solchen "Kampf" und "Machtergreifung" auszurüsten. […]
(Branimir Bratanić, September 1965) [137]

A Athènes où nous avons espéré sa renaissance, la CIAP est morte légalement et spirituellement. […] La question se pose: qui a tué la CIAP, qui sont les responsables de son extinction? La réponse n'est pas douteuse, car tous ce qui suivent attentivement le développement du mouvmement d'une réforme si souhaitée, voient avec angoisee, depuis deux ans, l'activité aussi illégale qu'aggressive d'un groupe restreint de dillettantes ou semi-dillettantes dans nos recherches d'ethnologie européenne.
(Géza de Rohan-Csermak, September 1965)[138]

The CIAP Board meeting and the General Assembly were strategically placed on the 7th and 8th of September, in between a congress of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research and a workshop on a folklorist book series. With no clear legal procedures to follow, there was a strong tension in the air. The most nervous person was probably Peeters, to judge from his personal papers,[139] with short notes in the margins: "The 4 cannot make a fool of themselves", "If the 4 aren't unanimous, all has to be redone", "I have contacted lawyers", etc. Some were probably discreet messages to Pinon or Lecotté during the deliberations.

The sources for what happened in Athens are of two kinds. First there are the official minutes, later printed in *S.I.E.F–Informations* no. 1. These give short notices of the voting and the decisions taken, but do not contain any information about the debates, the issues at stake, or the train of events. The same applies to some reports published in scholarly journals (e.g. Beitl 1964). The other type of source is the first-hand witness reports, from central actors present at both the closed and open meetings – in this case long and very detailed reports from Bratanić and de Rohan-Csermak. The official minutes are the winners' version, certainly correct as regards the formal decisions taken, but leaving out all that is not strictly necessary to broadcast. Their lack of objectivity resides in all that is left out. The two first-hand reports add and thus rectify, but being the losers' version they are no less subjective than the official sources. When I find it necessary to remind readers of this obvious fact, it is because the eyewitness reports from Athens unveil a series of events, adversities and tribulations which were little visible to those who did not participate in the closed meetings, and thus hidden to the scholarly community at large.

The official minutes from the Board meeting are only a few lines, but the above-mentioned reports narrate in detail what happened. Actually, it was not an ordinary Board meeting, as only three Board members were present (Christiansen, Roukens, Thompson), two by proxy (Bratanić for Erixon and Gavazzi, and Znamierowska-Prüfferowa for Piwocki), and Csermak as interim secretary. In addition, Ranke and The Four participated in all sessions. A major issue was negotiations on the procedures for the General Assembly, including several attempts by The Four to disallow the authority of Csermak. The latter reports on Peeters' fits of rage and very blunt attacks during the closed sessions – episodes that are confirmed in other letters,[140] and of Christiansen's threatening to leave the meeting if Csermak were expelled. In his private papers, Peeters have noted sentences like: "150 pers[onal] and instit[utional] adhesions, Bonn approval from 40 persons representing 17 countries – and now when all is ready R[ohan] C[serma]k turns up", "The General Assembly should decide whether it's the Committee of 4 who should assist Christiansen, or is it R. Ck.", etc.

At the General Assembly, The Four took the direction; they seated themselves at the presidential table together with Roukens. Csermak was forced to step down and take a seat with the assembly, while Christiansen chose the role of an observer. The new bylaws were voted on first, and then followed the election of the president and the members of the Administrative Council, and finally a vote on the name of the organization.

During the bylaw debate, a proposal to combine national delegates with personal members was voted down, whereas a system with continental commissions was reintroduced. Contrary to the bylaws, Roukens and The Four demanded the election of the president first – and Peeters was elected.

Among the 15 members elected to the Administrative Council were Wildhaber, Roukens, Zender and Ranke, whereas Bratanić did not get sufficient votes. The Administrative Council then constituted itself, with the result that Mihai Pop (Bucharest), Carl-Herman Tillhagen (Stockholm) and Richard Dorson (Bloomington) became vice presidents, Pinon general secretary and Lecotté treasurer. This meant that Peeters, Pinon and Lecotté now formed the core of the executive Board; after two years of work they had reached their goal of filling these positions themselves.[141] The leading team of six were all folklorists in the restricted sense. Critics like Erixon and Rivière were appointed honorary members. Christiansen was appointed honorary president, an appointment that created some turmoil.[142]

The new Council decided to break the Bonn compromise to keep the name of CIAP. They summoned the Assembly again and launched a new name for a vote. After a close race (17 against 15) *la Société Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore* (SIEF) replaced *la Commission d'Art et Tradition Populaires*. Ranke had now got his "society" in the name, and Pinon and Lecotté their "folklore". This was a blow to all those who wanted closer collaboration with the anthropological sciences, IUAES and CIPSH. The old name had given a hope of continued contact, but a new name as well as a new organization might be interpreted as a full break and would hardly be accepted by CIPSH. It was also a strike against those who were of the opinion that folklore was an integral part of European ethnology. There is more to a name than just the name …

During the General Assembly a rather chaotic situation arose concerning who had voting rights, as no members were yet registered. In the end everyone present were allowed to vote, and the proxy votes from absent Board members were not accepted. There were some irregularities in relation to both the old and the new bylaws, such as the refusal to use the proxy votes and the sequence of the elections. Csermak drafted a letter of complaint to CIPSH, but the older and wiser Bratanić dissuaded him from sending it.[143]

After the Athens meetings Csermak wrote his long report[144] (22 pages), and Bratanić a somewhat shorter one, in addition to a comment on Csermak's report (in total 10–12 pages), where he confirms the latter's version of the events.[145] These documents are so detailed that it is impossible to do them justice in this article. Csermak describes in detail attacks and personal insults he suffered from Peeters, and what he calls "the putsch". The bitterness of Csermak's text may be rendered through a few sentences from the conclusion of his long letter (p. 21):

> We have certainly been "dupes". But under no circumstances would we have accepted using the same arms. To conduct electoral campaigns, to spread rumours, to go from door to door to win votes – that is the job of village politicians, but it is unworthy of us who have science as our vocation. […] We were ready to discuss any theoretical or methodological aspect of our research. But we were not good at defending ourselves against attacks that came more often from behind than in front, by these "Sturmabteilungsmänner".

Csermak's wording was certainly intentional. When Ranke – with a past from *Ahnenerbe*, the Nazi party (NSDAP) and even its *Sturmabteilung* – later got his hands on a copy of the letter – he reacted furiously to this "*Ungeheuerlichkeit*".[146]

Bratanić's shorter report[147] is more interesting in that it differentiates between a descriptive, an analytical and an assessing part. It contains an election analysis which indicates that the tactical steps – cf. the membership question and the voting sequence – influenced the result of the elections. It is also clear from his report that Wildhaber and Ranke were the dominating voices at the General Assembly, and that it was Ranke who gave The Four the necessary authority. As Bratanić was less personally involved than Csermak, not being the target of personal attacks, it is worthwhile listening to a longer quotation from his § 3, bearing the caption "My personal assessment" (pp. 5–6):[148]

My personal assessment of all these events is very negative. I cannot hide that the way the Assembly was conducted and the behaviour of the leading "Reformers" disappointed me very much. By the leading "Reformers" I mean not only the 4 members of the Reform Commission, but also professor Ranke and perhaps even some others. Their behaviour towards the old Board and towards all who did not unconditionally and in all questions side with the "Reformers" cannot be described in more positive terms than unfair. The (apparent and supposed) errors and weaknesses of the old Board were persistently regarded as unforgivable, whereas the much more important errors, awkwardness, even unacceptable behaviour of the Reform Commission have evidently been considered acceptable and normal […]

By spending very much time and other resources the "Reformers" have directed all their energy – which is not little – towards a small and narrow target: to take over completely and unconditionally the organization of CIAP […] Already the displacement of the venue to Athens, to a congress treating a very narrow topic, and only one month after the big [IUAES] congress in Moscow, where a much greater number of interested colleagues – ethnologists as well as folklorists – participated (4 out the 8 that gave me proxy), made one suspect that it was the intention all the time to reduce the CIAP Assembly to a small and specialized circle. This impression was strengthened by the list of preliminary new members of CIAP [the adhesion list] (for a large part folklorists in the narrow meaning) […] and the very bizarre methods of recruiting these members […]

In this way a "voting machine" was organized in Athens […] With such methods it was not difficult to defeat those who were unprepared, those who trusted the force of arguments and had more important things to do than to prepare themselves for such a "fight" and "power usurpation". The most depressing, and the worst of all, is that this petty and narrow-minded fighting spirit is without any real purpose (the introduction of the term "ethnology" in the name of the organization – a term that they have previously attacked aggressively – *after* their "usurpation of power", is a good example of the lack of principles in this "fight") […]

Anyway, the result is that not only are all the members of the Reform Commission voted into the Administrative Council, but the new Board is composed *exclusively* of them (Peeters, Pinon, Lecotté). These three men have now according to the new bylaws practically absolute power [*die Alleinherrschaft*] over the new organization for 3 years. Their position up to now, their behaviour and their declarations give no

reason to presume that they will be capable – not even partly – of standing up to what must unconditionally be expected, concerning scientific as well as personal qualities, from the leaders of an international organization like ours.

There was one *Volkskundler* who had his misgivings – Matthias Zender. Zender had supported Ranke and The Four, but he had several times warned against going too far. He was also concerned about the damage this very folkloristic profile might cause to the cooperation with Eastern Europe. Only a few days after the event in Athens he wrote to Peeters:[149]

Even if our colleague Bratanić did not get my support in Athens, mainly because of his collaboration with Csermak, I strongly regret that he was not elected to the Administrative Council. Above all Bratanić has rendered meritorious services to us in our many hard disputes on the implementation of the European atlas. All the West European atlas projects have much to thank him for. So I think it would be right, in spite of his partial opposition, to offer him a seat in the Council. In this way we may avoid that he makes difficulties for us and for himself, in his state of anger.

Zender offered to step down from the Council and let Bratanić have his seat, if Peeters could find a way of doing it. Peeters' responded by proposing to make Bratanić the leader of the cartography commission; thus he could formally attend the Council's meetings.[150] However, Peeters would soon learn that this was reckoning without one's host.

If Csermak was infuriated, Bratanić disappointed and Zender had his qualms, there was at least one who was enthusiastic about the result – Winand Roukens. Roukens had worked very closely with Ranke and The Four, all the way from Kiel and Oslo, via Brussels and the two Bonn meetings to Athens. In Bonn and in Athens he had presided efficiently over the plenaries – in fact so efficiently that Rivière sent a disapproving letter to Peeters because Roukens had not even put to a vote his and Marie-Louise Ténèze's formal bylaw proposal, just as he had bypassed Erixon's proposal in Bonn. In the same letter Rivière declined to accept his seat in the new SIEF Council.[151] Roukens himself however felt so relieved after Athens that he wrote a Goethe-inspired poem – *Europa-Gedanken* or "Meditations on Europe" – dedicated to Kurt Ranke (Rogan 2014b:43–45).[152] There is little doubt as to whom Roukens considered the architect behind the new SIEF …

The Sequel

With the establishment of SIEF in September 1964, the membership structure was changed, from a *commission* constituted by elected national representatives to a *society* consisting of individual members. A restricted number of official national representatives were replaced by an unlimited number of individuals, with no control of scholarly qualities or affiliation. The name was changed from one defining *the scholarly field* to one saying something about *disciplines*.

The more long-term consequences were that the independence of the separate disciplines of ethnology and folklore was asserted and the idea of a unified discipline was shot down. The European scholarly world of ethnology and folklore was split for a while, with a predominantly folkloristic SIEF on the one side and the Erixon camp (ethnologists and some folklorists) on the other.

SIEF would experience a very difficult start and entered some somnolent decades, very much comparable to the situation of CIAP before 1964. Its former working groups began their independent lives, some liberating themselves from the mother organization. The Erixon group was much more successful during the first years. The group founded a new journal, independent of SIEF – *Ethnologia Europaea*, and Erixon and his close collaborators played a central role in the work for a European atlas. With the death of Erixon in 1968, however, this movement lost much of its zest. The most enduring result was *Ethnologia Europaea*, which will celebrate its 50th anniversary in 2017.

The fourth article in this series will deal with the activities of the Erixon group and the development of SIEF in the years 1964 to 1968.

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BLOOMINGTON: The Lily Library, Indiana University Bloomington
GÖTTINGEN: Institut für europäische Ethnologie, Georg-August Universität, Göttingen. Kurt Ranke's files.
MEERTENS: Meertens Instituut, Amsterdam
MNATP: Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires, Paris.
PEETERS: Special collection: Documents from Peeters, Antwerp. This collection has been transferred to the Meertens Institute, Amsterdam, in May 2012.
DIAS: Museu Nacional de Etnologia, Lisbon. Special collection: Jorge Dias' archives
OSLO: Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo. Håndskriftsamlingen. Riksarkivet, Oslo.
SE: Nordiska Museet, Stockholm. Special collection: Sigurd Erixons samlingar.
UNESCO: The League of Nations, Paris; UNESCO, Paris.
VIENNA: Österreichisches Museum für Volkskunde, Vienna.

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

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[1] Letter from Erixon to Jorge Dias, of 3 July 1955. MEERTENS, archive DIAS Incoming no. 137. I have kept the language unchanged, even if the English may be clumsy or faulty. I have however sometimes added a [sic].

[2] The conclusion of a letter from Erixon of 24 July 1960 to P. Bosch-Gimpera, the general secretary of IUAES, concerning the fusion of CIAP and IUAES. SE 8:33.

[3] Some of the paragraphs in this third article are adjusted and rewritten passages from Rogan 2008d and Rogan 2014b.

[4] There are also other institutions that, as far I have been informed, contain more material, such as the Altoner Museum in Hamburg, the institution of CIAP's first president, Otto Lehmann. Special thanks to Kyrre Kverndokk, who searched out material for me in Bloomington, the institution of one of SIEF's vice presidents (Stith Thompson).

[5] Richard Wolfram was appointed professor in 1939. He was forced to resign in 1945 because of his Nazi activities and work for the *Ahnenerbe*. He came back to the university in 1954 and was reappointed professor in 1959. See http://agso.uni-graz.at/sozio/biografien/w/wolfram_richard.htm.

[6] Rapport moral sur les activités du secrétariat de la CIAP. Jorge Dias, le 30 mai 1957. SE 8:28.

[7] The following short sketch of CIAP during the decade following 1945 is based on Rogan 2013.

[8] Erixon's speech, 14.12.1948, on the occasion of the establishment of the Swedish national committee. SE.

[9] The above presentation is a short summary of Rogan 2013.

[10] Interview with Christiansen's daughter Elin Christiansen Smit, September 2007.

[11] Letter of 3 February 1959 from Christiansen to Erixon. SE 8:28. Translation BjR.

[12] On the subject of collecting the fees, see letter of 16 October 1957 from Leopold Schmidt to Roukens. VIENNA, CIAP box 02; Roukens' letter of resignation of 8 January 1959 to Christiansen, ibid.; also in SE 8:28. It should be added that Roukens encountered some serious problems at his museum and was forced to resign from his post as museum director the same autumn.

[13] See for instance the comprehensive correspondence between Christiansen and Erixon on the problems of arranging a Board meeting in 1958–59. SE 8:28.

[14] The International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES) is the largest world forum of anthropologists and ethnologists, with members from more than fifty countries. Every five years, in different parts of the world, the IUAES sponsors a major congress (ICAES/World Congress), gathering researchers from all of the various subfields and branches of anthropology. The IUAES was founded under the auspices of UNESCO in 1948. The ICAES (the congress) had been separately founded in London in 1934. The two organizations united in 1948, and merged officially in 1968. The main objective of the IUAES is the internationalization of anthropology, and the cross-cultural honing and public dissemination of anthropological research perspectives. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/IUAES, downloaded August 2015)

[15] Letter from Christiansen to Roukens of 25 September 1959. BLOOMINGTON.

[16] Letter from Erixon to P. J. Meertens of 14 September 1959. SE 8:82.

[17] Sigurd Erixon: Tätigkeitsbericht von "The Commission for rural housing", Translation BR. CIAP 1961. SE 8:82.

[18] Letter from Stith Thompson to Christiansen of 22 April 1958. BLOOMINGTON

[19] See correspondence between Christiansen and Erixon. SE 8:28, 8:30, 8:31.

[20] Report from the journey to America, 1950. Untitled, pages 3–4 are missing. SE 8:92.

[21] Notebook, SE 8:106.

[22] The Society for Folk Life Studies. Invitation to its second conference, 7–9 September 1962, Reading. SE 8:82.

[23] SE 8:106; Riksarkivet, Oslo. Privatarkiv 1342, Rigmor Frimannslund Holmsen.

[24] SE 8:106.

[25] Letter from Christiansen to Anna-Maja of 7 August 1959. MEERTENS, CIAP, Anna-Maja Nylén 1958–59.

[26] Correspondence, including a letter of 25 May 1959, from Nylén to Christiansen. MEERTENS, Nettelblad. See also letter from Nylén to Erixon of 18 August 1959, containing some very critical remarks about the lack of response from Christiansen. SE 8:28.

[27] Letter from Erixon to Nettelblad of 17 February 1959. MEERTENS, Nettelblad Incoming no. 3. Translation BR.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Letter from Bødker to Christiansen of 31 July 1959. OSLO. Ms 4 3516 Reidar Th. Christiansen IV Brev. Translation from Danish by BR.

[30] Minutes; Réunion du bureau de la CIAP, Kiel, Haus Weltclub, Hindenburger Ufer 76–79, Mardi 18 août 1959. Archives MNATP: Org. App. CIAP. Dossier: CIAP 1955 à 1961.

[31] Actually, archive material on CIAP from 1958 far into 1961 is very sparse.

[32] Letter from Erixon to Christiansen of 19 January 1961. SE 8:33. Translation BR.

[33] Correspondence between Christiansen, Erixon and Hultkranz, letters of 8, 10 and 15 August 1961. SE 8:30

[34] Correspondence with Hilmar Stigum and Elin Christiansen, April 1962, when Christiansen was ill. SE 8:27. The extreme delay of the report was partly due to Christiansen's hospitalization and reconvalescence absence, but it was perhaps more a token of Christiansen's antipathy to Ranke.

[35] The meeting at Voksenåsen, 27th – 29th aug. 1961. Memorandum by R. Th. Christiansen, dated May 1962. MNATP. Copies also in SE and other archives.

[36] As seen from the report and confirmed by Elin Christiansen Smit, who functioned as secretary for the meeting (interview by BR in 2013).

[37] Letters of 5 April 1962 from Erixon to Ranke (SE 8:27) and of 2 May 1962 from Erixon to Christiansen. SE 8:30.

[38] Letter from Ranke to Erixon of 16 April 1962. SE 8:27.

[39] In his private copy, Sigurd Erixon has also underlined "der letzten Jahrzehnte" with a big question mark in the margin. SE 8:27.

[40] Letter from Christiansen to Erixon of 29 April 1962, SE 8:27, and of 5 May 1962 (SE 8:31).

Other correspondence between the two during spring 1962 (SE 8:27, 8:30, 8:31) confirms Christiansen's unwillingness to follow up Ranke's initiative. The secretary of the Oslo meeting, Elin Christiansen Smit (Christiansen's daughter), whom I interviewed in 2012–13, has confirmed that the relationship between Christiansen and Ranke was far from cordial.

[41] The decision to establish the ISNFR was taken at the congress in Kiel in August 1959.

[42] Letter from Christiansen to Stith Thompson of 13 December 1962. BLOOMINGTON

[43] Réunion du Bureau élargi de la CIAP tenue à Bruxelles le 14 septembre 1962. Archives MNATP, Org. div. – CIAP 1962, 1963, 1964.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Letter from Erixon to Christiansen of 12 October 1962. SE 8:31. Erixon explains that he wrote down what happened as there was no secretary present and no minutes to be expected.

[46] Minutes; Réunion du bureau de la CIAP, Kiel […] 1959. MNATP: Org. App. CIAP. Dossier: CIAP 1955 à 1961.

[47] Letter from Erixon to Christiansen of 12 October 1962. SE 8:31. Translation BR.

[48] Letters from Wildhaber to Diaz of 17 February 1955 and 10 May 1956. DIAZ Box 4.

[49] Letter from Wildhaber to Dias of 17 February 1955. DIAS Box 4. Translation from German by BR.

[50] See correspondence with Dias, e.g. his letter of 23 February 1956 on CIAP's former treasurer Ernst Baumann and Karl Meuli. DIAS Box 4.

[51] Letter from Wildhaber to Ranke of 5 July 1962. GÖTTINGEN; "Heute musste ich hier wieder jemand [Stith Thompson, Archer Taylor, Richard Dorson, Edson Richmond, Warren Roberts] klar machen, das Marinus eine eingebildete, aufgeblasene Null ist; ich tat es mit viel Vernugen und etwas Eleganz."

[52] Letter from Bratanić to Dias of 16 April 1964. DIAS Box 4. Translated from German by BR.

[53] Letter from Peeters to Ranke of 30 October 1962. In the same letter, Peeters informs Ranke that the latter has been proposed as honorary member of the Flemish Academy for Language and Literature. GÖTTINGEN.

[54] Letter from Ranke to Peeters of 13 January 1964. PEETERS 4.

[55] Compte-rendu des travaux de la Commission de réorganisation de la CIAP en sa réunion des 1 et 2 novembre 1962 à Anvers. PEETERS 1.

[56] Letter from Pinon to Peeters of 4 November 1962, PEETERS 4.

[57] Letter from Lecotté to Peeters of 4 November 1962, PEETERS 4. Translation from French by BR.

[58] "Note pour les membres du Comité de réforme de la CIAP" of 18 November 1962; letter from Lecotté to Peeters of 18 November 1962. PEETERS 4.

[59] Letter from Zender to Lecotté of 8 November 1962. PEETERS 4. On the other hand, Zender offered his collaboration.

[60] Letter of from Pinon to Peters, 7 December 1962. PEETERS 4. Translation from French by BR.

[61] Commission […] CIAP et CIPF. Exposé de la question. Archives PEETERS 4.

[62] Letter from Wildhaber to Peeters of 24 May 1963. PEETERS 4.

[63] See for instance Compte-rendu d'entretien entre M. J. d'Ormesson et Roger Lecotté au secretariat du CIPSH … 1er février 1963. PEETERS 4.

[64] Letter from Peeters to Ranke of 4 June 1963. PEETERS 4.

[65] *Compte rendu de notre réunion du 11 mai à Paris*. PEETERS 1. Translation from French by BR.

[66] The above-mentioned report from Erixon to Christiansen, plus several other letters and memos, Nordiska Museet, SE. See also letter from Peeters to Ranke of 27 December 1963 on the authority invoked by the The Four. PEETERS 4.

[67] *Note pour le comité des quatre (Confidentielle); Entrevue du 25-11-1963: Mr d'Ormesson – Roger Lecotté*. PEETERS 5. Translation from French by BR.

[68] Some documents, such as the proposal to make CIAP an umbrella organisation for CIPF

(South America) and other continental organizations (PEETERS 4) – written by Lecotté (undated/Dec. 1962) – after he discovered that CIPF was still going strong, see the text – represent a clear case of rewriting history in order to invoke legality. See also letters from The Four to Rivière, d'Ormesson, etc., where they even claim that Erixon voted for their "full powers". Ibid.

[69] The fact that no elections had been held for a long period was criticized by the CIPSH authorities. It was also discussed by Christiansen and d'Ormesson, the CIPSH secretary, in Stockholm in May 1963, but CIPSH accepted that the elections be reported to the first possible General Assembly, that is in Athens 1964.

[70] *Compte rendu de notre réunion du 11 mai à Paris*. PEETERS 1. Translation by BR.

[71] Letter from Peeters to Lecotté of 28 June 1963. PEETERS 4.

[72] *Note urgente pour Karel Peeters et Roger Pinon. Entretien du mardi 13 août 1963: Ormesson – Lecotté*. PEETERS 4. Translation by BR. One sometimes wonders whether the notes from Lecotté and Pinon refer to real events or how much fiction there is in it. The otherwise highly respected Jean d'Ormesson – French author, journalist, civil servant, editor-in-chief, etc. – gave very different information to Christiansen and Erixon, cf. letters from Christiansen to Ranke (12 May 1963) and to Lecotté (13 May 1963), SE 8:31.

[73] Letter from Lecotté to Peeters of 24 June 1963, PEETERS 4. Translation by BR.

[74] Letter from Erixon to Christiansen of 17 June 1963. SE 8:31. Translation by BR.

[75] For a full assessment of the role of Kurt Ranke in the CIAP reform process, it would have been highly desirable to have access to his archives in the *Encyclopädie des Märchens*, under the *Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*. However, for reasons that are not clear to me, I have been denied access to these archives, and it is not possible for me to judge whether these archives would throw further light on Ranke's involvement with CIAP and SIEF. The archives at the Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, where I was granted access, contain only a small fraction of Ranke's correspondence on CIAP/SIEF.

[76] Letter from Peeters to Ranke of 30 October 1962. GÖTTINGEN. (Also PEETERS 8.) Translation by BR.

[77] Letter from Peeters to Ranke of 24 November 1962. Ibid.

[78] Letter from Peeters to Ranke of 18 December 1962. PEETERS 8. Translation by BR.

[79] Letter from Peeters to Ranke of 9 December 1963. Archives MNATP, Peeters 4. Translation by BR. Wildhaber did not take part in this meeting, being in the USA.

[80] Letter from Peeters to Ranke of 4 March 1964. PEETERS 4.

[81] Letter from Ranke to Wildhaber of 28 May 1963, GÖTTINGEN.

[82] Letter from Peeters to Lecotté of 4 June 1963. PEETERS. 4. Peeters has written "Erixon", but it should have been Christiansen – the president of CIAP. Translation by BR.

[83] Letter from Lecotté to Peeters of 11 August 1963. PEETERS 4. This quotation, and the following from letters exchanged by The Four, are translated by BR.

[84] Letter from Peeters to Pinon of 17 May 1963. PEETERS 4.

[85] Letter from Ranke to Peeters of 6 November 1963. PEETERS 4.

[86] See for instance letter of 11 August 1963 from Lecotté to Peeters. PEETERS 4.

[87] Letter of from Steensberg to Wildhaber, 26 June 1963. PEETERS 5. Steensberg was professor of material culture studies in Copenhagen.

[88] *Note pour le comité des quatres* by Peeters is a detailed report of several CIAP discussions in Budapest, 17-–19 September 1963. PEETERS 5.

[89] *Statuts proposés à l'adoption par l'Assemblée Générale*. The statutes and the 2nd report are found in several archives, i. a. MNATP, Org. Div. – CIAP 1962, 1963, 1964.

[90] *Stellungsnahme zu den Vorschlägen der Reorganizationskommission der "CIAP"*, 20 June 1963, signed G. Heilfurth and I. Weber-Kellermann. PEETERS 5; SE 8:31.

[91] Various documents, PEETERS 3.

[92] Various correspondence. PEETERS 4, 5, 8.

[93] Letter from Thompson to Ranke of 27 April 1964. GÖTTINGEN.

[94] It was Pinon who drafted the document, and Lecotté and Peeters who discussed it. Wildhaber probably did not participate in the production of the texts, at least not in no. 3, as he was in Bloomington at the time.
[95] Letter from Christiansen to Nettelblad, undated, registered 12 July 1963, MEERTENS, Nettelblad, J.no. 74 IN. Translation by BR.
[96] Note by Erixon of 12 September 1963. SE 8:31. Translation by BR.
[97] "Ich würde jedoch unbedingt empfehlen, das Programm dieser Sitzung sehr sorgfältig auszuarbeiten." Letter from Ranke to Erixon of 26 January 1963. SE 8:31.
[98] Protokoll fört vid konstituerande sammanträde för planläggning av CIAP-mötet 1963. SE 8: 33. Anders Nyman was curator at the Nordiska Museet.
[99] See correspondence (Erixon, Christiansen, Ranke, Marinus, Roukens – in total 20–30 letters) in SE 8:30–31.
[100] See e.g. the minutes from the Stockholm meeting (Christiansen, Erixon, Nettelblad) 7 May 1963: Protokoll fört vid sammanträde tisdag den 7 maj 1963 […]. SE 8:31.
[101] Letter from Peeters to Ranke of 4 June 1963. PEETERS 4. The Four as well as Ranke were certainly informed about the results, for instance from Rivière, who had been present in Stockholm.
[102] Letter from Lecotté to Peeters of 12 June 1963. PEETERS 4.
[103] Letter of 8 June 1963 from Lecotté, Peeters, Pinon and Wildhaber to Erixon. SE 8:31; PEETERS 4.
[104] See e.g. letters from Peeters to Ranke and Lecotté of 4 and 13 June 1963. PEETERS 4. See also list of 29 addressees, ibid.
[105] Letter from Erixon to Nettelblad of 25 June 1963. SE 8:31. Translation by BR.
[106] Proposition de lettre à Christiansen, signée Lecotté, Pinon, Peeters and Wildhaber. Archives MNATP, Peeters 8. The original letter has not been found, but according to Christiansen's answer it was dated 10 June 1963.
[107] Letter from Ranke to Peeters of 8 May 1963. PEETERS 4.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Letter from Ranke to Peeters of 14 June 1963, PEETERS 4.
[110] Letter from Ranke to Christiansen. of 2 July 1963 German version: SE 8:27, PEETERS 1. French version: Archives MNATP.
[111] Letter from Dorson to Ranke of 6 August 1963. GÖTTINGEN.
[112] Letter from Pinon to Peeters of 2 May 1963. PEETERS 4.
[113] Letter from Erixon to Nettelblad of 21 September 1963. SE 8:31. The original letter from Ranke to Erixon has not been found.
[114] Note by Erixon of 12 September 1963, SE 8:31.
[115] Letter from Rivière to Hans Nettelblad of 12 August 1964. MEERTENS, Nettelblad J.no. 117 Incoming.
[116] Letters from Christiansen to Erixon and Nettelblad of 14 March and 2 April 1964. SE 8:27.
[117] Letter of 12 April 1964, signed Reidar Th. Christiansen, president of CIAP. MNATP, Org. Div. – CIAP 1962, 1963, 1964. Several drafts: SE 8:27.
[118] Memo dated March 1964. SE 8:27. Also PEETERS 3.
[119] Comte rendu de la réunion de la Commission de Réforme de la CIAP tenue à Bonn les 7 et 8 mars 1964. PEETERS 3.
[120] Letter from Peeters to Pinon of 13 January 1964. PEETERS 4.
[121] Message from Lecotté to Peeters of 17 April 1964. PEETERS 4.
[122] Letter from Bratanić to Erixon of 18 April 1964. SE 8:27.
[123] Examen du Memorandum présenté par Géza de Rohan-Csermak en vue d'une réorganisation de la CIAP. PEETERS 3.
[124] MNATP, Org. Div. CIAP – Réunion de travail, Bonn 26–27 avril 1964; Nordiska/SE.
[125] Compte rendu de la Réunion tenue à Bonn les 26 et 27 avril 1964 en vue d'examiner les dernières propositions de la Commission de Réforme de la CIAP. SE 8:27. Also MNATP.

[126] Letter from Steinitz to Pinon and Peeters of 18 July 1964. PEETERS 3.
[127] See correspondence PEETERS 3, 5, 7; SE 8:27. In total 40–50 letters from August/September 1964.
[128] Memo of 27 July 1964. MNATP, Org. Div. CIAP–SIEF 1964-65-66-67.
[129] Letter from Erixon to Bratanić of 26 August 1964, SE 8:27.
[130] Letter from Dias to Erixon of 2 September 1964, SE 8:27.
[131] Letter from d'Ormesson to Nettelblad of 26 August 1964. SE 8:27.
[132] *Directives remises à Mme M. L. Tenèze, Chef du département […],* of 28 August 1964. MNATP, Org. Div. CIAP–SIEF 1964-65-66-67.
[133] Letters from Erixon to K. Vilkuna, Bratanić and Dias of 22, 26 and 27 August 1964. SE 8:27.
[134] See especially letter from Bratanić to Erixon of 1 September 1964. SE 8:27.
[135] Letters from Erixon to Bratanić and Dias of 26 and 27 August 1964. SE 8:27.
[136] Letter from Dias to Erixon of 2 September 1964, SE 8:27.
[137] Letter from Bratanić of 25 September 1964 to a series of colleagues. SE 8:27.
[138] Letter from de Rohan-Csermak to Nettelblad of 26 September 1964. PEETERS 7.
[139] Peeters' handwritten notes for/from the meetings. PEETERS 5. Translation by BR.
[140] Letter from de Rohan-Csermak to Nettelblad of 26 September 1964. See also letter from Nettelblad to Peeters of 14 October 1964 and Peeters' drafted response. PEETERS 7.
[141] The Four had left their earlier idea of having Dorson as president. With the new plan for continental commissions, Dorson was intended for the North American commission. On several later occasions, Lecotté had announced Peeters' candidacy. Letter from de Rohan-Csermak to Nettelbladt of 26 September 1964. PEETERS 7.
[142] Former Vice President Marinus took offence at this nomination of Christiansen, who "for ten years did absolutely nothing and was largely responsible for the death of CIAP". Letters between Marinus and Peeters of 8 and 19 January and 2 February 1965. PEETERS 7.
[143] Letter from Bratanić to de Rohan-Csermak of 23 December 1964. DIAS Box 4.
[144] Letter from de Rohan-Csermak to Nettelblad of 26 September 1964. PEETERS 7. Translation below from French by BR.
[145] Letter from Bratanić to de Rohan-Csermak of 23 December 1964. DIAS Box 4.
[146] Letter from Ranke to Peeters of 29 January 1965. PEETERS 8. See Rogan 2014:44 about Ranke's relationship to the Nazi party.
[147] Letter from Bratanić to a series of colleagues of 25 September 1964. SE 8:27.
[148] Translation from German to English by BR.
[149] Letter from Zender to Peeters of 17 September 1964. PEETERS 8.
[150] Letter from Peeters to Zender of 12 October 1964. PEETERS 8.
[151] Letter from Rivière to Peeters of 24 September 1964. PEETERS 8.
[152] *Europa-Gedanken (nach Athènes …). In Freundschaft für Prof. Dr. Kurt Ranke*, signed Winand Roukens, *Athen-Delegierter der Universität Nijmegen*, Strasbourg 17 September 1964. PEETERS 8.

Book Reviews

Norwegian School Songbooks
Med sang! Perspektiver på norske skolesangbøker etter 1814. Fred Ola Bjørnstad, Eiliv Olsen & Marit Rong (eds.). Novus Forlag, Oslo 2014. 284 pp. Ill.

Songbooks are traditionally compiled in clubs and associations of different kinds; people assemble to have fun, to remember and sing together or – as in political and religious organizations – to think about the future. A special genre is school songbooks, the purpose of which was to *create* a shared repertoire based on texts and tunes that reflected, with greater or lesser clarity, the prevailing educational, political, and cultural currents of the time in which they were composed.

This book is a rich and sometimes highly detailed analysis of Norwegian school songbooks, with special focus on Mads Berg's *Skolens sangbok*, which was published in thirteen editions in the years 1914–99. The authors of the twelve articles (some in Bokmål, others in Nynorsk) represent a variety of fields, such as theology, music education, ethnology, and Norwegian language, but also practising musicians and composers. The main aim is not to describe the use of the songbooks or their place in school over the years, but to examine in detail their content and how they came into being, for example, the admission of pop music from the 1960s (Eiliv Olsen). A particularly Norwegian phenomenon is the recorder as a compulsory school instrument in the curriculum from 1960 to 1985, which led to new editions in which the songs were provided with chords (Rigmor Titt). It may seem somewhat anachronistic to analyse the words of the songs from a gender perspective, but we find, not surprisingly, that male gender roles are richly represented through heroes, sailors, soldiers, farmers, and father figures, whereas women's lives and pursuits are exclusively associated with the home and the summer farm in the mountains. In the nine songbooks from the years 1964–2006 which Silje Valde Onsrud has studied, just 6 per cent of the texts were written by women. She notes that no attempt has been made to revise the content of the songbooks against the background of the demands for gender equality that school is expected to satisfy; stereotyped historical gender roles are perpetuated via the lyrics of the songs.

On the subject of hymns, Marit Rong and Stig Wernø Holter note that up to one third of the titles in older songbooks could be hymns. In eight of the songbooks from the years 1939–2008 which they have studied, many of these are retained, characterized as traditional hymns. The most frequent and best loved today are hymns associated with Christmas celebrations and the different times of day. The most popular hymn in Norway is *Deilig er jorden*, as in Denmark, whereas *Den blomstertid nu kommer* heads the list in Sweden. In the concluding "essayistic reflection" entitled "Being More Attentive", the composer Magnar Åm confirms the significance that *Skolens sangbok* – with its "simple, but fundamental figures" – has had for him personally: "When I tried to play as

sensitively and transparently as Jan Johansson, the tunes from the songbook were perfect material."

For Nordic readers in general, a detailed account of the separate chapters might perhaps be of minor interest, but the volume, through its arrangement and its in-depth analyses, raises a number of general questions and angles which could well be applied to school songbooks in the other Nordic countries. One of these concerns the aims of the editors. Was it a private or a public initiative? Was the idea to reflect an existing singing practice or to change it, for example by establishing a national canon? What was the intended target group or age group? Were the compilers aiming for diversity or stylistic unity? Was there any relationship to popular community singing? Did they deliberately avoid certain known songs with obviously religious or political texts? How was it possible to reconcile the idea of communicating a cultural heritage with the ambition to reflect modern tendencies as well? And what "rhetorical strategies" and famous names, if any, were used in the advertising?

It would be interesting to launch a joint Nordic research project to compare how the countries have presented their own self-image and interpretation of history via the songbooks for children, and the part played by poets such as Johan Ludvig Runeberg, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, and Nikolaj Frederik Severin Grundtvig in the early editions. Swedish songbooks lack national poets with that kind of influence. On the other hand, there was an urgent reason for compiling *Sjung, svenska folk!* (1906) in a very short time, with Alice Tegnér as editor. The aim was to foster patriotic unity in Sweden after the dissolution of the union with Norway. The songbook was used in Swedish schools for a long time, 41 editions up to 1994.

Several of the authors in this volume also comment on the dichotomy that can be felt in all community singing, between the words and the singing in real time, so to speak. If the tune is familiar or catchy, the singing can be a powerful experience of community and have a value in itself, while the words are less important and, as it were, can be placed in a kind of nostalgia compartment in another half of the brain. Velle Espeland notes in his article about community singing and patriotism that, for school children, the family, friends, and the people they mix with outside school are more important than the school class: "In my school days in the 1950s, we liked to sing the latest hits, singing games, crude parodies, and the like in our spare time, but it was only in school that we sang the school songs. The national school songs were thus given to us at a stage in life when we had no use for them, but with the hope that they would have an effect later in life."

Printed songbooks for use in school are probably a format that will disappear completely – but will we get something else instead? Will we see the words of songs on a big screen (as sometimes happens at church services) or on individual devices? Are there any discussions today about a shared "basic repertoire" for school? Is there any room at all for communal singing during the single hour that is allocated to music in most schools? But the repertoire of community singing is enjoying a new renaissance, both spontaneous as in sports arenas and stage-managed as on television. We should not forget how the singalong programme *Allsång på Skansen* began on Swedish radio with Sven Lilja in the 1930s, playing a major role in making Sweden psychologically prepared during the war years. Singing will persist, but where are the words, and who today will be responsible for selecting them?

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Narratives and Materiality

Talande ting. Berättelser och materialitet. Katarina Ek-Nilsson & Birgitta Meurling (eds.). Institutet för språk och folkminnen. Uppsala 2014. 117 pp. Ill.

Narration and materiality are in focus in this volume of studies by twelve researchers, ethnologists and folklorists from Finland, the Faroe Islands and Sweden. It contains introduction and four chapters which illustrate the ambitions of researchers to discuss materiality from different points of view. How can people perceive and apprehend materiality? Why do narrators give objects meaningfulness in explanations of their experiences and reminiscences?

In this volume different kinds of materiality in time and space are discussed, but the researchers have mostly analysed narratives which are told nowadays: how and why materiality is included in narratives with the purpose of interpreting old memories or recently experienced events. Ulf Palmefelt's article is a kind of introduction to the book. He discusses how local occasions belonging to the collective memory are unavoidable references in individual life stories. This is also notable in two articles about Jewish memories and practices in everyday life. Susanne Nylund Skog illustrates how potatoes and lingonberry have become important items in an old woman's life story and Sofia Jansson analyses the reflexive attitudes of a young Jewess to Jewish food customs.

How some men who were kids in the 1930s and 1940s explain why they chose to be engineers is the issue in Katarina Ek-Nilsson's article. They often mentioned the inspiration they derived from Meccano, a popular construction kit for children, which got a more significant value than other toys in their narratives. Another occupational group, priests, are considered by Birgitta Meurling, with the emphasis on their professional clothes. She discusses the effects of more informal dress and the priests' possibilities for performance with dignity in ritual ceremonies. Åsa Ljungström also writes about priests but her starting point is a family story about a vanished black book. Her research gives evidence for the existence of this black book and how a tabooed thing can cause a narrative tradition about a hidden artefact.

The importance of not challenging established conventions is likewise an aspect in Charlotte Hyltén-Cavallius' article about the creation of Sami handicraft today. Her analysis show how strategies are applied in order to maintain the trademark Sámi Duodji. Marsanna Petersen's study is instead an example of permission to change traditional forms. She describes how women in the Faroe Islands often use and have modernized their folk costumes during the last few decades. Appropriate clothes are also the subject in the article by Susanne Waldén. She has interviewed students about evening dresses, which are significant artefacts at student balls. The agency of materiality is also repeated as a matter of fact in the investigation by Elin Lundquist. When she compares the conditions for birdwatchers, from one time to another, it is obvious that new technology has an impact on their behaviour.

Many instruments and machines which were in use in everyday life in the middle of the twentieth century are replaced but they can nowadays be ascribed nostalgic values, as Lars Kaijser highlights in his article. He has observed a reconstruction of a Pink Floyd concert in Stockholm with some equipment from 1967. At the new concert in 2011, authenticity was mixed with parody and humour. The retrospective perspective returns in Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto's and Lena Marander-Eklund's analysis of a political family campaign in Finland in 2010. A young

couple was posing on posters with clothes similar to the fashion of the 1950s. The researchers discuss why the campaign was more associated with present-day expectations of the 1950s than lived experiences of Finnish people during this decade.

This volume contains several studies of materiality in diverse contexts, and each article is interesting per se. However, this is also the weakness of the book as a whole. I would have preferred another structure, with the articles organized in chapters as this review illustrates. It would also have been desirable if the editors had written a concluding summary at the end of the book with comparisons and references to different aspects and perspectives in the articles on narratives and materiality. The anthology's strength is that it gives evidence for the advancing research of materiality among Nordic ethnologists and folklorists. There are good opportunities for further development of this research field with many interesting issues.

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How Antiquities Became Heritage

Anne Eriksen: From Antiquities to Heritage. Transformations of Cultural Memory. Time and the World: Interdisciplinary Studies in Cultural Transformations. Volume 1. Berghahn. New York/Oxford 2014. 179 pp.

The Norwegian cultural historian and folklorist Anne Eriksen, Oslo, has investigated how the outlook on ancient monuments has changed from the mid eighteenth century to our own times. The book is number 1 in a newly started series, *Time and the World: Interdisciplinary Studies in Cultural Transformations.* The title of the book reflects the author's focus on changes in the use of concepts, from the eighteenth-century search for material artefacts, via the nineteenth-century emphasis on monuments, up to the interest in cultural heritage in our own days. The study has a discursive approach. The concepts tell us something about different interests at different times in history. To shed more light on changes in the concepts, Eriksen presents a series of Norwegian case studies in chronological order.

In the eighteenth century scholars tried to reconstruct ancient life with the aid of physical artefacts, designated as antiquities. These could be found by travelling around in the landscape, without having any chronological historiography as a goal. This way of working is represented, for instance, by the topographer and historian Gerhard Schøning (1722–1780).

An interest in historical buildings in the form of ruins arose some way into the nineteenth century in connection with romanticism. It entailed a greater appreciation of the Middle Ages. The term "the nation's historic monuments" came into use and the word "antiquities" disappeared. The ruins were regarded as expressions of time and change as well as aesthetic objects, instead of being neglected, as previously, under the designation *rudera* or "rubble". The heroism of the past and national values were highlighted. This is noticeable in what is written about the ruins of the medieval cathedral in the city of Hamar. The Norwegian stave churches also began to attract attention as examples of medieval architecture.

Several museums arose in the nineteenth century, the first coming in the city of Bergen in 1825, which was supposed to preserve the past. This was done by collecting objects which were systematized with no consideration for chronological division. The museums' national values began to attract attention at the end of the nineteenth century. Through the opening of the Norwe-

gian Folk Museum in 1894, peasant culture began to receive serious consideration for the first time. This culture was regarded as having been static ever since the Middle Ages, despite the regional differences within Norway. This outlook helped to strengthen the national sentiment that was growing towards the time when the union of Norway and Sweden was dissolved in 1905.

In the nineteenth century there was also a change in the outlook on old buildings and artefacts: from having been antiquities, they came to be viewed as monuments. This continued into the twentieth century after the end of the union in 1905. New monuments came in the form of standing stones to honour heroic contributions on behalf of Norway. The biggest boom came with the memorials to heroic deeds during the Second World War. Fallen soldiers were regarded as the nation's martyrs. These monuments began to be erected immediately after the end of the war, when Norway was liberated from the German occupation. Memorials are still being raised. A Norwegian "Resistance Museum" was opened in 1970 in memory of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the end of the Second World War.

In the last part of the book Eriksen deals with the concepts of cultural property and cultural heritage. In Scandinavia they first came into use at the end of the 1990s. Cultural property refers to an exclusive "us" and cultural heritage an inclusive "us". An important milestone in the debate about these concepts was the establishment of UNESCO's World Heritage List in 1972. Norway has seven sites inscribed on this list. One of them is the stave church of Urnes, which has become a national symbol.

Eriksen writes at the end of the book to clarify the differences between the different concepts that have been at the centre of this study; antiquities, monuments, and cultural heritage: "What defines objects as valuable is not their age, as was the case with antiquities, nor their historical consequence, as for monuments, but rather the interest of some living subject who takes on the role as heir. In this way, heritage is basically anchored in the present of the inheritors, not in the past of the inherited objects" (p. 149).

To shed light on how the past is affected by presentism, Eriksen performs a present-day study of the activities of Norwegian Heritage Year 2009. It was supposed to reflect everyday life in 2009 in all social strata in Norway, with the emphasis on collecting via digital media. The material and intangible heritage and associated activities were to receive attention.

Finally, I must say that Eriksen has conducted a well-wrought study of concepts over a period of 250 years which has seen several changes. The author primarily dwells on the discursive level and finds her empirical material in case studies. She discusses and relates constructively to a large amount of relevant scholarly literature. It is striking how close cultural history is to the history of ideas in this study. What I miss as an ethnologist in the book is pictures of antiquities, monuments, and cultural heritage from different times. Pictures would have added an analytical and visual value in view of the fact that the study deals so much with material cultural artefacts that can be found out in the landscape and in museums. A detailed index (pp. 174–179) makes it easier to find all the information contained in the book.

Eriksen's study is clearly relevant for humanistic research, the museum world, and a general audience with an interest in the past and how traces of it will be able to survive in the future.

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The Centennial of the Norwegian Folklore Collection

"En vild endevending av al virkelighet". Norsk folkeminnesamling i hundre år. Line Esborg & Dirk Johannsen (eds.). Novus forlag. Oslo 2014. 352 pp. Ill.

This book, published by the Norwegian Folklore Collection (Norsk Folkeminnessamling) for its centennial in 2014, has a quotation in the title: "A wild overturning of all reality". The words come from Professor Ingebret Moltke Moe's (1859−1913) lecture delivered in 1888 and published in 1926 under the title *Det mytiske tankesæt* ("The mythical mentality"). In myths, fairytales, and folk belief, there is a struggle against all logic and experience. The book aims to express enthusiasm for the research material possessed by the Norwegian Folklore Collection. Moltke Moe wished to see the establishment of a central Norwegian archive of folklore. He was professor of Norwegian vernacular language in Christiania in 1886, and from 1899 professor of folklore studies and medieval literature. He undertook several collecting trips, and the material that he and other collectors amassed is a part of "Norway's Document Heritage", which is included in Unesco's "Memory of the World". Moe died the year before the archive was founded. Under Professor Knut Liestøl and the archivist Reidar Th. Christiansen a period of intensive documentation began. The collections are similar to those in other Nordic folklore archives, containing a wide range of information on everyday life, folk belief, and customs. National identity was important when the Norwegian Folklore Collection was founded, and that basic premise is obvious in several articles in the book. The collections testify to a multifaceted folk culture that changed in the course of time.

The 32 authors and their 31 articles in this centennial book seek to show that folk culture is not static; it undergoes changes, transformations, and breaks in tradition that affect the collecting process and the interpretations. The articles here are divided into three main categories. "Records" (Oppskrifter) shows the transformations of the material from the fieldwork to the archive. "Realities" (Virkeligheter) shows the experience of life reflected in the narrative tradition with special reference to the supernatural and magical. "Updates" (Aktualiseringer) deals with historical and contemporary interpretations, practice, and mediation from archival sources to new contexts, places, and meanings.

The proposal to found a national and central folklore collection was criticized by local collectors who had already become well-known cultural personalities and authors. They did not want to be placed under scholarly control. Instead the critics wanted to set up regional collecting institutions. The important thing for them was to return the folklore to the people. Scholarly systematization was a stage in the formulation of what was defined as folklore, which resulted in the exclusion of certain phenomena. The process from notes to archival transcripts and publication shows that it was difficult to retell the folk narratives for contemporary people, not least because of the dialects. The significance of language for communicating the folk tradition is considered in several of the articles. Asbjørnsen's and Moe's collections of texts became a national project of great significance in Norwegian art and literature, and it changed Norwegians' reading habits. The importance of folklore for the nation is stressed by authors who state that it is the common property of all Norwegians and is also a part of world literature.

The Norwegians deplored the fact that the national treasury of folklore was first issued by a Danish publisher. The interest shown abroad led to the publication of Norwegian folklore in other languages, especially German. To come into its own, however, it had to be pub-

lished in Norwegian dialect. Both Moe and Asbjørnsen included glossaries in their publications so that townspeople would find it easier to understand the folklore. Folktales played a great part in the development of the *bokmål* variant of Norwegian and for the meanings of words and things.

An example of the significance of the language and the illustrations is seen in the way Peter Christen Edvardsen collected and published folklore. His aim was public enlightenment, and to increase literacy and spread an interest in reading he used illustrations depicting the scenes and settings in Norwegian folklore instead of letting himself be influenced by German illustrations.

Sometimes the national heritage has been taken too far. The fairytales have become a part of the Norwegian cultural heritage since they were collected, but Jørgen Moe was aware that it was a tradition that was shared with many European and certain Asian peoples. The medieval visionary poem *Draumkvedet* is no doubt hard to avoid for the editors of a book like this. Scholars who have studied the poem question whether it was originally such a well-thought-out whole as it is presented in edited form, which reminds us that one must be careful when analysing national epics.

One article examines a questionnaire about wooing and betrothal from 1937, which was intended to ascertain what was shared folk custom and mentality, and what variations existed. Both today's and yesterday's cultural historians have been influenced by a wish to find an all-round coherence in the bygone conceptual world, but that probably never existed; even in old folk culture there were norms that steered how customs were to be perceived.

Bjarne Hodne calls for an increased use of sources that supplement the folklore records. There is often no biographical information about the informants who passed on the tradition. It has been noted that the folktale tradition was not handed on by the lowest social strata, as has been claimed, but by young men, women, and to a large extent freehold farmers.

New and supplementary collections are mentioned in several articles, and in order to capture changes and the present day, the Norwegian Folklore Collection carried out nationwide collections of people's memories in 1964, 1981, 1996, and 2014. The fact that the break-up of the union with Sweden in 1905 and the encounter with new technology are the topics presented from the survey in 1964 says something about what is considered significant in Norway.

In the section on "Realities" we are shown how superstition was reinterpreted as folk belief. During the eighteenth century the church in Denmark and Norway was worried about superstition among the people. It was regarded as a systematic misinterpretation of nature and a political obstacle to the rational development of society; it was also a misinterpretation of true religion. When superstition was reformulated as folk belief in the nineteenth century, it was regarded as a system which constituted the meaning and strength of the nation in the politics of national romanticism. Old motifs are highlighted and debated in our time too, but with a new content. The article about coins and dolls being placed in cemeteries to protect against illness shows the duality of beliefs about the cemetery. It was a sacred place where one could pray and make offerings to God, but the cemetery was also the abode of the dead, where one could use magic to treat diseases caused by the dead.

In the section on "Realities" we also see the significance of magic and its practitioners. It is not the first time that witches and Sami sorcerers are considered in folkloristic research, but it is exciting reading when various sources are used to bring us close to the individuals who were believed to practise this art. The narratives are engaging even in

our own times when it is almost as if research has an extra mediating role in bringing tradition to life. Beliefs in magic can be explained in large measure, it is claimed, as a result of social tensions and conflicts. Witchcraft can be used for both good and bad things, and the narratives are often ambiguous. The records in the folklore collections do not sufficiently reflect the reality that Norway, like other parts of Scandinavia, has long been multicultural and multi-ethnic, which has led, for example, to a distorted view that magic was characteristic of certain parts of the population. Communication between people always takes place in complicated contexts, and it is important to bear this in mind when the material is archived. Stories about magic in former days have been replaced with negative stories about beggars and immigrants in our own days.

The section on the reuse of archival material today points out that the classification system in the archives has an ability to conserve an antiquated view of the research findings. The stories about changelings can be folk culture's way of exposing the concealed crime of a mother letting a deformed baby die just after giving birth to it. Rape is not portrayed in the old ballads as a disaster if the man married the girl afterwards, and in some ballads it is the woman who rapes the man. Perhaps the ballads helped the woman to come to terms with rape.

Peasant women used a headscarf so as not to show their hair, a custom that persisted in some places well into the twentieth century. Bourgeois women did not go out bare-headed either; they wore hats. Hair was a powerful erotic symbol, and a woman who showed her hair was a shame to the entire household and the family. The tradition of women's head coverings is tenacious and has become relevant again as a result of immigrant women, but the underlying reasons for covering the hair are not clarified.

Christmas traditions have many different purposes. Dressing up as a goat and going from farm to farm is called "going Daban". This tradition has increased in popularity in recent years and now has a Facebook page. It is celebrated by children, but further back it was practised by adults in more dramatic forms. Every New Year's Eve there is a procession of *nisser* (brownies) in Manndalen in the municipality of Kåfjord. This is a district where Laestadianism is strong. Partying and alcohol are not normally permitted. Yet no adults intervene when the young people take part in the procession. Christmas is a time of old magical traditions. The Christmas goat is a celebration of Christmas joy, but the procession of the *nisser* controls the powers of darkness. Both customs take place with the help of an expressive masquerade.

At the southern end of Lofoten there are stories of a prosperous land, "Utrøst" inhabited by sirens (*huldrer*), who sometimes show themselves to fishermen and sailors, but the whole island can disappear at the same instant. This is an old legend which shows the coastal people's hopes of better living conditions. Even in our days it still comes up again in many social issues, such as the tourist industry and the use of natural resources.

The editors of the book, Line Esborg and Dirk Johannsen, have succeeded in putting together a coherent book about the Norwegian Folklore Collection despite the large number of articles on such a wide range of topics. All the articles are based on collected material about well-known traditional customs, but presented with partly new research findings. The authors describe the customs in detail, which improves the general education of the reader, but some of the articles also deal with matters of principle. The three main sections on Records, Realities, and Updates overlap, but that can hardly be avoided. The book will work as required reading

on courses. The articles deal to a large extent with the reuse of older documentation for new questions and interpretations. I would have liked to see articles with suggestions as to how documentation and research should relate to the new social media and the Internet.

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Scholarship and Politics in Historical Perspective

Petra Garberding: Vetenskap mellan diktatur och demokrati. Svensk och tysk folklivsforskning i skuggan av nazismen och det kalla kriget. UNIVERSUS Academic Press. Malmö 2015. 342 pp. Ill. English Summary.

Petra Garberding was born in Germany in 1965. She did her undergraduate studies in ethnology at the University of Kiel in 1986−1993. In 1994 she moved to Sweden to continue her ethnological studies at Uppsala University. She took her doctorate in 2007 at Södertörn University. The book reviewed here is a result of her postdoctoral project in Uppsala 2009−2011.

The aim of this study is to examine "the development and change of ethnology in Swedish-German relations in the tension between dictatorship and democracy" (p. 11). It is an investigation of disciplinary history, focusing on the relationship between scholarship and politics in contacts between researchers in Germany and Sweden. With the aid of a subjective research perspective, the contrasts between dictatorship and democracy can be made clear. The time frame of the study is the Nazi period in Germany 1933−1945 and the subsequent Cold War up to the fall of the wall in 1989. Historical discourse analysis is the analytical concept. Hegemonic discourses can influence or steer research, as happened under the Nazis. They can later become unacceptable and be replaced by other discourses. The author's analyses in the book are nicely nuanced and credible in that different interpretations of the collected material are pitted against each other in the discussion.

The book is structured chronologically. The author primarily pursues archival studies of correspondence between German and Swedish, but also American scholars. The author is deeply engaged in her subject and has not left anything to chance in her efforts to find archival evidence. On the subject of the Cold War era she has also interviewed twenty-five ethnologists, both Swedish and former West and East German; I was one of the Swedish ethnologists. Quotations from German texts are published here in Swedish, translated by the author. The original German texts are provided in the notes at the bottom of each page. An index of names at the end of the book is useful for anyone wishing to search for details about individual scholars.

It was in the 1930s that ethnology established itself in earnest as an academic discipline in both Sweden and Germany. For the Nazis it was an important subject because it was believed that its findings could be applied politically both in the expansion efforts and in racial policy. Considerable funding was allocated to ethnology by the Nazis. In Germany the first chair of ethnology (Volkskunde) was established in 1936 in Berlin. There were several Nazi-oriented ethnologists at this time, and the expression "political ethnology" (politische Volkskunde) occurred.

A central Swedish scholar in contacts with Germany was Sigurd Erixon, professor of ethnology in Stockholm 1934−1955. In 1936 the University of Heidelberg, which had dismissed 44 teachers since 1933 on account of their race or opinions, wanted to award him an honorary doctorate. At the same time he was invited to a scholarly congress in Lübeck arranged by the Nazi organiza-

tion Nordische Gesellschaft (The Nordic Society). The theme was research on houses and farms, a topic close to Erixon's heart. He chose to attend the congress in Lübeck rather than go to Heidelberg. He led a session about Germanic houses and farms in historical times, without mentioning racial theories. However, there are no written sources where Erixon criticized Nazism. He continued to collaborate with German scholars throughout the 1930s, both those with a Nazi orientation and those in the opposition.

Another prominent Swedish scholar in the 1930s was the folklorist Carl Wilhelm von Sydow, who became professor in Lund in 1940. In letters to German colleagues he expressed his concerns about scholarly development in Nazi Germany. He cited examples of scholarly lectures and publications which he deemed as substandard, especially in view of the racial politics they applied. Sigfrid Svensson, who had worked at the Nordiska Museet in Stockholm during the 1930s, had many German colleagues but was simultaneously highly critical of the way the Nazis politicized ethnology. He wrote publicly about this in the Swedish press.

Expanded international cooperation in the 1930s began through Swedish-German contacts in connection with two conferences, one in Lund in 1935 and one in Berlin in 1936. This was the foundation for the formation of the International Association of Folklore and Ethnology (IAFE) and the journal *Folk*, which was financed with Nazi money from Germany. The IAFE would comprise 15 European countries and the USA. The Swedish researchers viewed their collaboration with Berlin solely as scholarly work with no political influence. British scholars, on the other hand, expressed fears that the IAFE could become a platform for Nazi German propaganda. Later on the Swedes began to cooperate more closely with British scholars, which led to critique from Germany. The German financial contribution to *Folk* was withdrawn and the journal had to close. After Germany's occupation of Denmark and Norway in 1940, Swedish scholars distanced themselves more explicitly from Germany and refrained from scholarly collaboration with German colleagues.

After the end of the Second World War in 1945, most of the German ethnologists with whom Swedish scholars had had contacts before the war were condemned as Nazi sympathizers. They were not allowed to practise their professions for several years. Carl Wilhelm von Sydow maintained contacts with certain German ethnologists after the war, those who had not obviously been influenced by Nazism before and during the war. He described these scholars as victims of Nazism. The victim motif also occurred in Germany. One example is Lutz Mackensen, who became professor in Göttingen soon after the war. Will-Erich Peuckert, who was dismissed by the Nazis in 1935 and who became professor of ethnology in Göttingen after the war, maintained contacts with Sigurd Erixon. Otherwise there was silence in Swedish ethnology after the war about German scholars' shared responsibility for Nazism. This period was hushed up, as also happened in Germany. Gerhard Lutz's handbook of German ethnology, published in 1958, completely omitted the history of ethnology during the Nazi period. Sigfrid Svensson commented on this with satisfaction in a review in the journal *Rig* in 1960. He wrote that "after 1945 there is no reason for a foreign observer to lift the blackout now" (quoted from Garberding p. 245).

When German ethnology was to be built up again in the 1950s and 1960s, Swedish-German research contacts became important, although the situation differed totally in West and East Germany. Contacts with states which, like Sweden, had been neutral during the war became especially important in Germany. According to the author, German

scholars regarded Swedish scholars as "crown witnesses" who were untainted by a Nazi past. In East Germany, research on material culture became central, in contrast to the Nazi period. In the new situation it was felt that contacts were important with an expert such as Sigfrid Svensson, who was moreover perceived as an anti-Nazi. A Swedish researcher who did come into conflict with the communist state system was Svensson's pupil Sven B. Ek. He had taken part in an East German ethnological congress in 1967 and subsequently spoken critically in a Swedish newspaper article about the communist focus. He later received written complaints from the ethnologist Paul Nedo and had to stay away from East Germany. The mixing of scholarship and politics in a dictatorship with a hegemonic discourse appears to have been no less than during the Nazi years.

After the building of the wall between East and West Germany in 1961 it became almost impossible for ethnologists from the two states to meet. On the other hand, ethnologists from the politically neutral Sweden could receive entry permits to East Germany. I myself took part in a couple of East German ethnological congresses in 1984 and 1987, giving papers there. In West Germany, Nils-Arvid Bringéus and Sven B. Ek became leading sources of inspiration, the latter in the growing urban ethnology. Bringéus was important in renewing ethnological atlas studies through his research on innovations. He was moreover a central pioneer in studies of food and pictures. In the 1980s Orvar Löfgren and Jonas Frykman also inspired through their works on cultural analysis.

One question that I ask is: what readership can be attracted by this in-depth study? In Swedish ethnology the interest in the history of the discipline has been weak or almost non-existent for a long time. This book could revive the interest in disciplinary history and issues of scholarship and politics. It has clear links with the discussions of Nazism and racism that are highly topical in the Swedish political debate.

At the same time I think it is a pity that a German readership cannot benefit from the contents of this book. The author actually has German as her mother tongue. Readers outside Sweden have to make do with an English summary (pp. 320−325). Questions about coming to terms with Nazism were long a taboo topic in German research. Now the distance in time has become greater and the third generation of Germans, to which the author belongs, can tackle such questions in a nuanced way. In fact, she begins the book by mentioning that her archival studies in Berlin had led to the discovery that her grandfather, who died in the war, had been a member of a Nazi organization, the SS. No one in the family had told her this before; all she had heard was that her grandfather had died as a soldier in the war.

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The Graveyards Report

Anders Gustavsson: Grave Memorials as Cultural Heritage in Western Sweden with Focus on the 1800s. A Study of Materials, Society, Inscribed Texts and Symbols. Novus forlag, Oslo 2014. 67 pp. Ill.

Grave memorials are good sources for knowledge about society. Archaeologists build entire cultures on grave finds. Many graveyards are targets of tourists who want to know more about the place they visit or get some information about the belief in the afterlife in a foreign country. How do we furnish our dead relatives on their next step, and what do we want to achieve through our grave customs?

Not only what we do in the moment of burying our dead relatives is cultural-

ly interesting, but also the grave itself. In his richly illustrated and strictly systematic investigation Anders Gustavsson concentrates on the grave memorials in his case study about Orust, an island in south-western Sweden. He focuses on the time span between 1800 and 2000, which means that he covers the period with the most influential changes in Swedish society. From a socio-cultural standpoint, change is certainly one of the issues in his book. He also regards the graves a kind of cultural heritage, and, consequently, questions of value and restoration arise. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century permanent grave memorials have been erected. To some extent they are now obsolete and they cause some practical problems for the congregations.

The book focuses on well-demarcated and systematized themes. Gustavsson examined the difference in graves and grave memorials. The graves were placed in different ways and they had different forms and had or did not have fences. They were made from limestone, cast iron, and granite, with or without inscriptions. Gustavsson demonstrates how different social strata buried their dead in varying ways during the two hundred years and he also shows how practices changed in the shaping of the graves and the grave memorials. For instance, cast-iron crosses on graves indicate that the dead person had a relatively high position. Or, the higher a stone on the grave was, the higher was the position of the deceased in society.

Gender is another important theme in the book. Gustavsson opens for several thoughts about women's position as dead persons. In analysing the inscriptions he learned that a young dead woman was first presented as a daughter of her father. Since 1900 she has received her husband's name and identity. Through marriage, there was a change of her affiliation. Sometimes she could even keep her own position beside her husband. Family graves demonstrated the patriarchal society, the husband's superiority, for his name was always inscribed on top of the stone. Not until the 1920s was a woman's first name visible. However, Gustavsson shows that even single women might have a grave of their own and that a woman's professional title was not mentioned until very late. Children's graves and graves of young adults were rare in the nineteenth century.

After this "material" segment of the book Gustavsson studies the perspective on the afterlife on Orust. Now the religious context is more important than the social connections. The inscriptions referred to theological matters. They were often brought from the Bible and the hymnal. More interesting were the pictures found on the stones, such as lights and candles, crosses, stars, angels, birds, Jesus, or other symbols of life, love and hope. Sometimes the crosses were black and sometimes they were painted in a light colour, which might support Gustavsson's finding that the perspective on death could be both positive and negative, or at least that the living persons did not want to see death only as an appalling catastrophe.

The last chapter deals with the protection and preservation of graves. This is partly a matter of cultural heritage, respect, and devotion. It is also partly an economic issue. How should we honour our dead even if nobody knows the deceased any longer, and how should we combine this charge with the fact that there is greater need for space in the graveyards the more people there live in a place or – and that is the other reality of today – nobody left to take care of the old graves since most people move to towns far away? Gustavsson tries to argue for what should be defined and protected as a piece of cultural heritage. The book can be of help to those making decisions about this issue.

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Fieldwork in the Past

Karin Gustavsson: Expeditioner i det förflutna. Etnologiska fältarbeten och försvinnande allmogekultur under 1900-talets början. Nordiska museets förlag. Stockholm 2014. 239 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss.

In a now classical volume of studies about fieldwork from 1968, the ethnologist Göran Rosander describes the ideal total study, comprising everything: interviews, participant observations, aerial and other photography, surveying, recording, collecting archive material, and so on, with a long stay at the selected place. He is aware that such comprehensive fieldwork cannot be carried out because of the high expenses, but he still views it as a project to aspire to. Rosander's article was written at a time when young scholars wanted to renew ethnology, burn the archives, and get rid of old, prejudiced knowledge. In particular, they rejected fieldwork in its old form, where researchers with a preferential right of interpretation (and a student cap) headed out into "reality" and had their accumulated knowledge verified by selected (male, elderly, native) tradition bearers in an extremely unequal meeting, which resulted in data that could be collected, named, and archived. In this kind of fieldwork culture tended to be mostly artefacts, visible and possible to "harvest".

The new fieldwork would instead be based on dialogue between the researcher and the informant, open to many voices – even deviant and contradictory ones – and acknowledging everyone's equal right of interpretation. Obviously, however, fieldwork was mainly supposed to be a method for collecting knowledge about people's lives, thoughts, and beliefs – that is, about culture, but with an understanding of culture as something inside people's heads, a grammar, a track, a path.

Fieldwork, in any age, is an indispensable method and experience for ethnologists and anthropologists. The Polish anthropologist Bronisław Malinowski (1884–1942), who is regarded as the father of fieldwork and the founder of modern anthropology, stands as a guarantor of this. But Malinowski, who began his career as a field researcher in the very early twentieth century, was far from being a pioneer. As early as the eighteenth century there were certain researchers out in the field gathering knowledge about folk life, at a time when most scholars still worked at their desks. In the early nineteenth century fieldwork became increasingly common. One example is the compiler of the *Kalevala*, Elias Lönnrot, who spent periods in Karelia between 1828 and 1842 collecting runo songs for his epic. Later in the nineteenth century field research became increasingly common, for instance among linguists who were not only interested in dying dialects in distant places but also studied contemporary slang and occupational language. When ethnology emerged as a discipline in the early twentieth century, its representatives also went into the field to collect material for their studies. At the Uppsala Dialect Archive (founded in 1914) the employees could be in the field for several months each year. The first head of the archive, Herman Geijer, regarded a field stay as the ideal for a free researcher.

We know a great deal about past ethnological fieldwork through extant correspondence, travelogues, diaries, and of course through what was produced: material recorded in writing and on tape, or collected artefacts. In recent years fieldwork has also been scrutinized from a critical power perspective. In particular, aspects of reflexivity have been added, but fieldwork has also been discussed in terms of gender, class, and ethnicity. But although we have a great deal of knowledge about fieldwork in terms of ideas, there is no real insight into how work in the field took place in practice, although there are exceptions. One is

Ella Odstedt at the archive in Uppsala. She usually wrote highly detailed travel accounts with meticulous descriptions of her fieldwork.

The lack of knowledge about *how* it was done has persisted, still with the odd exception, but now the Lund ethnologist Karin Gustavsson has tried to satisfy the thirst for knowledge with her excellent dissertation, the title of which means "Expeditions into the Past". Gustavsson studies fieldwork in the early twentieth century, concentrating on the 1910–1930s and with special emphasis on southern Sweden. The aim of the dissertation is "to study, with examples taken from the fieldwork practice of building documentation, how scholarly knowledge is produced". She stresses that her investigation is about the practical fieldwork, *how* and not *why* it was done. She takes her theoretical inspiration from Ludwik Fleck's epistemological theory about the stable thought collective and Bruno Latour's theories about the relationship between people and things.

Materiality is a major theme of the dissertation. For Gustavsson the term refers to "palpable physical phenomena … which people have created and which they relate to… [and which] acquire their meaning in relation to the human being". Gustavsson holds up certain material objects as particularly important for the cases of fieldwork she studies: the bicycle on which the fieldworker got to the place of study, the camera with which to photograph the buildings, the tape measure for surveying the house, the notebook and pen, the pencil and ruler for drawing plans. But the documentation of buildings – which for the researchers was an important cultural contribution or a rescue action – was sometimes perceived as trespassing by those whose houses were to be measured and documented; they would not permit photography and refused to provide the fieldworkers with any information. Gustavsson cites several examples of how the researchers nevertheless tried, in a rather unethical way, to outwit the house owners to capture the selected and valuable objects in photographs.

One of the most experienced and travelled fieldworkers was Sigurd Erixon. Many years ago, in the Dialect and Folklore Archive in Uppsala, I found a letter from him to the head of the archive, Herman Geijer. Gustavsson quotes it in her dissertation. The letter, written in 1915, is a very important document from the fieldwork. There Erixon tells of his encounter with the summer farms in Mora and on the island of Sollerön. He is so fascinated by them that he places both them and the local people – whom he calls "this wonderful people" – in "the Middle Ages" and even in prehistory! Yet he does not ask himself how the people themselves viewed the shielings or what they thought about his self-assumed right to talk about them in this way. The letter convincingly shows that documentation of buildings was not a "neutral" activity. It was an integral part of the researcher's (pre)understanding of the Others' world. Perhaps this was what some people reacted negatively to, and provoked them into putting up resistance by not permitting photography or documentation of their farms?

The fieldworkers documenting buildings were all men. Gustavsson has not found a single woman. The men all had the same background: they had gone to grammar school and passed the entrance examination for university. Those who travelled on behalf of the Nordiska Museet were art historians or architects. For all these men the fieldwork was a lifestyle with which they identified. Being out in the field meant doing something concrete, and from studies I have conducted myself I know that the men's narratives from the field portray the work as a conquering expedition where the difficulties are there to be overcome and the hardships are supposed to build a man's character. No damp or cold, no

rugged terrain, no long distances can stand in the way of a hero.

Gustavsson's fieldworkers are thus all men. Perhaps it is a consequence of the fact that there were still no women in this line with an academic education? My experience of the archive in Uppsala shows that men predominated in the field in the first ten–twelve years (*c*. 1914–1925). But as soon as women with other duties than that of secretary were employed towards the end of the 1920s, they had to carry a heavy burden in the field, right up to the purchase of a recording vehicle in the 1940s and the arrival of the tape recorder in the 1950s. Then the men headed out into the field once again with the new equipment. All the time, however, the "finer" fieldwork had been reserved for men: the Lapland expeditions and the investigations of Swedish Estonia, and of course the three expeditions to the descendants of Swedish immigrants in the USA in the 1960s, carried out by the Uppsala archive.

Although Gustavsson is careful to stress that her study is not about why but how fieldwork was done, her dissertation certainly does not lack insight into the fieldwork as an idea and the consequences it had for the production of knowledge. On the contrary, discussions about fieldwork as an idea and its consequences occur like an undercurrent throughout the dissertation. She also devotes one chapter, chapter 2, "The Societal and Scholarly Context", to putting the fieldwork into a critical context. This is a well-informed and interesting discussion, but I miss the work of one researcher there, namely the Uppsala ethnologist Mikael Vallström. His critical studies of authenticity and other concepts would have fitted well here.

Gustavsson's book is as longed-for as it is useful. It has already become required reading on courses in ethnology at Södertörn. The theoretical parts of the dissertation are read for "Cultural Perspectives", the introduction to the A-course, and the more concrete practical parts for the essay on the B-course. It will probably find a place on the curriculum at other universities, and perhaps not just in the subject of ethnology.

The dissertation is not only rich in content but also well written, besides being an easily accessible study which will undoubtedly be much read and used. The choice of topic ought to interest not just others doing research on the methodology and history of the discipline, but also students about to go out into the field and researchers in local history who want information about how buildings were documented. That information can be found aplenty in Gustavsson's study, and it is served not only in text but also in pictures. For this is a study where the many well-chosen pictures are as important as the written text. The pictures are never mere illustrations, but always documents in their own right.

I think I have a pretty good knowledge of the history and methodology of the subject, but I have learned a great deal from reading Gustavsson's dissertation. I therefore recommend all my colleagues in ethnology to study *Expeditioner i det förflutna*. It is an important contribution to our understanding of the discipline, or am I the only one nowadays who is fascinated by disciplinary history?

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Living with Huntington's Disease

Niclas Hagen: Modern Genes – Body, Rationality and Ambivalence. Lund Studies in Arts and Cultural Sciences. Lund University 2013. 557 pp. Diss.

To state that the subject of the ethnologist Niclas Hagen's thesis is existentially heavy would be a slight understatement. Dealing with the genetic transfer-

ability of Huntington's disease – a late-onset genetic disorder that shows its first clear symptoms between the ages of 35 and 55, leading to mental decline and lack of muscle coordination – Hagen exposes the reader to everyday lives that are inherently laden with emotions: of uncertainty, of loss and of guilt.

In Hagen's doctoral dissertation *Modern Genes*, we are presented with a compilation thesis featuring four articles that are part of his dissertation along with a larger part in which he presents his overall framework for writing the articles. In this review, I will begin by presenting Hagen's articles and follow through with a short review of the chapter preceding the articles concerning the framework of the study.

The first article in Hagen's thesis, "Drinking Glasses, Doorsteps and Table Edges", deals with the evocative objects that seem to translate the inner corporeal depth of Huntington's disease into discernible experiences of everyday life. Through a combination of Maurice Merleau-Ponty's approach to embodiment and Sherry Turkle's notion of evocative objects, Hagen manages to present how his informants read dropping a glass as a sign of their inner corporeal deterioration and thus as something that may become part of their embodied experience of everyday life.

The second article, published in *Ethnologia Europaea*, "The Cultural Paradox of Predictive Genetic Testing for Huntington's Disease", deals with the implications of predictive genetic tests on individuals who are at risk of having the disease. Through ethnographic interviews Hagen shows how signs that may pertain to Huntington's disease are an important part of the informants' everyday lives, and how the signs of a potential "alien" inside are discerned through notions of normal and abnormal behaviour. With the predictive genetic tests – here in particular tests that confirm the existence of the mutated gene – Hagen shows how even more signs of everyday life may be recognized retrospectively. Whereas the proponents of predictive genetic tests argue that predictive genetic testing may aid the potential carriers and non-carriers of the alien inside in making rational life choices and removing them from being betwixt-and-between, Hagen shows that these tests do not necessarily remove the experience of being in a liminal space, where one is constantly confronted with questions of normality and abnormality.

The third article, "A Molecular Body in a Digital Society", is a contribution to a chapter in the edited volume *The Atomized Body* (ed. Max Liljefors, Susanne Lundin, Andréa Wiszmeg). Here Hagen approaches the ways in which people with Huntington's disease make use of the Internet, and Facebook in particular, in creating autonomous support groups. According to Hagen, these support groups allow people affected by Huntington's disease to obtain a platform for understanding and translating their disease into something manageable in everyday life. Drawing on such ethnologically well-known theorists as the Foucaultians Nikolas Rose and Paul Rabinow, along with the geographer David Harvey and the philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, Hagen proposes employing the concept of *online biosociality* as a term to describe the interactions between HD-afflicted persons on the Internet. This online biosociality, for example, on Facebook, compresses both temporal and geographical limits, and creates a rhizomic social space for the creation of new HD identities.

Hagen's last article, "For Better or for Worse: Lifeworld, System and Family Caregiving for a Chronic Genetic Disease", published in *Culture Unbound* and co-authored with Susanne Lundin, Tom O'Dell and Åsa Petersén, draws on Jürgen Habermas's theories of communication, lifeworld and system and Arthur Frank's illness narratives. By illustrating the differences between lifeworld and system, Hagen *et al*. show

how people affected by Huntington's attempt to navigate in the social welfare system in Sweden, but are confronted with a language that is different from that of their lifeworld. Thus they are forced to transform their illness stories to be able to communicate with the welfare system. Rather than insisting on this discrepancy as being unsolvable and something that completely alienates people, Hagen *et al*. argue that many of his informants attempt to bridge this discrepancy by inserting their lifeworld into the world of the system. Inspired by postcolonial theory, Hagen *et al*. name this way of approaching the system the "Third Space", being the combination of illness narratives with legal discourse, by which it becomes possible to alter the system through the lifeworld.

The introductory chapter presents an insight into the process of writing the thesis and Hagen's aim of exploring the link between everyday life with Huntington's disease and patterns of modernity. Again Hagen accomplishes this by connecting Jürgen Habermas's version of Alfred Schutz's notion of lifeworld with Habermas's notion of system. Drawing on not only Schutz's but also on Drew Leder's phenomenological approach in his thesis, Hagen argues that the lifeworld is a background of patterns on which our everyday experiences are based, something which is challenged when a disease such as Huntington's is detected. Hagen continues by uncovering the difference between lifeworld and system – system being represented as an autonomous entity – as being a central trait of modernity. This relation between system and lifeworld is continually emphasized as being of great importance to Hagen's approach in all of his articles, although it is most immediately apparent in the fourth article. Nonetheless, it speaks directly into Hagen's main aim of presenting the multiple ways in which scientific knowledge and lived experience interact and create an ambivalence in the lives of people affected by Huntington's disease.

When reading Hagen's thesis as a Dane, one can't help but think about the studies in health and illness that have been a major topic for Danish ethnologists in recent years, here in particular the works of late associate professor Lene Otto, specifically when contemplating her approach to the socio-cultural dimensions of living with a disease. Hagen's articles are noteworthy representations of how ethnological studies in health and illness may progress, and Hagen gives us a range of interesting and disturbing insights into how everyday life with a disease that gradually worsens and shows no mercy, may be lived. Furthermore, that Hagen has been able to gain these insights adds to the sense that one has throughout the reading of the thesis, namely that Hagen has a great sensitivity in his fieldwork and has invested a large amount of care and concern in his informants.

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Children as Co-researchers

Sandra Hillén: Barn som medforskare – en metod med potential för delaktighet. Göteborgs universitet 2013. 214 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss.

Studies of children, children's play, and children's lives in families and child-(ish) communities have a long tradition in ethnology and folkloristics. Tribalized and family-oriented approaches have dominated in more classic periods, whereas the so-called new childhood paradigm, poststructuralist and gender studies have informed contemporary studies. Sandra Hillén's dissertation, "Children as co-researchers – a method with a potential for participation", inscribes itself in such contemporary childhood studies in ethnology. As in

society, childhood is somewhat compartmentalized in academia, making ethnological childhood studies a matter for a small group of colleagues, often affiliated with or working in the borderland between culture and education. This is also the case with Hillén's dissertation, as it takes place within a school context and involves teaching on research methods.

The focus is on children, children's competencies, children's rights to be heard in matters that concern them, children's empowerment. But the questions of research and academia – and the chosen empirical field of food – disappear, leaving this reader with frustrations and bewilderment concerning why this is important for more than the specific children involved. Hillén limits herself to discussing how co-research as a method worked in this particular study, whereas the argument would have benefited from reflections on the strength and scope of the results. Questions of class and gender are touched upon, but are not convincingly delivered and attached to how academia can be informed by working with children as co-researchers. Paradoxically, the strong solidarity with children and the focus on children's rights and empowerment tend to dismantle any interest in actually using children's research results or ways of working with co-research to inform adults' research in the same field.

Chapter 1 introduces us to the focused topics and establishes a platform with theoretical, methodological and political dimensions. This platform consists of research on children and food (mostly concerned with problems such as child obesity and other health issues), "new" sociological childhood studies (concerned with children as social agents within adult society's power structure), post-structuralism and gender theories (concerned with issues of doing, governmentality, and intersectionality), theories of participation (concerned with issues of equality and democracy), and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (concerned with issues of empowerment and protection). Hillén combines these points of departure and sets an agenda of analysing the co-research as such as well as the process in which it took place. The aim of the study is to examine what happens when eleven-year-old children are involved as co-researchers, when given the opportunity to do research of their own choice on food and eating.

Chapter 2 on co-research takes as its point of departure the aspiration within childhood research to give young people voices and listen to what they say. Hillén sees her own research as affiliated to this tendency and its rootedness in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. Dialogue is seen as a means of creating equality between adults and children in the research process. Hillén characterizes the results of the children's research on food as less important and her own focus on co-research as a method as the primary focus of the study. It is mentioned that the children's results were unsurprising and insufficient to inform a dissertation. As a consequence, the focal points all relate to what happens with children when they work as co-researchers, as seen in chapters 3 and 4.

Chapter 3 on children's competencies deals with questions of whether the co-research gives the children an alternative platform for agency than what is commonly offered to them, and whether their participation empowered them. Hillén's interest in this chapter is related to what happens to children's competencies when they are involved as co-researchers. A variety of concepts related to adult researchers' understanding of children and childhood are introduced, as well as analytical concepts of power, subject positions, and governmentality. Issues of power and selection of children participating in the project are discussed and topics such as parents' power to overrule children's wishes to be co-researchers are touched upon. It is empha-

sized that all children should be given the opportunity, and not only "clever" or "good" students. At the same time, the process of selection made by teachers in one of the two participating schools did just that. Furthermore, a multitude of empirical examples are presented, illustrating children's agency, subject positioning and negotiation of roles and relations within the context of the co-research process.

Chapter 4 focusing on knowledge, knowing and knowledge production addresses the aforementioned fundamental paradoxes within the study. Giving examples from the co-research process, Hillén discusses questions of knowledge production and academic communication related to the children's research. Here it becomes evident that the basic power relation between children and adults and between academia and everyday life is impossible to overcome. It is up to Hillén as a researcher to act in ways that seek to do justice to the children. The most important insights in this chapter are related to children's perspectives on food and eating, and not least their interest in adults and expectations of them. Many parallels between the co-research process and "ordinary" adult research processes are pointed out, and the dilemmas of power and control are nuanced. The chapter could have benefited from more reflections on these parallels. For instance, the fact that research is a highly disciplining activity and academia is a community to which access is very difficult to obtain even for adults. Hillén emphasizes that the most interesting dilemma is the one between theory and practice as regards research, and she encourages more studies on what happens in social interaction, including chaotic aspects and situations. Her fear of downgrading or devalidating the children when reporting on such chaotic aspects is, surprisingly enough, not paralleled with "adult" messy and chaotic processes of research, perhaps because of the implicit presuppositions regarding children – and researchers. On the basis of Mary Kellett's approach, Hillén's troubles regarding research training and guiding children are quite relieved, as tutoring is seen as relevant and necessary in relation to children as co-researchers, again completely parallel to what takes place in adult research training.

Chapter 5 on potential participation returns to questions of children's position in society and limited citizenship, and a section is devoted to reflections on how to include children in academia. The question is whether this is a relevant quest; perhaps ways of understanding and working with children that can contribute to empowering them and emphasizing their democratic rights are even more important than trying to incorporate them in a highly hierarchical community such as academia. Personally I have dissuaded even very talented graduates from attempting this unless they are very well aware of the circumstances and conditions that prevail here. More important issues, to my mind, are that of how to guide and protect children when they are involved in research in one way or another, and the question of how children's co-research contributes to the insights researchers aspire to. The section on children's influence and participation in practice contains important reflections on children as citizens and how to ensure their democratic rights as established in the UN Child Convention. Socioeconomic, historic and cultural variation is introduced here as part of an argument for children's citizenship in a late modern era.

Thus, children's roles in the project are as both co-researchers and research objects. How Hillén's research and the children's co-research interrelate could be further elaborated upon, however, as it is clear that the children involved as co-researchers are not co-researchers in Hillén's own research, since children focus on food issues and Hillén focuses on co-research as a method of empowering

children. The relation between research, political activism, and education could have benefited from more scrutiny and clarity throughout the text. In not doing this, Hillén leaves the reader bewildered as regards the scientific use of children as co-researchers, that is: how could children as co-researchers inform and qualify childhood studies and/or studies on food? The main impression is that co-research is of use for children, which is an important conclusion politically as well as ethically and educationally. The method of children as co-researchers seems to be good at giving children opportunities to express their opinions on matters that concern them, to empower them somewhat, and to expand or develop their competencies, that is, traditional educational aspirations. The study also raises unanswered questions on the scope and power of the research, as the co-researchers are "good" students in well-off, middle-class "white" schools. These matters are touched upon in the concluding chapters, but the answers are fewer than the questions. Nevertheless, I am looking forward to Hillén elaborating further on how this method helps academia understand children better.

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Simon Olaus Wolff: Underestimated Folklorist

Simon Olaus Wolff: Riarhammeren eller Spøgeriet og to andre sagnfortellinger. Innledning og utvalg av Ørnulf Hodne. Norsk Folkeminnelag. Norsk Folkeminnelags skrifter 168. Scandinavian Academic Press. Oslo 2015. 155 pp. Ill.

Simon Olaus Wolff (1796−1859) is reckoned today as the first systematic collector of Norwegian legends. Circumstances, however, prevented his planned publication of a collection of legends in the first half of the nineteenth century, which would have made him a pioneer in folklore studies. In the introduction to this book, Ørnulf Hodne suggests that a review in 1833 written by the poet and literary critic Johan Sebastian Cammermeyer Welhaven (1807−1873), with a devastating dismissal of Wolff's collected poems, *Samlede poetiske Forsøg*, may have put an effective stop to this part of Wolff's literary career. As a productive poet in his days as a student, and with a profound interest in nature and folk life, expressed in early publications of travelogues and occasional legends in the 1820s, Wolff laid a preliminary foundation on which he *could* have become an important pioneer in the first romantic phase in Norway oriented towards the distinctive character of folklore in the national culture. Instead he became one of the people who sent material to Andreas Faye (1802−1869) for the first major publication of legends in Norway in 1833.

The background to this book, which presents three of Wolff's works, is justified by Ørnulf Hodne through the claim that not only Welhaven but also later literary critics have unfairly placed Wolff as an insignificant folklorist and artist in the national romantic landscape in Norway. It was not until some time into the twentieth century that Wolff received attention again, and this publication is also an attempt to shed new light on Wolff's early contribution, emphasizing its importance. Ørnulf Hodne does this chiefly through a detailed introduction where Wolff is counted among the early Norwegian culture builders in the age of national romanticism, described as a pioneer who anticipated both perspectives and methods used by far more famous successors such as Andreas Faye, Magnus B. Landstad, Peter Christen Asbjørnsen, and Jørgen Moe. As a priest for many years in the Telemark district, Wolff acquired a detailed knowledge of the people and of traditional material which he recorded and then reworked in authentic descriptions of nature and

places which resembled the short story in form and where legendary material was at the centre. According to Hodne, it is the realism of the narratives and the way they convey "genuine folk tradition" that marks Wolff's originality as a folklorist. And it is examples of this new orientation towards tradition-realism that fill the rest of the book. Here the reader is presented with three unabridged narratives in short story form based on legends collected by Wolff in Telemark and published in two Norwegian periodicals in the period 1828–1833; the first narrative is a tragic love story, the second a tale of a deserted farm, and the third about the pilgrim church of Røldal. And it is precisely in these frame stories that we glimpse Wolff's national cultural project incorporated in picturesque descriptions of Norwegian nature and folk life and the Norwegian soul.

The folklorist Ørnulf Hodne is responsible for the introduction and the selection used in this publication. Hodne is without dispute the most important living popularizer of Norwegian cultural history. With many dozens of books to his credit, through his work as a government scholar from 1986 (a position salaried directly by the Ministry of Culture to support free, independent activity for culture, society, and scholarship) he has devoted his research efforts to the presentation of core themes in traditional folklore studies, including Norwegian fairy tales and legends, annual and life-cycle feasts, beliefs and folk religiosity, and magic and witchcraft in Norwegian folk tradition, to mention some examples. There is scarcely anyone with a greater knowledge than Ørnulf Hodne of the traditional material that fills the archives of the Norwegian Folklore Collection, and his familiarity with the legends and fairy tales in the collection makes him the natural choice to write the introduction to a book like this.

So who is this book written for? As number 168 in the series published by Norsk Folkeminnelag (NFL), it is chiefly aimed at the several hundred members of that folklore society. Established back in 1920, NFL is reckoned as Norway's oldest book club, publishing one or two books each year. Oral tradition in Norway is the central theme of these books, exemplified through fairy tales, legends, folksongs, customs, and much more, and a great deal of the material on which the books are based comes from the national archive of tradition, the Norwegian Folklore Collection.

The portrait of Wolff and the accompanying legends is nevertheless of interest to anyone wishing for deeper insight into the early work of folklore collecting in Norway in the first half of the nineteenth century. We do not know for sure whether Wolff's folkloristic work was broken off because of contemporary literary critics, but it is in any case less relevant here to evaluate his textual contributions. Perhaps it is now that we really are mature enough to appreciate Wolff's contribution. For, unlike Wolff's contemporaries, who were concerned with the *right* way to depict Norwegian culture and folklife, we today care more about the *motivation* behind the interest in folk culture, *how* this early effort took shape, and the *forms of expression* that were used. And this book fully serves that purpose.

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Storytelling as the "Subjective-in-between"

Michael Jackson: The Politics of Storytelling. Variations on a Theme by Hannah Arendt. Museum Tusculanum Press. Copenhagen 2013. 319 pp.

The renowned ethnologist and writer Michael D. Jackson has written quite a compelling book on the politics of storytelling, a book which is actually a sec-

ond, revised edition of an earlier one (from 2002), a passage of time which here can be observed in at least three ways. The first is that the book's subtitle has been changed, from the more discursive *Violence, Transgression, and Intersubjectivity* to the less descriptive and perhaps more suggestive *Variations on a Theme by Hanna Arendt*. The second way in which the book is reworked can be seen in the fact that it now actually has two introductions, one called a preface to the second edition and one (from the first edition) called Introduction. Since the new preface or introduction is also quite extensive (17 pages compared to 21 for the old introduction) and to some extent overlapping in content with the earlier one, this means that the book right from the start is a rather heavy journey, penetrating from the outset the world of storytelling from slightly different time angles (the time span between the two editions is about a decade). And the third way in which this new edition differs from the earlier one is that some new contents from Jackson's teaching on storytelling are incorporated from the courses he has been teaching at the University of Copenhagen and at Harvard Divinity School over a period of ten years, and he has added life stories from his own ethnographic work.

So, in the new preface, he lets the reader know that this book had its origins in fieldwork he did in Wellington, New Zealand, in 1998 with Iraqi and Somali refugees. What struck him at that time was something which obviously had repercussions on his thinking on storytelling as a whole, why people want to tell stories to each other, or in this case perhaps rather why they don't want to tell their stories, as it were, since what he encountered among the refugees he interviewed was hesitancy, awkwardness and suspicion, and to a large extent, silence. From this Jackson goes on to think that life stories often have less to do with speaking one's mind or sharing one's experiences than with saying what is safest or most expedient to say. So, he has in this context come to the conclusion that for people in these kinds of extreme circumstances the potential storyteller is often aware of the fact that, as he writes, truth will get you nowhere or get you in trouble.

This means that as a storyteller one must in this case learn to carefully select, censor, and even misrepresent one's reality in order to get one's way, which is to escape from terror, to be selected for emigration, to avoid racial insults or perhaps to persuade state officials to look kindly on one's petition for family reunion. And Jackson adds that he himself, living as a citizen in a free country, could indulge notions of verisimilitude, objective testimony, which is a luxury the refugees, struggling to survive spiritually and socially in an alien and often demoralizing environment, cannot afford.

From this Jackson draws a central variation, as it might be called, on the theme he is using throughout this book, from Hannah Arendt, herself a refugee and even a self-described "pariah" (a key term for Arendt and one Jackson also uses to striking effects in his book, but one which he unfortunately fails to discuss as a theoretical concept). The overarching theme here is then one of intersubjectivity and human plurality – the fact that we are at once unique individuals (*ipse*) and members of a community, and of a class, a nation, and ultimately, a single species, with capacities for speech and action that we have in common with every other human being who lives or has lived (*idem*). Politics and power, which are also reflected in storytelling, are then for Arendt as well as for Jackson matters of how the private realm of individual experience is related to the public realm, which is the realm of transpersonal values, mercenary, mundane interests and dominant ideologies. The conclusion Jackson draws from this – in concert with his own "grand theory"

of an existential anthropology – is that there is an entire field of experience (another key concept here) which Arendt has identified as the "subjective-in-between". This field is what Jackson here is engaged with in stories and storytelling from quite different quarters, seen as the equivalent of saying and doing something together, interacting, conversing and adjusting one's interests and experiences in ways that others relate to through experiences of their own. So, Arendt's view of storytelling, as it informs Jackson's work, means that this kind of human activity is quintessentially intersubjective, bringing the social into being. At the same time it is implicitly pragmatist. Arendt is, according to Jackson, more concerned with the action, work or process of storytelling and the effects this has, than on the content of any single story.

What then, Jackson asks, can be accomplished by storytelling? And can our stories be equated with our theories about the world – symbolic techniques of control and comprehension, born of our need to believe that we can grasp reality and determine the course of our lives? The answer is, in Jackson's view, not one which philosophy alone can provide, although an important step philosophically, i.e. ontologically and epistemologically, is for him to suspend the conventional notions about the essential differences between fact and fiction, science and myth, the real and the illusory, in order to explore on a case-to-case basis what consequences follow from any behaviour, and what effects actions have upon the lives we are living and the lives of others.

Let me for a second stop here, before going into further questions of the relationship between theory and ethnography, knowledge and experience, identity and interconnectedness, all themes which Jackson in quite an impressive way deals with in this book, and try to say something about what kind of ethnography he is performing here, making perhaps the overall "edge" of the book clearer and more distinct.

Here then is gathered an impressive ethnography of stories from quite diverse traditions. A main thrust of the book is from Jackson's Kuranko fieldwork in Sierra Leone, one of the world's poorest and least developed countries (technologically and economically speaking; now of course also hit hard by the ebola virus epidemic in Western Africa). Another section of his book deals with biculturalism and immigration in New Zealand, the country where Jackson himself was born and grew up, a third being the horrible fates of Australia's so called part-Aborigines, those who were taken away from their families, in order to make them into whites or almost whites, by the Australian governmental system. Another strand of ethnography here is concerned with Croatians and Bosnians in the post-Yugoslavian wars, and one section deals with the fate of a single person, but at the same time, the family of this person, the New Zealander John Joseph Thomas (Joe) Pawelka, the son of Central European immigrants who in the early twentieth century became one of the most famous legendary fugitives in the history of the country, the breakout from prison and subsequent disappearance of Pawelka leading to quite a (still unsolved) mystery case involving the family and friends of Pawelka. Jackson performs an interesting detective job working with different clues as to the storytelling about Pawelka and to "the wall of silence" he meets when trying to lay bare the wounds this life story has resulted in for the Pawelka family.

Several aspects of Jackson's treatment of the Pawelka case are quite interesting. One is the notion of wounded narcissism which Jackson attributes to Pawelka, surely quite a Western concept, which in the overall context here might stick out a little, since one of the most intriguing aspects of this book is that Jackson elsewhere several times

stresses the point that his investigations into the storytelling of these people transgress cultural borders of various kinds, in order to excavate what here is the main concern of his existential ethnography, or one might even call it existential or life philosophy, a most interesting conglomerate of thoughts, from traditions which might be said to a certain extent to overlap and strengthen each other, but which also form a kind of rather unstable theoretical hybrid or smorgasbord, bringing together quite different strands of philosophy: the existentialism of Arendt and Sartre, the pragmatism of William James, the phenomenology of Husserl and Merleau-Ponty, the critical theory of e.g. Benjamin, Bakhtin, Bourdieu, Foucault, de Certeau, and even to some extent the stoicism of the ancient Greek and Roman philosophers!

Since Michael Jackson is an extremely accomplished writer and ethnographer and also a very prolific one – for one single year, 2013, I counted five monographs written by him – it is not easy to get into a critical dialogue with his writing and thought process. But I think that the same kind of analysis that he offers on the storytelling among e.g. refugees in a certain way can also be applied to his own storytelling/ethnography. The possible blind spots or *aporias* in his research might then be buried under a drape of eloquence and stylistic brilliance which makes it difficult to see these possibly more problematic aspects of his research, if there are any. And I think there are aspects of his existential ethnography which must be addressed also from a decidedly critical point of view.

In my reading of this book the central *aporia* concerning Jackson's ethnographic approach has to do with his own positioning as an ethnographer and also as a writer and person with quite a remarkable life story, involving transformation and flight, concepts which are also foregrounded in his ethnographic system. Although I cannot, unfortunately, here give a summation of his whole literary and scholarly enterprise because I haven't read it – he is also a noted poet and a writer of fiction – there are still some clues both in this book and other writings of his that I have looked into as to what is driving his ethnographic work.

In other contexts he has written about two of his most important literary mentors, and has also quite literally walked in their footsteps, the poet Blaise Cendrars in Paris and the cultural theorist Walter Benjamin in southern France and northern Spain in 1940. The latter, the German-Jewish cultural critic and writer Walter Benjamin, was, as we know, fleeing from the Nazis, a flight which ended with Benjamin taking his life in the Spanish border town of Portbou by the Pyrenees.

In an essay published by the *Harvard Divinity Bulletin*, Jackson writes about his journey to Portbou, standing in front of a brown schist boulder at the cemetery that commemorated Benjamin's death here on 27 September 1940: "And then it occurred to me that this affinity had less to do with the inspiration I had drawn from Benjamin's ideas of allegory and narratively coherent experience (*Erfahrung*), or from the notion that the form of our writing may imitate the 'natural' or spontaneous forms in which the world appears to us; it came mostly from the way I have taken heart, for many years, from his example, and come to see that the maverick life of a thinker, arcane and obsolete though it is nowadays seen to be, is as legitimate as any other vocation. Although our backgrounds and upbringing were utterly unlike, and he died the year I was born, had I not, from the beginning, been attracted to the life of the mind, only to find that such an existence had little value in the country where I was raised? But in contrast to Benjamin, I did not aspire to intellectual greatness. This was not because I embraced the anti-intellectualism of my native culture, or, like Pierre Bourdieu, felt ashamed of thought; it

was because I had always been convinced that thought and language were profoundly inadequate to the world, and could neither save nor redeem us. It may not have been Benjamin's intellectuality that made him so maladroit. But it did offer him a kind of magical bolthole where he could avoid taking action, and console himself that the world was safe and secure as long as he could make it appear so in what he thought and wrote."

And the ethnographer adds that we perhaps should learn to judge the intellectual life not in terms of its practical capacity to improve the material conditions of our lives, but in terms of whether it enlarges our capacity to see the world in new ways.

So, if one may view Jackson as an outsider in relation to established cultural and historical forms and traditions, and not so much a combination of an insider and an outsider as seems to be the case of such influential historian writers as Eric Hobsbawm or Tony Judt, to what extent is the outsider attitude reflected in his language and what is he actually saying and not saying in his ethnography? And could it be said of Jackson that he is offering the reader a kind of "cultural outsiderism" as a project in his study of storytelling?

I think that the answer might be that up to a certain point this is true. His project seems to be informed by a deep anxiety about cultural roots and questions of belonging, which he writes about more extensively in his memoir *The Accidental Anthropologist* from 2006 in which he sees himself in childhood and early youth as suffering "the displaced consciousness of a day-dreamer", increasingly isolated from others, imagining himself born to other families than his own, nurturing Platonic longings for completion and wholeness in another, and being fixated on the idea of friendship, of romantic love, and of acceptance into a community of kindred spirits.

It must be noted that the social context of what Michael Jackson is researching and retelling in *The Politics of Storytelling* is often of a very cruel and unjust kind, since the ethnography is one focusing on extreme situations and societies in deep trouble, war, free fall etc. The atrocities hinted at are of such magnitude that the question of how the ethnographer is able to cope with these horrors must be asked. There are stories from the Kuranko within a context of extreme violence, arms are chopped off innocent victims, eyes are struck out, and genital operations on young women might be a part of the culture in question. In Jackson's account this latter social and physical practice, clitoridectomy, is viewed upon in countries such as France and the United States as illegal, shameful, barbaric, but Jackson does not forget to mention that those who claim the practice is vital to their social identity, as in this case refugees, are living in a world in which their refugee autonomy is always under siege, whatever our own views on the matter are, as Jackson points out.

In Jackson's theoretical framework such extreme violence should be understood in the light of the larger picture he is bringing forth, of intersubjectivity. The balance between being an autonomous subject-for-oneself and an anonymous object-for-others is, he says, seldom satisfactorily struck or successfully sustained. Instead it is threatened continually by the vagaries of climate and disease, by accidents, natural disasters, and by the contingencies of history.

This kind of stance raises questions of a possible indifference to suffering on the ethnographer's part. In a review of Michael Jackson's book from 2012 on writers and writing – *The Other Shore* – Darren Byler has noted that Jackson writes himself into in the mode of Camus' rebel without a cause. Byler says that Jackson repeatedly shows us how his writing stems from a "lucid indifference" to regimes which he finds arbitrary and oppressive. By surround-

ing himself with melancholic and heroic writers such as Kafka, Rilke, Rimbaud, Henry Miller, Knut Hamsun and Blaise Cendrars among many others, Jackson is, according to Byler, making an implicit claim for the integrity of "loneliness and anonymity" in the writerly life.

So, in a way, this is quite a grim picture of contemporary humanity Jackson is offering his reader, something matching the cinematic horrors depicted in e.g. Henri-Georges Clouzot's Latin-American road movie *The Wages of Fear*. But for Jackson the most problematic aspect of these people and their storytelling concerns the situation in which the possible storytelling is falling into inwardness, solipsism as it were. Such an outcome is possible due to trauma, shame, guilt and other such psycho-physiological processes bringing the natural flow of intersubjectivity to a halt.

Related to this notion of intersubjectivity as a precondition for storytelling involving healing, retribution, stoicism or forgiveness and a constant flow of thinking, willing, judging and acting out something is in this case, interestingly enough, linked to a tendency towards a social critique of Western ways, of a Euro-centric worldview, in e.g. storytelling. As a special object for critique he picks the genre of the novel seen as, in my view, rather reductively as an instrument of bourgeois interiorization and individualization and even a culmination of possessive and individual private life. In another section of the book he also talks about, with an expression borrowed from Roy Wagner, "an opera-house" conception of civilized sensibilities in European bourgeois notions of culture, in a discussion about cultural fundamentalism and identity thinking which he sees as detrimental to any notion of common humanity but like all reification, as he says, eliding the line that separates words and worlds, language and life.

My final comment must then be on Jackson's own position, which in my view still is rather ambiguous and paradoxical. On one hand his is a stance of openness/undecidedness, and more than that, a theory of consciousness highlighting flux, flow, flight, movement, foreignness in the world, something he calls diasporic pluralism rather than globalization, an amalgamation of the singular and the shared resulting in the trans-subjective. The theme he is writing these variations on is really Hannah Arendt's notion of storytelling transforming our lives and enabling us to reshape diffuse, diverse and difficult personal experiences in ways that can be shared. Through metaphors that can merge particular and general subjectivities, storytelling fashions images of "a singular universal". A nation and a person are thought of as one, a person becomes a name, an individual exemplifies an idea and so on.

The strange thing about the ethnographer's own position here, then, is that the work he has been doing for so long and with such a deep focus on humanity in all its complexities and problems, but also its hopes and new openings, that this is a picture which cannot be replicated; it is quite unique, as well as deeply human. And it also carries, almost like a birthmark, the inescapable problem of him being, as he says, a citizen in a free country, and at the same time a person who has made and makes constant journeys into other countries (both literally and metaphorically speaking). As such his flight, his travels are akin to the view put forth by the eminent storyteller and physician Oliver Sacks, who recently wrote in the *New York Times*, having been diagnosed with terminal cancer: "My generation is on the way out, and each death I have felt as an abruption, a tearing away of part of myself. There will be no one like us when we are gone, but then there is no one like anyone else, ever. When people die, they cannot be replaced. They leave holes that cannot be filled, for it is the fate – the genetic and neural fate – of

every human being to be a unique individual, to find his own path, to live his own life, to die his own death."

Sacks's words might be seen as maybe tilting more towards uniqueness than towards sharedness, but that might be a result of a certain cultural bias which we Westerners, and even Michael D. Jackson, have to live with as long as we are in this world, doing ethnography or whatever other important mission we might be on.

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Flamingos

Caitlin R. Kight: Flamingo. Reaktion Books. London 2015. 220 pp. Ill.

Be honest. You have all expressed horror at the pink plastic flamingos your neighbours put out in their gardens. Plastic flamingos often serve as examples of "bad taste" according to middle-class arbiters of taste. Kitsch is probably the word that comes to mind. We seldom reflect that there is a person and a story behind these strange animals. It was the American designer Don Featherstone who launched these loved and hated plastic creations in 1957. Since then they have found their way into cultural history, become an icon in popular culture, and they have been used in installations and advertising alike. They have changed colour too; my neighbours have black plastic flamingos in their garden. In Caitlin R. Kight's little, beautifully illustrated book *Flamingo* there is a whole chapter about these garden ornaments and their journey through the world. It makes for interesting reading.

The publisher, Reaktion Books, has issued a long series of monographs on animals since 2004; I believe they have about fifty titles now, and it is a feast every time a new volume drops into the letterbox (other volumes this year have been "Goat", "Badger", "Beaver" and "Guinea Pig"). Just like previous volumes, these monographs shed light on animals from a broad perspective. Kight's volume, which may serve here as an example, is devoted not only to plastic flamingos; other chapters describe the biology of these remarkable birds and their significance in cultural history, especially in older times. Flamingos are fascinating birds, perhaps the easiest to recognize of all the birds on our earth. No zoo worth the name is without them, and there is a lot to tell about these unusual creatures. There are six different species, with their intriguing biology and of course with the threat to their continued existence. We learn a great deal here about their biology and evolution, about how people in ancient times imagined flamingos, and about their prospects for the future. The illustrations are excellent, and despite the relatively small format of the book, seventy or so colour pictures are very well reproduced, besides a number of other illustrations. Flamingos have an important place in the history of art, of that there is no doubt.

This volume, just like the others in the series, has a well-written text and fantastic, somewhat unexpected illustrations which illuminate the place of this animal in our world; a book that also considers it important to deal with the role of a bird as a controversial plastic garden ornament testifies to the intellectual breadth of these volumes. For its Animal Series the publisher has chosen authors – usually non-zoologists – who evidently dare to go the whole hog. Readers with an interest in animals and culture cannot be anything but grateful. For those who want to learn more about different animals, the Reaktion Books Animal Series is a must. This is cultural history at its most enjoyable.

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Fictionalized Bodies in Live Action Role-playing

Erika Lundell: Förkroppsligad fiktion och fiktionaliserade kroppar. Levande rollspel i Östersjöregionen. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Stockholm 2014. 197 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss.

The aim of Erika Lundell's dissertation, "Embodied Fiction and Fictionalized Bodies: Live Action Role-playing in the Baltic Sea Region", is "to describe the characteristics of live action role-playing, how they are created, realized, and retold. A further aim is to investigate how bodies are materialized, take space, and are given space in larp chronotopes which are staged in the Baltic Sea region" (p. 16). Lundell is thus interested in live action role-playing, bodies, and materialization. Live action role-playing (larp) resembles improvised theatre, but without an audience, and it can go on for several hours or even days. Larp can be found in many parts of the world, and early examples of role-playing existed in USA and Britain in the 1970s. The Nordic countries adopted larp a little later, in the 1980s and 1990s; it spread to Russia and Latvia in the 1990s. The forerunners, according to the author, included the fantasy genre, science fiction, different historical predecessors such as gladiator games and other forms of role-play such as table-top role-playing games in the USA.

As regards theory, Lundell is inspired by different researchers and traditions. Here we may mention Sara Ahmed's phenomenology and Victor Turner's theories of ritual. The reader also meets scholars like Merleau-Ponty and Judith Butler, and concepts such as performativity, leakage, matrix of interpretation, embodiment, and materialization. There are also thoughts about metacommunication based on Bateson. It is an eclectic stance that the author adopts, thus following an established tradition in ethnology.

The dissertation is in large part chronologically arranged, so that the reader meets everything from preparations for larp to the participants' return to everyday reality. In one chapter, "Written Rooms for Action", the author examines texts aimed at participants in larp, texts describing the live action chronotopes, that is, larp as timespace phenomena. Lundell calls these texts scripts, following Sara Ahmed, the scripts function as orientation tools which "help the participants direct their body and their gaze away from the everyday world to the more or less collaboratively designed role-playing chronotope with its specific alterities" (p. 76).

With the focus on class, Lundell describes the *Erta* role-playing game as reflecting a class society with distinct hierarchies, as expressed in the way people of lower rank must submit to their superiors. *The Motherland* also takes place in a hierarchical world. The author says that the clear class hierarchies are genre markers which distinguish larp chronotopes from the everyday world. The class structure, so to speak, metacommunicates that play is in progress.

In chapter 4, "Materialized Spaces for Action", the preparations for larp are compared to theatrical preparations, but with the difference that larp has no audience. Nor is the script fixed as in a theatre play, and the scenography is not static. Moreover, the objects lack a specific meaning and can rather be seen as suggestions in comparison with the more fixed props in the theatre.

Lundell gives relatively detailed descriptions of how the role-playing was built up and how the participants' bodies were shaped in harmony with the larp space. This was done, for example, through military drill, and the author claims, citing Merleau-Ponty, that this drill can be viewed as an example of how a person learns a new and temporary body schema in larp. The exercises were orientation tools, a way to redirect the body and adapt it to the larp space.

Chapter 5, "Fictionalizing Space",

considers how the different larp chronotopes are materialized in space and how boundaries are drawn between everyday reality and larp reality. This could be done, for instance, with the aid of a white bandana that the participants tied around their forehead if they were "off-game". They would then be ignored. There was thus, according to the author, a metacommunication between the participants about which matrix of interpretation was to be relevant.

Chapter 6, "Bodies in Simultaneous Matrices of Interpretation", deal with practices associated with the body, that is, sexually coded practices, and different forms of violence. In larp there are clear rules for the representation of sex, for which the reason, according to the author is that sex was regarded as a boundary practice, that is, a practice that threatened to leak between the different worlds and the matrices of interpretation. As a whole, sexuality was difficult to stage, since it entailed the risk that the sexuality of the playing character was mistaken for the authentic desire of the participant.

Larp often involves war and hostilities, that is to say, different forms of violence, above all physical violence. The use of force was regulated; for example, a person who was struck by a fake sword chose to respond as if it had hurt, according to written instructions for how to react to different types of violence. That type of role-playing, according to the author, signalled which matrix of interpretation was relevant and how the violence was to be understood. Lundell also discusses violence as an expression of a form of hegemonic masculinity, but also in terms of a kind of "masculinity for all".

Chapter 7, "Leaving the Larp", is about what happens when the role-playing days are over, and the narratives and memories that are then passed on. The author regards the retelling afterwards as performative; this is when the participants together create the image of what happened during the larp. She enlists the assistance of Bauman and describes the narratives as "debriefing narratives", where the participants communicate their individual experiences and combine them into a complete picture. Lundell also cites Victor Turner's ritual theory and the concept of "communitas" in order to understand the rituals that end the role-playing. One example from *The Motherland* concerns the manifestation of communitas by singing the Soviet anthem one last time.

In chapter 8, "Emotions and Leakage" the author looks at some events that took place after the game days. Emotions are an important theme here, and Lundell studies how these are expressed in a "thank-you thread" on the net, where the participants can comment on what they have experienced and communicate their thoughts and feelings.

In chapter 9, "A Nation for Vacation from the Nation?", examines how the nation or the idea of nations is both confirmed and dissolved, and the link between nation and body, that is, how bodies orient themselves in the space of the nation. And nation refers here both to nation in the world of larp and in the everyday world. Here Lundell touches on "banal nationalism", which concerns how objects can become symbols of nations without actually representing nationalism. An example is the everyday use of flags. In larp, however, such objects can be re-labelled as in *The Motherland*, where the flag symbolized the Soviet Union, but in a new way in a temporary context.

Another theme in the chapter is the link between gender and nation. Lundell writes that, unlike other narratives of the nation, where the role of soldier, for example, may have stood for a hegemonic masculinity, there is a duality in larp concerning the soldier role and gender. On the one hand, there is an openness towards the idea that women can also be soldiers and represent the nation; on the

other hand, they are marked as something special, which counteracts the idea of equal conditions.

In the closing chapter, Lundell discusses larp in relation to the concept of metamodernism, which comes from the article "Notes on Metamodernism" by Vermeulen and Van der Akker (2010). Metamodernism can be defined as: "oscillating between a modern enthusiasm and a postmodern irony, between hope and melancholy, between naivety and knowledge, empathy and apathy, unity and diversity, totality and ambivalence" (p. 164). Lundell says that larp resembles this oscillation between enthusiasm and irony, and can be regarded as a way out of the conflict between postmodernism's sense that nothing is real and modernism's demand for absolute truth.

A characteristic of larp is "picking and dealing", which allows a mixture of styles, objects, periods, and intentions. In a way the dissertation is a reflection of larp in that both have a creative and postmodern (metamodern) character. The dissertation has a wealth of ideas, many different perspectives and angles. I see this as both positive and negative. As a reader one travels between many different lines of thought and theorists, and this is often informative and entertaining. The dissertation also contains concrete and telling examples that reflect what larp is and how it can be understood. The reader thus gains good and interesting insight into this fictitious world, and I am impressed by the energy that the participants and arrangers invest in the practice.

The orientation towards bodies and materialization is interesting and in keeping with the times, and as I understand it this adds new perspectives to this type of phenomenon – even if it is not always perfectly clear what new knowledge is yielded by body and materialization. It also reflects a certain courage to carry out the research and arrange the dissertation in the way Lundell does, with a rather large and demanding collection of material based on several different methods and types of evidence: texts (online studies), interviews, and observations in Sweden, Denmark, and Latvia. During her participation in larp, the author has also experienced many different situations and trials, physical, mental, and moral. As a result, the dissertation gives good insight into what larp can mean. One strength of the dissertation is the many descriptions of different activities, events, and experiences linked to the role-playing. Lundell also gives a solid and lucid account of previous research.

But there are also certain flaws. I think that the dissertation would have gained from being more theoretically consistent, and also working the theories into the material to a greater extent. Sometimes the speed is too high. Or in other words, the use of concepts signals different theoretical traditions which can make it slightly difficult to understand what type and level of knowledge the author is searching for.

Also, Lundell might possibly have benefited from restricting herself more; as it is now she deals with many different phenomena and perspectives. This is not just a disadvantage, of course, but it is difficult to find one's way in the text and there are repetitions of both content and language that could have been avoided.

More information about analytical methods and a more detailed problematization of methods in general would also have been appropriate. I would have liked to see examples from the material that brought us closer to the individuals, and it would surely have been possible to use the methods and material more strategically, for example, by bringing more interview material into the chapter about emotions. As it is now, the people, the participants, partly end up in the background. At the same time, I believe that many practitioners of larp will recognize themselves in this book

and, like me, will read it with great enjoyment.

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Old Norse Religion in the History of Ideas

Andreas Nordberg: Fornnordisk religionsforskning mellan teori och empiri. Kulten av anfäder, solen och vegetationsandar i idéhistorisk belysning. Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi CXXVI. Uppsala 2013. 426 pp.

Andreas Nordberg works at the Department of Ethnology, History of Religions and Gender Studies at Stockholm University. This large and in many ways impressive project is presented by the author himself as follows: "The aim of the project is to study the relationship between theory and empirical evidence in research on Old Norse religion from an interdisciplinary perspective as the history of ideas. The problem is specified through the highly divergent view of the ancestor cult in archaeology, history of religions, and historical folklore studies, and through a comparison between Swedish and Finnish folkloristics, where very similar empirical material has generated different results."

The main emphasis is on a thorough survey, close to the sources, of particularly Swedish, but also Finnish and Norwegian academic publications in the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. Nordberg lucidly and convincingly shows how the great scholars of the nineteenth century in the fields of history of religions and philology built up a set of theories, methods, and conclusions that became a foundation for later academic discussion of the sources of pre-Christian Norse religion.

Much of what Nordberg describes is fairly well known matter, but he adds new nuances and details to the overall picture. There are clear advantages in defining the analysis as an interdisciplinary history of ideas. In principle it means that the author can take advantage of many different knowledge practices and knowledge regimes. It is especially relevant concerning the nineteenth century, when discipline boundaries in humanistic research had not yet been sharply drawn. In practice, however, Nordberg has strictly confined his choice of researchers. There may be good reasons for this demarcation, but the fact that early archaeological and historical research is not systematically included in the analysis does seem somewhat random.

Nordberg clearly demonstrates the academic exchange within the research field. Some central theories about what the pre-Christian Norse religion concentrated on, and some important methodological statements to the effect that contemporary source material from folk culture could shed light on the pre-Christian religious culture, constituted a type of "shared academic culture" well into the twentieth century.

The author also shows clearly how early Nordic research on folklore moved in and between these theories and methods. On a general level, Nordberg describes how folklore research was at the centre of the academic discourse: it added new material and delivered new results which people at the time considered relevant and essential. It was considered particularly important to show historical-cultural continuity in the geographical Nordic region.

Nordberg also demonstrates how personal conflicts and brutal competition between individuals led to organizational and academic paralysis, not least in Swedish research. The nasty games played between actors such as Hilding Celander, Martin P:n Nilsson, and Carl Wilhelm von Sydow are something that it is not pleasant to be reminded about.

But apart from the interdisciplinary history of ideas, what is Andreas Nord-

berg's real argument? It appears as if he is pleading for a "middle ground" between functionalism and philology/history of religions in the analysis of folkloristic material. It may seem that he is shouting over the abyss, at any rate if we think within a Swedish research context. In Sweden the influence of anthropology and the focus on the present day have probably meant that new generations of ethnologists lack research competence in philology and history. The picture may be different in other Nordic countries. It is therefore to be regretted that Nordberg does not (1) undertake a detailed analysis of the research situation in the Nordic countries as a whole, and (2) bring in interesting and important academic discussions about cultural and historical continuity between Catholic and Protestant Scandinavia.

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In the Shadow of a Castle

Lillemor Nyström: Skuggan av en borg. Vardag och fest på Krapperups gods 1881−1995. Institutionen för kulturvetenskaper. Göteborgs universitet 2014. 309 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss.

Let me begin by saying that Lillemor Nyström's dissertation about the staff who served the Gyllenstierna family at the castle of Krapperup in Skåne 1881−1995 is a study with significant pioneering elements. It is not often one can start a review with a statement like this, but as I will show, this is the first true microstudy in Sweden of a manor family in miniature and the people who worked in different capacities close to the owner family and their children and grandchildren. The reader follows the social, economic, and cultural changes faced by the manor during the period: tradition versus modernity. From this perspective, the entailed estate of Krapperup is an example of the problems besetting large estates at the transition from an agrarian to an industrial society, and how democratic ideals helped to reshape social relations between people. Nyström's dissertation thus focuses on the servants in the castle but also the farming people, the agricultural labourers, those employed in the park and in the estate office. The aim is to display relations between things and people and to elucidate how the hierarchy of superiors and subordinates was expressed. Here Nyström is particularly interested in seeing the nuances in the social relations by considering how power relations and oppositions were manifested. Alongside this, she examines the order of things, that is to say, the significance of artefacts with spatial and tradition-bearing functions. The long time span of the study, just over a hundred years, is a great merit since it ensures continuity, gives good comparative perspectives, and allows a living presentation with a structure that is mostly chronological. The book gets an extra boost from the vivid pictorial material.

As pointed out, it is the people who served in the shadow of Krapperup that are the main actors in the book, the idea of which is to see the big in the little things and the little things in the big. One of Nyström's special points, which is also one of her main questions, is that the rationality of relations between the lords and the employees took place in interaction, that there was a traditional power that was difficult to question, but the voices from below did actually have a great say. The spatial demarcation, the spatialization of Krapperup, gives an account painted in bright colours, revealing *everyday essentials* that are rarely captured in macrohistorical studies. It is at this intersection that the great merits of the dissertation can be found, where the local context is constantly related to greater societal perspectives.

The dissertation is arranged in seven chapters following the different themes.

The study is based on an impressive corpus of source material consisting of interviews, archival material, and artefacts (the materiality) at Krapperup. Things are perceived by Nyström as symbolic and meaning-making subjects which create positive and negative memories. The method of the dissertation is heuristic (historicizing), and the collecting of material has automatically given a comparative perspective between different generations of the lords and their employees at Krapperup. There is no section dealing explicitly with theory in the study, but it is evident from the chapters that theoretical inspiration chiefly comes from Mikhail Bakhtin, Michel Foucault, Bruno Latour, and Pierre Bourdieu.

Nyström writes that the past can never be exactly rendered, and emphasizes that she is presenting a version or image of the historical reality at the castle. This imperative is a part of our modernity and our outlook on history as being not only subject to change but also that we, like Clio, the muse of history, interpret the past from the standpoint of our own time. If one wishes to go one step further, one can say that the author is influenced by the postcolonial debate, that all people have the right to their own history and that there are many different perspectives on historical processes and events. Nyström is at any rate affected by these influences, but there is every reason to emphasize that the study, in purely empirical terms, does not end up caught in any relativistic trap. Nyström interprets her sources well, and of course certain choices can be questioned. As a whole, however, the author is too modest about her interesting findings, because it is hard to see how the conclusions could have been different. It is obvious that other methods and theoretical approaches would have opened other perspectives, but it is simultaneously clear that no one who tackles this field in the future will be able to avoid reading and proceeding from Nyström's dissertation. It is full of ideas thanks to the spatialization and the vivid scenes that are painted in the investigative sections. The reader meets people of flesh and blood. Through Nyström's lens we observe the life of the Gyllenstierna family just as much as we walk hand in hand with the other historical actors at Krapperup. There are segments in the study that are not just instructive about cultural history but also innovative through the way the author puts a chandelier into a broader context and explains what it symbolized both for Ellen and Nils Gyllenstierna and for the employees. This is just one example of many showing how Nyström, with her wealth of detail, spatializes people and things, giving life and zest to the presentation.

What are the author's findings? Above all the dissertation reflects technical, social, fiscal, and administrative changes on the estate. Ultimately, in 1967, the entailed estate of Krapperup was converted into a foundation. It is consequently a downhill history we read, and by all appearances it is generally applicable to what happened at other estates in Sweden during the period studied by Nyström. As regards the servants at Krapperup, those who worked close to the owner family, we see clearly how several employees were not marked by the upper-class culture in the way reflected, for example, in Anton Chekhov's play *The Cherry Orchard*, where Firs the manservant feels more upper-class than the people he serves under. In the social relations at Krapperup one is struck in the first instance by the long-lasting hierarchical relationship between lords and servants, how the staff rooms were demarcated from those of the owner family, but also with distinct spatial dividing lines within the group of servants. On the farm side differences like this were chiefly reflected in wage disparities. Power and resistance, or the way in which hierarchical tensions were channelled by the em-

ployees, are demonstrated in several ways. Among other things, there were employees who did sewing work for themselves during working hours, and there were superiors, namely Carl Gyllenstierna, who failed to fulfil the unwritten social contract, keeping untidy private rooms. The inner settings showed a disorder that the employees gossiped about, which naturally diminished the Gyllenstiernas' authority. It turns out that Krapperup was, despite everything, a desirable workplace. People queued for jobs at the castle, and the owners sought competence. Another aspect that emerges is the hierarchical tensions between the male staff and the significant boundaries between male and female employees. It was particularly women who lost their source of income on the estate because of technical innovations. New technology, with machines for milking, farming, and gardening, was a masculine domain. In particular, it kept the women of the labourer families in the home to an even greater extent, and reinforced feminine ideals that were on the way out, or at least seriously questioned in the rest of society. Here Krapperup seems like a miniature estate, in a bubble and out of step with the rest of the world. There were many meeting place on a big estate like Krapperup, and Nyström ascribes great proportions to the parties for the employees which were a part of the social cohesion in an extended feudal family. We are simultaneously given a picture of the owners as zealots of modernity, in the form of a modern iron stove for the big kitchen, the installation of a telephone and the purchase of a phonograph, gramophone, car, and so on. These actions not only showed that they were keeping up with the times and could afford the latest novelties, but just as much underlined the upper-class position, which helped to maintain the social divisions on the estate. Nyström also exposes interesting linguistic shifts, for example, how the word *statare* for the agricultural labourers paid in kind gradually disappeared from the vocabulary (and the system itself was abolished in 1945). At the same time, it was obvious at Krapperup that democracy, equality, and trade-union membership were virtually utopian prospects for the employees. Almost feudal ideas were imprinted in them: power within the domain of the castle was based on top-down personal premises.

To sum up, Nyström has achieved an innovative study which will be an important landmark for future research on manors. If one were to be critical, one could say that some sections could have been more analytical and less descriptive. At the same time, this is the strength of the study and an explicit goal, and it is thus a mild criticism. The hundred-year span of the dissertation, with the emphasis on the twentieth century, is impressive. There is a great deal of empirical groundwork behind the study, and the author does not shoot over the mark in this respect.

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From Nation to Tradition in Folklore Collecting

Mellan nation och tradition. Idéströmningar i 1800-talets insamling av folklore. Föredrag från ett symposium i Visby 27–28 september 2011. Utgivna av Ulf Palmenfelt. Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi 124. Uppsala 2013. 156 pp.

Per Arvid Säve (1811–1887) was one of the nineteenth century's leading collectors of dialect and folklore. Today his extensive material is still an invaluable source of knowledge about the history, language, and folklore of Gotland. Parts of the collections are easily available in books such as *Gotländska lekar samlade av P. A. Säve* (1948, on games), *Got-*

ländska visor samlade av P. A. Säve (1949–1955, on folksongs), and *Gotländska sagor upptecknade av P. A. Säve* (1952–1959, on folktales) – all published by the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy. Discussions of Säve and his work can be found, for instance, in the report *Per Arvid Säve och hans samtida* (ed. Lindquist, Gislestam, and Palmenfelt, 1992) and in Ulf Palmenfelt's dissertation *Per Arvid Säves möten med människor och sägner* (1994). To mark the bicentennial of Säve's birth, a symposium was arranged in Visby in 2011. The overall aim of the symposium was to increase knowledge about the shift from nationalism to traditionalism that took place in the mid nineteenth century as regards scholarly attitudes to folk culture in Sweden. Ten of the papers presented to the symposium are now published in this volume under a title meaning "Between Nation and Tradition: Currents of Ideas in Nineteenth-century Collections of Folklore".

The title "Swedish Ethnology from Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius to Our Days" reflects the contents of Nils-Arvid Bringéus's contribution. Starting with Hyltén-Cavallius's work *Wärend och wirdarne* (1863–1868), Bringéus gives a brief survey of the growth and change of ethnology. In many respects the focus is on the designations used for the subject.

Fredrik Nilsson, in his article "An Unsuspecting Hostage of Cultural Conservatism?" discusses Arvid August Afzelius, especially his political stances and relation to Scandinavism in the mid nineteenth century. Nilsson shows elegantly how Afzelius was scarcely as unsuspecting as has been claimed when he was drawn into and exploited by the contemporary student Scandinavism. In the article Nilsson instead argues convincingly that it was obvious to Afzelius that the Nordic countries were united by their folk culture. Although Afzelius did not make any direct moves aimed at political unity, it is evident that he utilized folk culture to level sharp criticism at the royal family and contemporary representatives of conservatism. Nilsson concludes that Afzelius stands out as "strikingly radical for his time – perhaps even strikingly political to be a folklife scholar, albeit an early one".

Ulf Palmenfelt reasons about how the idea of a "European folktale" emerged and the consequences it had for the creation of a "Swedish folktale". In the article he briefly presents collections assembled by the Brothers Grimm, Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius (1818–1889), Per Arvid Säve (1881–1887), Eva Wigström (1832–1901), Nils Gabriel Djurklou (1829–1904), August Bondeson (1854–1906), and also by one of Hyltén-Cavallius's informants, the crofter Mikael Jonasson Wallander ("Mickel of Långhult", 1778−1860). Bondeson's and above all Wallander's tales, according to Palmenfelt, differ from the others and are probably also closest to "storytelling in reality". Another thesis running through the article is that the "European folktale" is in many respects a synthetic cultural form created by intellectuals, like concepts such as folklore. In its ideal form the folktale could be combined with contemporary notions about the ancient, heroic, and tradition-conscious "folk". The author ends by considering the assumed death of the folktale with the coming of industrialism. Was it perhaps only the synthetic ideal image that was no longer useful? Did the folktales that we find in the nineteenth-century editions ever exist in a living oral tradition?

Karin Eriksson gives us a well-informed discussion of the work of George Stephens, based on three questions: Why did he collect and study folkloristic and historical material? How did he go about collecting? And did he do any of the recording himself? Like many other early folklorists, Stephans appears to have had something of a collector's personality – he collected not only transcripts of folkloristic material and what

other people had recorded but also books, coins, stamps, copperplates, manuscripts, etc. On the other hand, Eriksson observes, he does not appear to have done much collecting himself.

"The Nordiska Museet and the Scandinavistic Heritage" is, in my view, one of the most interesting articles in the volume. In the text Magdalena Hillström discusses the significance of Scandinavism for the foundation and identity of the Nordiska Museet. The author emphasizes, for instance, that recent research has more often unreflectingly emphasized the ties between nation building and the emergence of national museums. Concepts such as nationalism and nation (and their contemporary meanings) need to be problematized. For example, the people or the nation that Artur Hazelius addressed, according to Hillström, was "a geographically indeterminate Nordic people, or a Nordic 'nation'".

In "Filehne – Berlin – Gothenburg: To the Roots of Ethnomusicology" Anders Hammarlund examines the role of the Jewish reform movement in nineteenth-century German culture in general, and for the growth of modern cultural studies in particular. He considers Moritz Lazarus and the establishment of the subject of Völkerpsychologie, and the significance of Jewish cantors for the emergence of "comparative musicology" around 1900. The subject of ethnomusicology that was established in the USA after the Second World War can in turn, according to Hammarlund, perhaps be regarded as an extension of questions previously formulated in Central Europe when Jewish scholars in exile began collaborating with American colleagues.

Folksongs are in focus in some of the articles here. In "A Song about Gotland" Owe Ronström proceeds from the linkage of folk culture with geography, of folksongs with place, a conceptual model that gained a foothold in Sweden from the early nineteenth century. Do the Gotlandic folksongs show any traces of the model, Ronström wonders. Are the voices of Gotlanders reflected in the material? In Märta Ramsten's article, "A Refreshing Drink from the Clear Source of Melody", folksongs are likewise at the centre. Like Palmenfelt and inspired by him, Ramsten puts the focus on the genre as such. Based on a study of nineteenth-century minutes from the Royal Academy of Music, Ramsten shows how the outlook on folksongs was reflected in contemporary public musical life, how folksongs were reshaped, and how this still today affects what is played, sung, and published. Folksongs were edited, harmonized, and adjusted for "drawing-room use"; their "anonymity and detachment from context meant that they could be ascribed properties to suit the spirit of the time", Ramsten writes.

Samuel Edquist's article, "The Temperance Movement, Folk Culture, and Nationalism", is largely a condensation of parts of his dissertation about the IOGT in Sweden, *Nyktra svenskar: Godtemplarrörelsen och den nationella identiteten 1879–1918* (2001). As in the dissertation, Edquist clearly shows how the temperance movement was highly instrumental in creating and spreading ideas about Sweden and Swedishness. Folklore was an important part of the "folk nationalism" that flourished in the movement. The folklore craze, as Edquist demonstrates, also fitted well with the penchant of the movement for criticism of civilization and popular education. What is interesting in this context is that several of the champions of temperance that Edquist mentions, such as Oscar Olsson, Per Edvin Sköld, and Fredrik Ström, later acted as the chief parliamentary advocates of the folklore archives.

The symposium was held in the museum Gotlands Fornsal, which is also the subject of Mattias Legnér's contribution. The early history of the museum is in focus, specifically the years 1875–1925. The article centres on a descrip-

tion of the activities and in particular how they have changed over time; the aim is to investigate how people associated with the museum both imagined and worked in practice with the presentation of Gotlandic history and culture. The article thus takes up ongoing discussions about the regional production of cultural heritage.

Most of the articles in this volume are of high quality as regards both language and content. Recent research on folklore collecting as idea and practice has largely concerned the twentieth century, especially the inter-war years. This book mainly sheds light on the previous century. The articles thus help to fill gaps in our knowledge and to raise important questions. In short, the book will also inspire continued research on the nineteenth-century pioneers in the documentation and study of folk culture in Sweden.

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Danish Tales Collected by Evald Tang Kristensen

Danish Folktales, Legends, and Other Stories. Timothy R. Tangherlini (ed.). Museum Tusculanum Press. Copenhagen 2013 / University of Washington Press 2014. 234 pp. DVD.

This publication consists of two components: a DVD and a book. Together they present a collection of stories from late nineteenth-century Denmark along with chapters situating the narratives in their context and in relation to folk narrative research. The folktales, legends and other stories are based on a corpus collected by Evald Tang Kristensen (1843–1929) and translated into English by Timothy R. Tangherlini.

Tangherlini is interested in the people behind the stories, in the connection between stories and storytellers – as he states in the introduction, and as he has proved in his earlier works. With the ambitious goal to "offer a good basis for understanding the Danish stories as the tellers themselves would have understand them" (p. xi), he discusses contextualization behind "editorial intrusion", the context of the performance but also the social, economic and political context in which the storytellers lived.

The book comprises a selection of stories by five storytellers, with an extensive introduction to the work. The selected stories are presented in performance order, which is Tangherlini's solution to avoid thematic classification. The printed book can be read as a point of entry to Danish tales and legends and the study of folk narratives while the DVD provides comprehensive digital content.

With the DVD, the reader can navigate maps of Denmark and search for stories in their context – storytellers, places, time, biographies of the storytellers and other details about the context of collection. The DVD also includes a set of chapters (in pdf) about folklore scholarship and nineteenth-century Denmark, about Evald Tang Kristensen's life and work and about approaches to folktales, legends and ballads.

Particularly interesting is Tangherlini's chapter "Mapping folklore", which gives an overview of earlier works in Nordic folklore, atlases of folk culture etc., and discusses cartographic methods in the study of folk tradition. Inspired by Franco Moretti and historical GIS, Tangherlini suggests a new historic geographic method that includes contextual aspects in order to faithfully illustrate the folkloric process behind the narratives. The chapter provides a critical approach to cartography and mapping that is highly relevant in our contemporary context when uses of digital tools for visualization are multiplying.

The digital content is a valuable mode

of presentation of folk narratives, searchable and contextualized on a map. One does however wonder whether a web-based solution would not have been a better option than a DVD. Not all computers have a DVD or CD player nowadays, and the installation of the DVD requires several steps than could prevent some users from accessing the content. Despite the well-needed file that helps the reader with the installation, it is not a user-friendly solution.

The chapters included in the DVD, in pdf-format, would have been more manageable in printed format or on an e-reader rather than in the window provided by the interface. Or, the digital format could have been used to a greater extent in order to enhance the text. The section on mapping folklore in particular would have benefited from media material to illustrate, for instance, various modes of visualization, historical GIS etc.

Students of folklore will find in *Danish Folktales, Legends, and Other Stories* a great source of knowledge not only about Danish folk narratives, but also about the study of folklore. But this publication is also relevant for a broader readership, for instance others interested in Nordic folklore, archive materials, and other scholars in narrative research. In fact, all folklorists interested in older sources struggle with the challenge of recontextualization – a challenge not only because of the lack of data or the difficulty of accessing the data, but also a challenge in terms of rendering the context in a faithful manner, i.e. faithful to the storytellers and the stories. Tangherlini's *Danish Folktales, Legends, and Other Stories* is a successful attempt to address this challenge and reconnect the stories and the storytellers to their context in time and place.

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Songs of the Border People

Lotte Tarkka: Songs of the Border People. Genre, Reflexivity, and Performance in Karelian Oral Poetry. Folklore Fellows' Communications 305. Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia. Academia Scientiarum Fennica. Helsinki 2013. 631 pp.

Lotte Tarkka, a folklorist from Finland, in a translation and a rework of her dissertation from 2005, has published *Songs of the Border People*. Her focus is on archival information from the White Sea, Archangel Karelia. This covers an era from the 1820s to the 1920s when oral poetry was very much alive and a part of daily life. She has done insightful work and it is a privilege to read her text. The study is divided into 12 chapters, ranging from her theoretical insights and discussions to historical experiences of World War I. One of the more interesting parts, as I see it, is her analyses of the performer and the analyses of the performance itself. Where the performer becomes the song or the poem, he is presented as a hero, like Väinämöinen's voice in the *Kalevala*. She says that in the "performance the singer and audience came to identify with the characters from the epic" (p. 170). Tarkka is not looking for the ancient past, as earlier researchers in particular did. She focuses more on the singers' and sages' intellectual tradition heritage, their vernacular poems. As readers we also get glimpses of their lives in the village of Vuokkiniemi. The poems are transcribed and printed in both Karelian and English, I do not have any competence to comment on the Karelian lyrics and the translation, but Tarkka has good expertise to help her with that from Leila Virtanen, so I presume that the translations are correct and mirror the original text as closely as possible. In any case, it is a gold mine for future researchers to use and perhaps draw other conclusions or extract new knowledge from Tarkka's work. It is not only the lyrics; we also

learn about language history and how the language was used in the 1800s.

For my own work, what I find very interesting are the similarities to Sámi yoiking traditions. There are several examples where Sámi persons take part in the story, reflecting the visibility of the Sámi people in Vuokkiniemi territory. The people of Venehjärvi were taught, according to local knowledge, from poems of Lapland, mostly healing incantations and magical adversaries (p. 164). What ski track shall I sing/for which cause shall I rumble/I shall sing Lapland's ski tracks/those trod by the hut-boys/those once sung by Lapps/ hastened along by the hut-boys, this poem is a good example of the singer's journey in words and also a journey in the landscape, describing its nature and life, a cross-cultural relationship between different ethnic groups. Tarkka not only performs the explicit analyses, she also searches for the elusive or implicit interpretations. A knowledge of the intangible traditional heritage is necessary to draw these conclusions. Entextualization is an approach that folklorists like Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs have applied before, and it is fruitful for studies like Tarkka's, in my opinion. What is interesting and useful is how she shows us the old days and the spiritual contacts. I wonder if it is possible to achieve a recontextualization of the Karelian hymns? Can we recreate the singing traditions and stories and perform them for a new audience today? Like sages in the past who were knowledgeable and highly esteemed, able to make a living from their skills, should not today's singers also have an option to make a living from their intellectual traditional heritage? There is a dynamic relationship between the audience and the performer. As a part of an audience I would really like to see and hear such a performance and if I could understand the Karelian language I would love to do that. Tarkka (p. 501) concludes that the Kalevala-metre poetry established bonds between people, bygone ancestors and future generations and the "precious others" taking part in the creation and the traditional discourse. I think that these are really beautiful words to end a book with; it gives us hope for the future and that history will always be part of us. We all carry our own history within ourselves.

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Today's Young Swedish Labour Migrants in Norway

Ida Tolgensbakk: Partysvensker; GO HARD! En narratologisk studie av unge svenske arbeidsmigranters nærvær i Oslo. Universitetet i Oslo. 2015. 232 pp. Ill. Diss.

Ida Tolgensbakk has presented a doctoral dissertation in cultural history with a folkloristic profile at Oslo University. The study concerns young Swedish labour migrants who came to Norway in the twenty-first century, when youth unemployment was much higher in Sweden than in Norway. In 2013 there were around 55,000 Swedish migrants in Norway, mostly in the capital Oslo. Their lives and world views have not hitherto been a subject of research. In 2008 the term "party Swedes" was heard for the first time in Norway, and it gives the dissertation its title.

The author has conducted life-course interviews with 21 young Swedes, 11 women and 10 men, mostly aged 18–25. This yielded a total of 30 hours of recorded interviews. The informants come from different parts of Sweden. They work for varying lengths of time in Norway, in the service and construction sectors, before returning to Sweden, as they often do; some of them have chosen to remain in Norway. The author has also had access to ten interviews that Akershus Museum in Oslo conducted with

young Swedes. In addition, for three years the author has regularly observed an open Facebook network entitled "Swedes in Oslo", abbreviated SiO, with some 13,000 members. It is aimed at and run by Swedish labour migrants. The collected material has been anonymized by changing the names of the people in the interviews and by numbering the postings to SiO, e.g. SiO345.

The way Norwegians view and react to the young Swedes has been studied in the media and popular culture from 2008 to 2014. The material here amounts to 150 newspaper articles, along with some television and radio items. However, no Norwegians were interviewed.

As regards theory, Mikhail Bakhtin's dialogical ideas play a major role. All the statements we hear presuppose a response. They are, in other words, interindividual. The author writes that she has used Bakhtin's ideas in an attempt to "understand the relationship of individual utterances to other (people's) utterances, and to the culture in which they are uttered" (p. 5).

The dissertation focuses on the interfaces between the Swedes and the Norwegian population. Since this is a narratological study of cultural encounters, narratives are central. Nationality is an important aspect for understanding the narratives. The author has selected five themes for her study, each of which occupies a chapter in the book.

The first theme is Swedish labour migration to Norway in a longer historical perspective, going back to the nineteenth century (pp. 27–54). South-eastern Norway became industrialized much earlier than neighbouring parts of Sweden where poverty prevailed. This led Swedes to cross the border in search of work. This section can be regarded as a background chapter.

The second theme in the dissertation concerns ideas about similarities between Swedes and Norwegians (pp. 55–91). White skin constitutes a visual similarity, so it is impossible to distinguish the inhabitants of the two countries by their appearance. This is an advantage for the Swedish immigrants compared to foreigners from other parts of the world. Another frequently mentioned similarity is the close relationship of the two languages. Yet there are also variations here in vocabulary and accent which lead the author to talk of the young Swedes as an audible minority. They perceive the language partly as an obstacle in everyday life, and this came as a surprise to them when they arrived in Norway. They had initially expected a greater similarity than they found in practice. They want to avoid using a mixture of Norwegian and Swedish. Norwegians can express the view that the Swedish language is beautiful, but they also try to imitate the Swedes. The young Swedes can find this both irritating and humorous.

The third theme is the Norwegians' humour and their stereotypes of the young Swedes (pp. 93–131). This is where the expression "party Swedes" enters the picture, used for the first time as a slogan on a wall in Oslo in 2008. The image is that the young Swedes work in the service sector, live together in collectives, earn a lot of money, and party a lot in their spare time. Through their humour the Norwegians express a condescending outlook on this way of life. This was something the young Swedes did not expect. They reacted by ignoring the talk of "party Swedes" or accepting the designation with self-irony or pride.

The fourth theme deals with how the young Swedes navigate between Swedishness and Norwegianness, that is, how they handle the transnational situation in which they live (pp. 133–174). The author's object of study is the Facebook group SiO. Dialogues between different participants are a distinctive feature. A central theme is looking for somewhere to live, often a collective to join in order to keep costs down. There are advertisements from people wanting to buy and

sell furniture and other household necessities. Postings of a social character occur, as when the group members coordinate the celebration of Swedish holidays that are not celebrated by Norwegians. Examples are May Eve and Midsummer with the maypole. More problematic from an ethical point of view, the author has read about sales of smuggled alcohol and even drugs. After much doubt, she chose to report the most serious cases of drug sales to the police.

The fifth theme examines the young Swedes' own migration narratives (pp. 174–208). The author finds that optimism and a thirst for adventure are characteristic features when the young people leave unemployment in Sweden to head to Norway to work for good pay for a short time. With the money they save, they then want to go on some long journey before settling down with a permanent job and a family. Mobility can then be replaced by stability. The young people are basically content with their situation in Norway but miss certain food habits that cannot be found there. A frequently mentioned example is a hot lunch in the middle of the day. To get the news they watch Swedish television and read Swedish online newspapers. Sweden is thus in focus in their thoughts.

In conclusion, I would say that the author has given us a thorough and well-structured dissertation. It is easy to follow her reasoning. She uses different theories when analysing the collected material. The dissertation is an important contribution to research on transnational culture. Because the author contrasts the two nations, Sweden and Norway, she does not consider differences within the nations. It is instead the similarities that are in the foreground. The author has called her concluding chapter "Likeness and Laughter" (pp. 211–216). The young Swedes are viewed as a unit rather than a group of people with their internal differences. No distinction is made in the analysis according to whether the informants are women or men. We are told that they come from different parts of Sweden and are mostly from the middle class (p. 197), but there is no discussion of the significance of this in the analyses. Likewise, the outlook on party Swedes in the Norwegian media and popular culture seems to be uniform. If the author had done some interviews with Norwegians, greater differences might have been revealed.

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Swedish Migrants in Sunny Spain

Annie Woube: Finding One's Place. An Ethnological Study of Belonging among Swedish Migrants on the Costa del Sol in Spain. Etnolore 35, Uppsala universitet 2014. 209 pp. Ill. Diss.

Annie Woube's dissertation, *Finding One's Place*, is about how Swedish "lifestyle migrants" on the Costa del Sol create belonging in their transnational life. The dissertation is 209 pages long including references, divided into seven chapters. It is in English, and the language of the dissertation is straightforward and clear, besides which it is almost completely free of typographical errors, which makes for pleasant reading. The aim of the dissertation is described in the introduction as: "*to study how belonging is created and given meaning in everyday practice by migrants from Sweden on the Costa del Sol in Spain*" (p. 15). With the term "belonging" Woube refers to *experiences of inclusion and identification,* but also to matters such as finding and understanding one's *place* and *position* in a social world, and feeling *emotionally connected* to it. As regards theory the dissertation has four foundations. *Phenomenologically*, Woube is interested in life-world, practice, and intentionality. Finding support in Sara Ahmed, she

examines the processes of orientation, disorientation, and reorientation that the migrants reveal when narrating their experiences. In her discussion of *identification* as process she emphasizes Anthias's "translocational positionality": a mobile positionality that changes in relation to the society of migration, the homeland, and a person's own migrant group. In this context migration becomes a movement in a *transnational social space* where it is important to distinguish transnational "being" from "belonging". Woube would describe the migrants' experiences and practices as *diasporic practices* rather than determining whether they should be regarded as a diaspora or not.

Woube did fieldwork in five periods between 2009 and 2013, with her longest stay running from January to June 2009. Inspired by Kjell Hansen, she has worked with *participant experience*, a sensory ethnography where as a researcher she has participated and experienced the migrants' everyday life and various activities. The dissertation is also based on repeated conversational interviews with twelve migrants whom she contacted in different ways − some met by chance in the field, others through contacts before the fieldwork, through companies and through "the snowball method". The interviews followed a pattern with a thematic similarity to the arrangement of the dissertation: the first occasion enabled migration narratives, then relations to Sweden and Spain were covered, and the next meeting was about how a home can be created, and fourth about questions of citizenship and national loyalties. These were supplemented with shorter interviews with authorities within the group. The author has also used field notes from observations and interviews.

The chapter "Narrating Migration Stories", is about how migration narratives are told, structured, and made meaningful. A selection of narratives from migrants of different sex and age, who migrated at different points in life, serves to illustrate similarities and differences in experience. The migrants organize their narratives in relation to grand narratives about our time but also in relation to ideas about a "successful migration". Sometimes they portray themselves as active, independent subjects who make choices, which is understood in relation to middle-class belonging and a late-modern idea of identity as a project. The author claims in the introduction that the interviewee and the interviewer create the narratives together, but we see very little of that here (we rarely see the researcher's questions or cues). Here one may wonder: if, as Woube claims, the researcher is a *co-creator* of the narrative – to what extent is it the interviewee's class experience that is expressed in the narrative? Sometimes fate is placed in the foreground as an actor, and occasionally there is an element of resignation, and the narrator becomes almost a passive observer of how things have developed. A recurring discussion concerns how the narratives take place at the intersection between a space of experience and a horizon of expectation, that they do not only tell of what the narrator has been through but also about what is to come. Taken together, these narratives compose a complex picture of mobility and turning points in the interviewees' lives.

"Positioning Oneself and Others" deals with how collective belonging is shaped through positioning in different expressions and everyday practices in the Swedish migrant group on the Costa del Sol. The focus is on how the migrants in their descriptions place themselves between social constructions and individual agency. Knowing or mixing with the locals functions as social capital among the migrants, creating a difference vis-à-vis Swedes who only live in the Swedish enclave. The language functions in a similar way – as a way to show that one is a part of everyday Spanish life. There are interesting class

markers both against "other" Swedes and against the Britons: the other Swedes include the "jet set", those who play golf, and the Britons who are seen as a kind of "vulgar" disparaged group who go around with pale or red skin, exposing their torsos. West Africans are clearly racified, but they also stick out because their way of earning a living by selling stuff along the beach does not fit with ideas about how this place can or should be inhabited. Woube says that the Costa del Sol becomes a place where white bodies are appropriate but black bodies are not, being "out of place". Or is it rather the case that certain white bodies are in place? Here Woube chooses to make a distinction between class and whiteness (p. 96), I am struck by the idea that it is perhaps a matter of different "whitenesses" that function more or less well – and what does not function concerns the intersection between class and whiteness. The perhaps becomes most obvious in the talk of the excessively white or red-tanned and fat English bodies, bodies which are likewise "out of place" for Woube's informants.

"Home on the Costa del Sol" is about making oneself at home, from being at home in the Costa del Sol region to how materialities of different kinds make a home. Following Ahmed, Woube says that "home" is something we do not understand until we leave it, and that reorientation is then a matter of how the sense of being at home arises again. In this process, material objects are "orientation devices" – they help us to find our bearings and to participate in social relations. For one informant, living on the Costa del Sol is best when it feels least like "home", when it is most like being on holiday and being away from home – for example when he takes a coffee in the sun, reads the newspaper, or perhaps goes for a swim. For another informant the place where she grew up was not a home in the phenomenological sense of a place where one feels at home and satisfied, and the Costa del Sol has become a project whereby she creates a home in that sense. For yet another informant, the home is a temporary "stop of passage" as she says – not yet another secure and stable home and no longer something alien. In the home objects, furniture, and media serve to bridge spatial distances, and sometimes as a kind of reminders which form narratives in themselves.

"Homeland Sweden" concerns how Sweden is present in the conception of a home, in everyday life, and how Sweden is experienced, understood, and evaluated during travels in the country. Sweden is both a physical territory that one can live in and travel to, and a foundation for the interviewees' world view and everyday life. The informants experience Sweden through different media channels and they travel there for an update on local life – regardless of whether it is a cup of coffee with mates in Borås or coming home to the parents' farm. But we also find what I perceive as a kind of ambivalence, that through time they get a sense of disorientation even with places in Sweden where they once felt they belonged: places change, you don't recognize people on the streets any more. The migrant is *dislocalized* in both space and time, and is alienated also in the place that once was home.

"The Swedish Collective Formation on the Costa del Sol" examines how collective belonging is shaped among the migrants, for example, through voluntary work, through work in the Swedish infrastructure, and by maintaining Swedish traditions and festivals. With various events, from organizing voluntary work for others on the coast to bingo, lectures, and pub evenings, organizations like the Church of Sweden, Club Nordico, and the Swedish Pensioner Organization become nodes in social networks among the Swedes. But belonging is also shaped in festivals, not least of all in the Lucia celebrations that attract both those who are heavily in-

volved and those who otherwise keep their distance from the Swedish group, and the Christmas celebrations which reflect negotiations between different traditions, religions, and calendars. The Swedish Women's Educational Association represents yet another tradition, a hat parade that simultaneously marks class belonging and questions local gender stereotypes. All in all, these different elements, according to the author, help to shape diasporic belonging.

In the seventh and last chapter, with the same title as the dissertation itself, we are given the most important conclusions. Belonging is shaped within the migrant group, in relation to other groups on the spot, and in relation to contexts and settings in the country of origin, but are also, of course, influenced by things like gender, class, ethnicity, nationality, and age. The transnational position is a position in-between – where it is not possible to become a full member of the new country, nor can one be a full member of the old, but where the position is nevertheless a way of being in the world. The migrants relate to several plurilocal contexts, and despite all the internal differences they take part in the diasporic Swedish collective. This collective and its different arenas functions as a kind of extension of the welfare state (e.g. through school and social work), and also works to maintain the links with a shared national origin and staged traditions and celebrations which largely concern repetition according to established national patterns. Transnational belonging is shaped in a daily movement between the familiar and the different, between nearness and distance. This is enacted against a plurilocal frame of reference characterized by simultaneity, travels, and communication and in the connection to a Swedish diasporic collective. The dissertation has no summary after the last chapter; that would have been a welcome service to the reader.

Finding One's Place is in many ways a good dissertation: it is clear, straightforward, and contributes new knowledge. My impression is that the author has done solid ethnographic work in several different kinds of arenas and has conducted interviews with great care. With its interest in the shaping of belonging, the dissertation places itself in the mainstream of ethnology. Like so much ethnology, the dissertation is both methodologically pluralistic and theoretically eclectic. On the one hand, the theoretical eclecticism rests on a streak of theory that runs through more or less the whole study, such as the recurrent discussion of orientation – disorientation – reorientation, and on the other hand more limited discussions, for example, about narrativity and materiality. The eclecticism reflects a pragmatic stance: what concepts and perspectives help me to understand this particular thing? But it also risks becoming a way of getting round questions. A less eclectic approach would force the author to grapple more with both material and theory, even when the theory does not feel like the most suitable tool for handling the existing evidence. Sometimes the shorter theoretical discussions give the impression of merely pointing out theoretical references rather than adding anything to the analysis. An example of this is the reference to Edward Bruner via Anna Johansson (p. 54), where Woube says that "We become the self-biographical stories we tell about our life" (sic). This is a strong statement, which I think I agree with, but I would like to know more about what it means and how it affects Woube's analysis. Another example is the discussion of the hat parade, where Judith Butler's heterosexual matrix pays a quick visit to the text on p. 181, to be followed in the next sentence by what looks like an allusion to Laura Mulvey's concept of "the male gaze" (but with no reference). As a reader I would have needed much more guidance to be able to follow Woube's analysis. The author ought to have said more

about what the concept means, and explain to the reader *how* a heterosexual matrix and gender are created in relation to each other in this particular example, and how a male gaze is shaped specifically here. In these examples, the theoretical discussions are simply so brief that not only the analysis here becomes vague, but also the empirical demarcation of the theory. Why is the heterosexual matrix not applicable to other parts of the material, and why is there not a male gaze in other part of the analysis (e.g. in the discussion in chapter 3 about which bodies are appropriate on the Costa del Sol)?

Uncertainty in the reading of the dissertation arises about what I would describe as *depth of theoretical intention*. Two examples may illustrate this. The dissertation works with a phenomenological perspective, chiefly inspired by Sara Ahmed and her concept of orientation. Orientation in turn goes together with an extensive phenomenological discussion about intentionality and directedness: to put it simply, that we come into existence in relation to the world, and awareness is an awareness *about* the world and its phenomena. With this point of departure, some discussions in the dissertation are hard to understand. Woube says, for example, on p. 66 that the narratives are spaces *between* social constructions and individual agency. Here I get the impression of agency being separated from social constructions, a subject that, in contrast to Ahmed's is something other than the constructions that condition her and are conditioned by her. Here the author ought to have stopped to think: if there is a space between them, then they are separate, and what does this then mean for my understanding of the narratives and/or of Ahmed? And when Woube discusses the life stories, the movement from an orientation in the country of origin, to disorientation during the move, to a reorientation in the new country, seems like a conscious, active process. The question that is raised in me is not so much about whether it is true – it may very well be – but in what way these are orientations in a *phenomenological* sense. Are they not rather orientations in a much more pragmatic sense – that we aim at making ourselves at home, quite simply? It is similar with Koselleck's spaces of experience and horizons of expectation, terms coined to understand the writing of history covering large time spans and perspectives. As I read the analyses (on pp. 47 and 54), Koselleck's terms seem to be used to point out that the informants tell their stories on the basis of certain experiences and with a set of expectations about the future. And the question once again remains: in what way do the concepts work *theoretically* here; is it not rather a question of experience and expectation in a much more pragmatic sense?

Although this is already, as I have pointed out, a theoretically eclectic dissertation, I would have liked to see a more detailed discussion of how we can understand nations. At some places in the dissertation the absence of this is palpable. In what way, for whom, and in what contexts, for example, do items of IKEA furniture (p. 121) – not infrequently manufactured in low-wage countries in the Far East, distributed in global networks, and partly adapted to regional markets – become "national objects"? How do they "represent a national affiliation to the home country as such" (ibid.)? And where Ghassan Hage in the quotation on page 137 says that through national media one does not hear "about the nation, one [hears] the nation" – Woube herself says that the media "communicate" (rather than make) the nation (p. 136). Even one of the informants points out that the nation is a construction: on page 140 Markus says of Sweden: "It is just a map. A map – Sweden." These questions would have deserved to be developed, since the actual movement back and forth between

different national territories takes up such an important place in the analysis. The fact is that the author declares in the conclusions that transnational belonging becomes a *compensation* for a lost national belonging (pp. 191−192), and thus seems to think that the nation meets some fundamental need. Perhaps that is the case, but to judge how reasonable it is, a reader would need to know more about how Woube views what those nations are and what they do.

Finding One's Place can be compared to a prism that refracts its object of study in several different colours. The advantage is that we get a multifaceted picture of what belonging can mean. The disadvantage is that each analytical approach (alongside the continuous phenomenological theme) is given roughly one chapter. In other words: the analyses sometimes move on the surface, and I wonder what would have happened if concepts and perspectives from one chapter had also been tested in another. During the reading I sometimes thought that two, or perhaps three, of the approaches that now constitute the chapters would have sufficed for a dissertation, with the benefit being a more profound analysis. To sum up, however, it must be said that *Finding One's Place* gives the impression of being an ambitious and solid piece of work, from the account of the working process in the field to the final results in the form of a book with well-crafted language. The dissertation not only fills a lacuna in ethnological knowledge as regards lifestyle migration, but also displays theoretical and analytical inquisitiveness. In this respect *Finding One's Place* is an interesting contribution to ethnological research about migration, transnational mobility, and experience.

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