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How to become a member of the Folklore Fellows

The year 2001 will see the recruitment of new members to the Folklore Fellows. A new mandate for the international Advisory Committee for the years 2001–05 has been issued by the Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, the mother institution in Helsinki. The Advisory Committee will administer the recruitment in collaboration with the local Executive Committee and the FF Office at the Kalevala Institute in Turku. Our aim is to complete the revision of membership by the end of 2001.

Before going into the practical membership procedure it may be appropriate to offer a few facts about the Folklore Fellows.

The Folklore Fellows is an international folkloristic network of researchers, the aim of which is to promote scholarly contacts, publication activities and researcher training. In order to achieve this aim it invites distinguished active researchers from different parts of the world to become members. It further arranges international training courses for researchers, incorporates the editorial board of a monograph series, *Folklore Fellows' Communications*, and publishes a biannual newsletter, *Folklore Fellows Network*.

The Folklore Fellows operates under the auspices of the Finnish Academy of Science and Letters. The Academy Board appoints the editor-in-chief and other members of the editorial board of the FF Communications series and the chairman of the Executive Committee (EC) consisting of 3–5 folklorist members of the Academy. It is the task of the EC to develop the researcher network by inviting new members and distributing information on research and publications.

The EC is supported by the Folklore Fellows Advisory Committee (AC). It is the AC's task to prepare proposals for new members, to assist in the planning of the researcher training courses, and to distribute information on the publishing potential afforded by the FFC series. The AC has 10 researcher members from outside Finland in addition to the members of the local EC. It is chaired by the chairman of the EC.

The Folklore Fellows consists of (1) an unlimited number of honorary members, (2) a maximum of 100 full members and (3) an unlimited number of associate members. Honorary members are invited from among eminent folklorists whose scholarly contribution has during a long period of time been internationally and/or nationally important. Distinguished active researchers from different parts of the world are invited by the Folklore Fellows' Executive Committee to become full members on the advice of the Advisory Committee. One quarter of the full members must be from outside Europe and North America.

The Executive Committee may invite associate members from among folklorists with scholarly merit, including e.g. junior and senior

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Do we need a folkloristic code of ethics?

A seminar report by Dr *Lauri Honko*, Kalevala Institute

The position of research ethics in science is probably more conspicuous than ever before. Every grant application addressed to the Academy of Finland, for example, must today contain an assessment of the ethical dimension and impact of the planned research regardless of the discipline to which it belongs or the methodology to be applied. The main financier of research in the public sector in Finland wants to know to what extent the scholars are aware of the human, societal and cultural values which may be at risk if a particular study is carried out in a particular setting, and, perhaps more positively, how a particular study may contribute to a better understanding of and sensitivity to the ethical problems faced or even generated by the scientific enterprise. A new kind of reflexivity and responsibility in this field is very much in demand.

A Nordic project

Three years ago, an international group of folklorists, most of them from the Nordic countries, launched a project in order to assess whether it would be feasible to approach research ethics from a disciplinary angle, viz. that of folkloristics. The question was: is research ethics first and foremost so cross-disciplinary in science in general and in the human and social sciences in particular that no discipline can or needs to delineate a code of conduct of its own? Or is it essential for each branch of scholarship to create in its own sphere an ethical debate which may, in turn, contribute something to the more general cross-disciplinary ethics?

The latter view is manifest in numerous ethical declarations issued in recent years by such disciplines as anthropology, archaeology, sociology and related fields. In the United States, the American Folklore Society published a code of ethics in 1988, and in Europe, a more global consideration of folkloristic work ethics was included in the recommendations issued by WIPO (World Intellectual Property Organization) and Unesco during the 1980s. The largest international body of folklorists, the International Society for Folk-Narrative Research, did, at its 1998 congress in Göttingen, institute a special committee on ethics to spearhead international debate on ethics from a folkloristic perspective.

Somewhat optimistically perhaps, the Nordic group consisting of Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish folklorists labelled their project a "Folklore Fellows Code of Ethics" and, since the work was not to concentrate exclusively on the Nordic situation, in-

cluded a few members from outside the Nordic countries, too, first from Germany and the U. S. A. and later from India and Israel. An important tenet was to bridge the generation gap: older and younger scholars should work together. That is why young scholars preparing their doctoral dissertations were invited from Finland, Norway (U.S.A.) and Sweden. The steering group of the project consisted of *Tove Fjell* (Norway), *Lauri Honko* (Finland) and *Barbro Klein* (Sweden). Other standing members were *Bente Gullvoeig Alver* and *Ørjar Øyen* (Norway). The consultant experts outside the Nordic countries were *Galit Hasan-Rokem* (Israel), *Ulrich Marzolph* (Germany) and *Margaret Mills* (U.S.A.).

The label chosen for the project put the feasibility of formulating a disciplinary code to the fore. The possibility of a global code was not excluded, despite all the cultural differences in the research traditions of the five continents and the massive format of the task. The relationship between general scholarly ethics and a more discipline-oriented set of norms of conduct was pondered at the first meeting held in Uppsala in November 1998. In addition, a number of cases where ethical norms are put to the test were analysed on the basis of personal experience.

The second meeting took the form of Workshop IV (Folkloristic research ethics) at the 5th Folklore Fellows' Summer School held in Turku in August 1999. Geographically and culturally, the group expanded to include representatives and discussants from India and the United Kingdom. Clarification was achieved in the componential analysis of the field of ethics in folkloristics (*Sadhana Naithani*, India), in the critical comparison of existing codes of conduct (*Judy Rangnes*, Norway/U.S.A.) and in the omnipresence of ethics in the entire research process (*Sinikka Vakimo* and *Armi Pekkala*, Finland). A detailed report on the proceedings of Workshop IV was published in FF Network 20: 2-10 (November 2000).

The conclusive meeting

The third and conclusive meeting of the project was held at the Kalevala Institute of the University of Turku in November 2000. It concentrated on the discussion of articles to be included in the project publication. The lively debate showed that the ethical code is in a constant state of flux and too comprehensive and complex to be codified in well-polished verbal formulations. On the other hand, the most important thing, ethical reflexivity and awareness of the dimensions of ethical conduct, seems to be

growing and becoming a reality in all research, folkloristic and other.

A quick vote on the necessity of establishing a well-formulated ethical code for folklorists revealed a generation gap: the young scholars were fairly favourable to the idea of an "FF Code of Ethics", whereas the feelings of the older ones were more mixed, despite (or because of) the fact that they had more experience and that they had worked extensively on the formulation of ethical codes in international and national organisations. More importantly, the frustration with a list of norms as a "sleeping pillow" gave way to a determined but flexible mode of application of ethical judgement in all research on an everyday basis. In this respect, there was no generation gap but unanimous support for unceasing ethical evaluation as part of the professional competence of scholars.

Comparing the AAA and AFS codes

Two papers at the meeting were devoted to a comparison of the ethical codes published hitherto and bearing some relevance to folkloristics. First, *Lauri Honko* compared the anthropological and folkloristic codes issued in the United States. These span a period of fifty years (1948–98). Honko stressed the importance of reading these codes very carefully: they are rather different, they date from different periods and historical situations, and we should not assume that they are talking about the same thing. Even the same words and expressions may not denote the same over a long period of time.

What we need by way of a method is a "narratological" analysis of codes, Honko said. They seem to consist of propositions, yet they also reveal a kind of "background narrative" which lends cohesion to the list of propositions. The narrative in question is historically conditioned. That is why it must be contextualised. The situations which are implied in the general propositions may prove to be quite specific. Without a knowledge about the particular settings of ethical dilemmas we may not be able to grasp the actual meaning of propositions. This path naturally leads to the particular experiences of scholars formulating the codes. The true interests and goals served by ethical propositions cannot be disclosed without such contextualisation.

This view is corroborated by the rather limited scope of subsequent codes and by the changes in their focal interests. What was important in the late 1940s may have totally disappeared by the 1980s. For example, the very first anthropological codes had only two concerns: 1) that governments should not suppress scholars' freedom of speech and 2) that informants should be protected. Yet they did not develop the second point as we are doing today. Instead, they elaborated quite extensively on governmental suppression. It is not difficult to see that this was the prime reason for creating the code in the first place. Yet it is a point which has disappeared

from the later codes. Either the governmental suppression has become more subtle and taboo, or the pressure is not experienced by the scholars in the same way as before. In any case, the historical situation has changed.

The codes must be read in chronological order and in full. Any kind of piecemeal zig-zag reading or historyless comparison of short propositions is a risky business at best and easily leads to semantic fallacies not founded on the experiential world of the formulators of codes. A few observations stand out in the linear reading of the subsequent codes. One is that codes interact. At least the earlier ones tend to make an impact on the later ones. Another finding is that there is no stable or permanent ethical code. What we see is a continuous negotiation of the main ethical concerns whereby certain aspects of ethics gain importance while others become less visible. There may be horrifying gaps insofar as a particular aspect does not exist for decades until it eventually emerges and may, in certain cases, even dominate the scene for a while. Quite clearly, the codes reflect historical changes in the position of the profession and its institutions. The four codes produced by the American Anthropological Association create a historical profile of a scholarly community and its ideological development.

The five codes compared by Honko were 1) AAA48, 2) AAA67, 3) AAA 71/86, 4) AAA98 and 5) AFS88 (AAA = American Anthropological Association, AFS = American Folklore Society, the numbers indicate the year of publication). Despite the short interval in time, there is a major shift of paradigm between codes 2 and 3, probably due to the impact of the global crisis of colonial anthropology. Amazingly enough, it is only here that true concern for the cultures and people studied emerges as the dominant guideline.

All five codes focus on the behaviour of the researcher. Informants start to mean more in the third one but traditional communities, local and national institutions, commercial enterprises, educational agencies, and numerous other players affecting the cultural processes under study are either absent or mentioned only in passing. Field materials and their preservation are not discussed at all, except in the most recent code 4. The anthropological codes are surprisingly weak at the other end, in the culture of the Other. Such things as research permits are not mentioned in any of the codes. Important concepts from the folkloristic point of view, such as "folk", "folklore" or "tradition", do not appear a single time in these codes. The question is whether folklorists can or should apply ethical codes which do not recognise key aspects of their profession, such as the archiving of collected oral and other materials, the use of documents created in fieldwork and the ethical concern for their ownership, conservation and use outside the traditional context where they were created.

Yet, this is what the only folkloristic code in the bunch (AFS88) is willing to do, Honko said. That

code is simply a copy, not a copy of one code only, but for every single sentence in AFS88 a source can be found in the anthropological codes. AAA could have raised a copyright case against the American Folklore Society and they would have won it. Consequently, then, the words "archive", "oral", "tradition" do not appear a single time in the AFS code. It is questionable whether the AFS possessed the competence to "inquire into the propriety of those unethical actions by folklorists and take such measures as lie within its legitimate powers" without first asking the AAA. The code is practically worthless for comparative purposes, and the two remaining, presumably more folkloristic than anthropological declarations, the Unesco Recommendation and the WIPO Draft Treaty must be compared not with AFS88 but with its original source, mainly AAA 71/86.

In the subsequent discussion *Ørjar Øyen* referred to the Ethical Code of the American Sociological Association, adopted two years ago, saying that it shows "much more concern for the other party, the people, the rights of the individual, the rights of society, the ownership to knowledge, to cultural elements, to I would not say intellectual property rights but folk property rights." *Bente Gullveig Alver* pointed out "that if you want to read our history it is important for you to have a very broad context of the codes. You ask about the man behind the codes... but for me it is more interesting to read [about] the single cases [reported] in the periodicals, for example. You see where the problems are and how people have tried to deal with them." *Galit Hasan-Rokem* declared herself "an advocate of the immanent history of folkloristics, the internal history of folkloristics" and emphasised the importance of understanding what kind of ethical problems people have faced while working in different cultures and periods.

General and specialised research ethics

Next, *Bente Gullveig Alver* and *Ørjar Øyen* presented their joint paper "The challenge of research ethics: an introduction". Three years earlier they had published a joint book in Norwegian on research ethics in science, social research and humanities. Now they had been invited to write an introduction to the project publication at hand. According to them, there are issues of principle in research ethics that apply to research work in general. It will be necessary to pay attention to the over-arching principles of research ethics. We are supposed to be honest, we are supposed to be truthful; these are among the demands that apply to all branches of science. And then there are some discipline-related issues. We note that different scientific disciplines have different agendas. For example, in sociology people collect data and utilise them for their research purposes, and then the data are thrown away. There is a lot of pressure through data legislation favouring the

destruction of data after use. In folkloristics, or in history, data are archived for research purposes. The main agenda is that of recording for posterity, taking care of the cultural heritage. So the disciplines have very different approaches to the material they study.

The Research Council of Norway has invested a lot of money in recent years in programmes on research into ethics. This is in fact a universal tendency. There is interest in how ethics apply to research more specifically. At the same time we notice an emphasis on legislation on data protection, the handling of personal information, the regulations for archives, the protection of cultural heritage, material and intellectual property rights. So work is being done all the time on ethical guidelines for research.

Alver and *Øyen* addressed "a dramatic reorientation in attitudes towards science. We see it among politicians, we see it among the general public, it is reflected through the mass media. And we note the number of issues through which we as researchers must be prepared to respond. There is a critical attitude towards science and research, which is of a very different nature from what we saw, let us say, 50 years ago. We note the changing role of the researcher, researchers have become a part of the general population [while] they were a very distinct group some time ago, unapproachable, privileged, today just normal people. Then research is a matter of concern to everyone." This change has made an impact on research ethics.

"What are the risks? We talk about risks inflicted on individuals and on society. The risks are that we trespass into what people regard as their private domains, and of course there is a lot of cultural variation in terms of what is regarded as domains of privacy. There is the issue of what can be determined as damage... there is also the issue of the feelings the people have of what is happening to them and anticipated damage, there is risk to third parties... People tell us stories, and the stories involve other people and we do not go out and ask these other people how they feel about having been the object of recording. We trespass into the sacred, we expose hidden knowledge, we commit symbolic violence... We must raise the question, are all problems researchable? Our answer [is that] all problems are researchable as a matter of principle. But we know that some are inaccessible because we do not have the methods. And some problems are so sensitive and ethically so difficult that it might be a good idea not to touch them. We are pointing to what we regard as a fact, that personal engagement sometimes gets in the way of truthful reporting, that proximity to our research topic may threaten the attitude of detachment needed to achieve fruitful reporting."

The ensuing discussion circled around the question of general and disciplinary ethics, the trespassing into sacred traditions, the question whether the change in attitudes toward scientific research has taken place in the West but not necessarily in Africa or India, and whether the customary comparative approach of folkloristics should be avoided in order

not to trivialise people's unique experiences, narratives and performances.

The main task, according to *Barbro Klein*, would be to "delineate the themes that would be specific to folkloristics as a discipline. It seems to me that one of our grand problems is that there are so many colleagues and that the demarcations of the discipline are so fuzzy that we really have a rather fluid notion of what the disciplinary agenda is, so that we need that kind of discussion to be able to formulate the particular disciplinary profile within the area of ethics. So we would really talk about the intellectual agenda of folkloristics as a field at the same time."

The widening scope of research ethics

The next paper, by *Judy Rangnes*, concentrated on the horizontal comparison of existing research ethical codes. She reiterated the main points of her earlier paper, see FF Network 20: 3–5. She had continued the analysis and went much deeper into such phenomena as the "different implied meanings of harm", the topics that were not mentioned at all in the codes, "such as how to work ethically with photographs, video documentaries, electronic formats and internet access" and the broad variety of ethical aspects in the codes. She did not find this multitude disturbing but said that "the ideal in my view would be to create standards of research ethics that include all these important issues, and that are not limited to meeting the needs of any one interest group."

The discussion which followed dealt with the semantics and interpretation of codes, especially the question whether we are entitled to "rewrite" the expressions found in the codes utilising sources from outside.

Barbro Klein spoke on "Folklore archives, heritage politics and ethical dilemmas. Notes on writing and printing", a topic she had dealt with at the 5th FF Summer School, see FF Network 18: 9. She expanded her presentation to include, for example, the "distinctions between such concepts as ethical notions, political notions and ideological notions", admitting, however, that they tend to overlap. The magnitude of the political and ethical dilemmas that folklore archives can pose seem to derive from the fact that the folklore archives have been central to the construction of national or regional symbols. Along with cultural historical museums, school systems and many other institutions, folklore archives became central to the formation of many modern nation states. The archives do not only represent the traditions of the nation, they also become examples of what a true heritage should be like. Archive materials tend to become normative. Archives may be used for political control and exercise of power. The traditional creative expressions of individual citizens are ordered and classified, and thereby open to surveillance.

Klein exemplified the ethical dilemmas in the ed-

iting of folklore texts. "On the one hand as folklorists we have the responsibility to describe correctly and with respect the points of view that our informants express, or the points of view that they construct together with us in interviews. But on the other hand, most of us would not accept or condone destructive behaviour, evil thoughts... ideas or actions on the part of our informants." The editor may often have good reasons for not citing the exact words of the informants: to protect them or third parties, for example. In effect the editor may improve the views of the informant, in order to save him from himself.

"The entire chain from questionnaire to printed text is shot through with heritage politics. The questionnaire, the excerpt card and the printed text all have to do with concern with how national heritage is to be presented, represented." The result is that the informant "is deprived of agency and power" and that "the text conforms to a neutral and fragmented ideal devoid of personal associations" representing "the view of folklore where folklore texts are not seen as the works of individual creators... [but as] examples of a stock of shared traditions."

The participants offered more examples of collation, combining of different sources without specifying them, purposeful editing, disturbingly short quotations from the informant's speech, lack of linguistic exactitude in the presentation of oral discourse and other acts conducive to the unreliability of folklore texts. On the other hand, as *Galit Hasan-Rokem* pointed out, "canonisation is a process of culture between orality and literacy, all the time. Different parts of society find themselves as agents of canonisation in different stages, it's been priests, it's been kings, it's been all kinds of rulers and so on, it just may be that at certain stages folklorists will find themselves as agents of canonisation of a culture."

Multicultural representation

Galit Hasan-Rokem then presented her paper, a case study asking who is entitled to represent the traditions of a multicultural place, in this case, Jerusalem. "The poetics and politics of visual representation of folk cultures of Jerusalem is political dynamite", she said.

In 1992 a fieldwork project was launched on the folklore and folklife of Jerusalemites, contracted by the Smithsonian Institution in Washington D.C. with the intention of including it as an item in the Mall of the American capital in summer 1993, as part of the annual American Folklife Festival. The two other themes planned for the 1993 festival were the Cajun culture and social dancing, both in the U.S. As for Jerusalem, the plan did not materialise and it has been postponed from time to time ever since.

The obvious reason for the postponement, the possible conflict with the simultaneous handling of the Palestinian-Israeli peace process in Oslo, was never openly stated. For two years, however, collecting went on by two teams working separately but

informing each other. The project ended up with two archives of folk culture of Jerusalem, one at the Riwaq Institute for vernacular architecture headed by Professor Suad El-Amiri, and the other at the Folklore Research Center of the Hebrew University headed by Professor Galit-Hasan Rokem.

For a moment then, in the words of Hasan-Rokem, there was “a model of cooperation, of regional cooperation, of the possibility for peaceful co-existence that is operated through a folklore project”. It “served to contradict and subvert some of the dominant interpretations of... the position of Palestinians and Israelis in the city. It certainly was designed to subvert the idea of a unified Jerusalem under Israeli rule, and it certainly was designed to subvert the idea of the denial of any Jewish right in Jerusalem by some Muslim fundamentalists.”

Folklorists from both sides “tended to decline including those forms of traditional expressive culture which had been co-opted by established and elite cultural institutions such as actors functioning as storytellers, again forms of canonisation and institutionalisation. The municipal administrators on the other hand were worried about the trivial and lowly image of the city which the selection of our informants was bound to create. -- On the other hand the suggestion of the deputy director of the culture department of the municipality to send a small chamber music orchestra to represent his Jerusalem at the festival was absolutely unthinkable to us”, Hasan-Rokem said.

“The interface between the folklorists and the representatives of the Smithsonian Institution, most of whom were professional folklorists, was occasionally no less complicated than our relations with the municipal administrators. The folk dance groups, a very popular Israeli pastime, were rejected... by the more theoretically oriented of the Smithsonian folklorists. They labeled it revivalism, which in their terminology stands in stark contrast to folklife. -- The Israeli team tended to view the decision as based on a lack of understanding for the role of invented traditions in the actual folklife of the country.”

The negotiations between the Palestinian and the Israeli teams touched questions of belonging, identity, lawful claim, inherited ownership, continuity, uniqueness of sentiments of each of the national entities represented. Both parties had difficulty with the fact that the representation had to be such that the Americans could understand what they saw. From the local point of view that was introducing distortion into representation.

The example shows that folklorists always have to operate under knowledge of their own lack of control. Guidelines and rules may be prepared under the presupposition that professional folklorists will be able to control the field. “But there are lots of factors that they are not able to control, not as folklorists and not as humans”, the speaker concluded.

In the discussion there was unanimity about the political force inherent in all folklore work. But how are we to draw the line between ethics and politics?

Many participants found it very difficult while others felt that, for example, it is not possible to speak of “identity ethics” and that there is a difference between ethical misconduct and political misconduct.

The problem of informed consent

Tove Fjell spoke on the “informed consent” to be acquired from the people studied. She defined three main types of consent, the written consent and the oral consent, both given in advance, and third, “passive consent”, which means that the informant has been informed by, say, a superior office, in writing or by word of mouth that a research project will be going on at a given place during a given period without individual consent having been obtained.

Fjell’s empirical research setting was observational participation in a birth clinic for which she applied for permission and signed a confidentiality pledge. She was not allowed to meet the women in the ward before they had read an information sheet about the project and signed a consent that allowed the researcher to attend the delivery. In fact the research permission was given at a high administrative level, well above the people to be studied. In the delivery unit it was the midwives who would determine the selection of women to be observed. Fjell was never allowed to see women who were considered too pain-inflicted, or women with a special history like previous deliveries of disabled infants.

Similar situations may occur in connection with interviews. Fjell had interviewed a number of female Vietnamese immigrants about their encounters with the Norwegian health service, prior to, during and after the delivery. Interpreters provided by the municipal interpreter agency were used as the women knew that the interpreters were bound by professional secrecy. The interpreter elicited the women’s oral consent on behalf of the researcher.

Despite the major differences between health-work informants and immigrant informants in terms of language skills and cultural knowledge, they did have one thing in common: both groups related to a “door opener” whom they depended on in many ways: their superior officer and their interpreter respectively. The power structures were rather clear. “We may well query the health workers’ and the immigrant women’s motivation for accepting a proposition from a research community and ask how real their informed consents were”, Fjell concluded.

As it turned out in the discussion, few folklorists had elicited written consent from their informants. Yet there was usually an informal “working contract” on the basis that the interviewee accepted or rejected the suggested topics and could withdraw from the project at any time, as *Lauri Honko* said. *Galit Hasan-Rokem* saw some difficulty in Fjell’s choice of research topics, especially when they implied obvious lack of personal contact between the researcher and the informant. The discussion even-

tually focused on the big question already mentioned above: are all problems researchable? Is it legitimate to intrude in people's lives at their most vulnerable moments?

The hegemonic impact of the scholar

The last session of the workshop was devoted to a joint paper presented by *Armi Pekkala* and *Maria Vasenkari*, both of whom have recently carried out extensive fieldwork interviewing present-day Ingrians in Russia. Although life history interviewing was the main method for both, supported by participant observation, "still we came up with different interpretations", said Pekkala. According to her, it had something to do with the conceptualisation of the interview and the life-history interview in particular. In the beginning, it was not the "informed consent" or similar things but the hegemony, the authority of the researcher's position which proved problematic. The fact that the researchers were Finnish (a nationality that the informants rated high and a language which they shared), created a supremacy which resulted, among other things, in the fact that practically nobody rejected an invitation to interview. The impact of the researcher's position on the material she produces with the informant needs evaluating.

The goal is to produce valid, reliable knowledge about the women's lifestories and the meanings they give to life and themselves. It presupposes trusting relationships with the informants and the creation of a valid source for interpretations. It requires many visits and time-consuming cooperation with a limited number of informants, an active role from both the interviewer and the interviewee. It requires tape-recording in order to grasp the meanings created in the interview situation and to preserve the interaction that was going on in the situation. The interview material will be vast. There is a reciprocal relationship where the researcher tells about herself, too, i.e. she takes part in the interaction as a human being, not only as a human doing.

The material usually contains some very intimate sections; this is typical of life-history interviews. The protection of the informants' anonymity and their right to be treated in a justified manner in the archiving, publication and presentation of research materials are thus essential. The intentions of the research must be made clear to them. The mixing of roles, that of a friend and that of a scholar, becomes increasingly problematic, Pekkala stated.

Maria Vasenkari had sent the participants her article on the dialogical notion of fieldwork published in *Arv* 1999. In her research, she focuses on representation and "the ethical dimensions of the researcher's and the discipline's influence on culture and society through fieldwork and through research results".

In the discussion the colleagues wanted to know why audiotape, not video, was so heavily empha-

sised in the methodology. The answer was the tight budget plus the difficulty of carrying lots of equipment in the field. When *Lauri Honko* provocatively asked whether it was the people studied, their lifestories or the research process by which these were elicited that was the main object of interest, *Galit Hasan-Rokem* went on to praise "the methodological project in which knowledge is considered to be produced interactively in the situation of communication, and not thought of as existing as an abstract category before that". *Bente Gullveig Alover* stressed that "we have to have a good knowledge of what we are doing. But we also have to know something about ourselves, about the material... this is a very good example of these young scholars going out and being more conscious of their work than we were when we were young."

Conclusion

The concluding discussion was unanimous over the need for ethical education, also for folklorists, be it guidelines which need to be revised from time to time or just articles, books and debates on ethical dilemmas encountered in modern research. The term "continuous consent" was offered as a reminder of the fact that ethical considerations should never cease during the research process and that folklorists should strive for the status of invited guests in other cultures, i.e. outsiders as such but welcome to share cultural materials in a responsible way without hurting the values inherent in them or the people expressing them.

No ethical code will ever have the power of implementation, yet a knowledge of ethical guidelines will give people in the field of folklore tremendous professional pride. Most ethical principles are multidisciplinary, but, in the words of *Ørjar Øyen*, the sociologist in our project, the ethics of textualisation could be a folkloristic contribution. Folklorists command "the way texts are formulated to fit preconceived notions of truth or reality or canonisation. Such issues are very important but they are not special to folkloristics; they also apply generally, say, to the entire field of qualitative methods."

The seminar seemed to offer a solution to the dilemma of the simultaneous presentation of general and specialised ethics. This was the processual view on ethics. The strength of the discipline-oriented approach is that we deal with concrete events. A sequential analysis of the research process from the ethical point of view will contextualise the problems. Scholars, however, deal mainly with the primary or first life of folklore, and the ethical problems of the secondary use of folklore remain beyond their reach. For this reason it might be better to analyse not only the research episodes but the entire folklore process from the discovery and archiving of folklore to its recycling and application, revival and commercial use, cultural and political functions. Folklore belongs to people, not scholars. □

Copyright and folklore

by Dr Lauri Honko, Kalevala Institute

Paper read at the National Seminar on Copyright Law and Matters, Mangalore University, Mangalore, Karnataka, India, on February 9, 2001

Oral traditions constitute a powerful cultural force and an inexhaustible spiritual resource in the history of mankind. Many a venerated literary work has its origins in the songs and narratives of anonymous oral singers and storytellers. In India, for example, the early classical epics *Mahaabhaarata* and *Raamaayana* are attributed to the great poets *Vyaasa* and *Vaalmiiki*, respectively, even though the historical knowledge about the creation processes in question is scanty. The scholarly understanding is, however, that the poetic materials of both epics largely existed in oral forms before the idea of a truly long and well-integrated superstory was conceived by some individual sage or poet and before the narrative was codified into a written form.

Orality never fully conceded its role to literacy and literature. Performance traditions are a case in point: they have remained oral in a variety of ways. The story of *Raama* has been recited, sung, danced and orally enacted in dozens of languages in about 20 South and Southeast Asian countries over the centuries. The result is that we have today hundreds of *Raamaayan*s which show so few common features that it is doubtful whether these narratives stem from a common root. Some scholars see here only parallel traditions, not derivations from one and the same story. To complicate the matter further, there are hundreds of anti-*Raamaayan*s or local oral epics which reflect popular interpretations of some themes of the classical epic and shape their meaning to suit mainly local, social and communal ends.

In other words, orality and literacy, *deesi* and *maargi*, folk literature and classical literature have been in a constant dialogue in the past and that dialogue still continues today. In the face of such cultural variety, which seems to question the true identity of the *Raama* story, it may appear futile to ask questions of copyright. Who is the rightful owner of the *Raama* story, if it exists? The quick way out of this dilemma seems to be offered by the age of most tellings and retellings of the *Raama* stories. They have passed the limit of, say, 70 years, and consequently they belong to the public domain. Unfortunately, the matter is not quite that simple.

I am a folklorist and humanist, not a copyright lawyer. Yet I was invited in 1982 and the following years to participate in several meetings organised by WIPO (World Intellectual Property Organization) and Unesco in Geneva and Paris. One product of these meetings was the "Draft Treaty for the Protection of Expressions of Folklore Against Illicit Exploitation and Other Prejudicial Actions", formulated in 1983 but never formally adopted by Unesco. Another document pertaining to the application of

copyright on folklore and produced by several Inter-governmental Expert Committees, in which I had the privilege of participating during 1982–89, was the "Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore", adopted by Unesco's General Assembly in November 1989. I wrote two working documents for the latter process and presided over the meeting in Paris in May 1987 which finalised the Recommendation text. About 80 Member States of Unesco were represented and dozens of Non-Governmental Organizations sent their observers to the meetings. Let me briefly sketch the relevance of these two authoritative statements as regards copyright and folklore.

The background

First a few words about how it all began. The idea that folklore could be copyrighted was obviously in the air in the early 1970s, since it emerged independently in two contexts at least. In 1973, the Government of Bolivia submitted to the Director-General of Unesco the request that Unesco begin to examine the state of folklore and make a proposal for an addition to the Universal Copyright Convention. The background to this action may be illustrated by an anecdote which may or may not be true. It was at about that time that the pop singer Paul Simon published his song "El Condor Pasa", which was soon identified as a Bolivian folk song. Since the record brought the "author" considerable revenue, it was felt that at least some of it should be channelled back to Bolivia.

At any rate, the initiative to copyright folklore reflects the more widely felt need in the developing countries to draw new intellectual strength from the country's own unique, freely developed folk tradition once the country becomes freed from its colonial ties. The term "traditional culture" was preferred to "folklore", because the latter carried disparaging Western overtones. Concern was expressed not only over the economic exploitation of folklore but also over the exportation of traditional culture and presentation outside its original contexts in a way that offended against the communities producing and preserving this tradition. Misonstrued performances belittled their cultural identity and values.

From the beginning, then, there were two main concerns, the economic and the ethical. The debate was launched in the industrialised countries, too, first in the Nordic countries in 1974, obviously without any connection to the Bolivian initiative at Unesco. At the time I was serving as the director of

the Nordic Institute of Folklore and ordered an investigation on the relations between folklore and copyright from a Finnish lawyer. Her report was published in Swedish in 1975. It pondered, among other things, on the concept of folk artist and the question whether folklore could be protected through neighbouring rights, i.e. through the protection given to artists concerning the copyright of their products and performances. Since folklore is observable only in performance, this alternative would comprehensively cover expressions of folklore. An individual ownership of folklore, however, was problematic in view of the dominant role of the tradition community in the interpretation and maintenance of folklore.

The Bolivian initiative started a process which led to the formulation of a model law to be adopted by those countries which wanted to go ahead with copyrighting folklore. A few countries, such as Tunisia, already had national laws regulating commerce in folk handicrafts and other areas of traditional culture. In summer 1982, WIPO and Unesco convened an intergovernmental meeting of experts in Geneva which approved a document known as the "Draft Treaty for the Protection of Expressions of Folklore Against Illicit Exploitation and Other Prejudicial Actions". It is a toothless tiger in the sense that the Treaty was never signed by anyone, yet its thinking made an impact on the copyright and folklore debate carried on in other fora, too.

How to define the object of protection

One of the key problems for the copyright experts meeting in Geneva was the definition of folklore. The lawyers wanted to know just what should be protected and what could be copyrighted. As a folklorist I was asked to clarify whether there was any folkloric "work" comparable to the works of art in high culture. My answer was twofold. First, since variation is the life substance of folklore, there is no master copy of a product of folklore from which all its variants could be derived. Second, I pointed out the tradition community as the prime holder of rights and ownership, not the individual performer who never claims to have invented the folkloric piece he performs. I referred to the definition of folklore which I had helped to formulate at the meeting of intergovernmental experts on safeguarding folklore held in Paris a few months earlier.

Thus we read the following in the first article of the Draft Treaty:

For the purposes of this Treaty, "expressions of folklore" mean productions consisting of characteristic elements of the traditional artistic heritage developed and maintained by a community, or by individuals reflecting the traditional artistic expectations of their community, in particular,

- (i) verbal expressions, such as folk tales, folk poetry and riddles;

- (ii) musical expressions, such as folk songs and instrumental music;
- (iii) expressions by action, such as folk dances, plays and artistic forms of rituals, whether or not reduced to a material form; and
- (iv) tangible expressions, such as
 - (a) productions of folk art, in particular, drawings, paintings, carvings, sculptures, pottery, terracotta, mosaic, woodwork, metalware, jewellery, basket weaving, needlework, textiles, carpets, costumes;
 - (b) musical instruments;
 - (c) architectural forms.

The Committee of Experts leaned heavily on the word "artistic" in an attempt to identify in the folk artist a case comparable to the artist of written high culture. If successful, the definition would provide protection of copyright through neighbouring rights to the performer of folklore. In the definition of folklore presented in the more comprehensive Unesco Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore formally adopted in 1989 but already available in 1982, the word "artistic" does not appear at all. It says:

Folklore (or traditional and popular culture) is the totality of tradition-based creations of a cultural community, expressed by a group or individuals and recognized as reflecting the expectations of a community in so far as they reflect its cultural and social identity; its standards and values are transmitted orally, by imitation or other means. Its forms are, among others, language, literature, music, dance, games, mythology, rituals, customs, handicrafts, architecture and other arts.

Here the keywords are "tradition" and "cultural identity", not "artistic", for obvious reasons. First, limiting the protection to artistic forms would create a skewed profile of the object of protection and leave important domains of folklore outside regulation. Second, whose aesthetics are we going to apply? The word "artistic" carries with it Western connotations not applicable to all cultures. It may be impossible to assess what is art and what is not art in cases where the actual owner of folklore, the traditional community, does not apply such a concept but rather sees the matter in terms of sacred values, world views and group identity.

The secondary use of tradition must be authorised

The Draft Treaty represents a compromise as regards the ownership of folklore insofar as it leans on the concept of "artistic" visualising a talented individual yet accepting simultaneously the traditional community as the holder of ownership. Protecting an individual as a performer, if not the creator, of folkloric expressions is much easier than locating the

rightful representative for a traditional community. The community may belong to the past or, if still alive, it may lack the infrastructure able to handle claims of copyright or unethical infringement in the use of its traditions. In order to circumvent this difficulty the Draft Treaty leaves it to the "Contracting State" to designate one or more "competent authorities" to administer and enforce the Treaty within national legislation.

The rationale of the Draft Treaty contains two main points: first, the use of folklore, be it performance or publication, must be authorised and, if the use will bring economic gain, part of it should go to the source. Secondly, if the use is unauthorised or ethically damaging to the source, the act is criminal and must be punished. Otherwise the Draft Treaty contains customary technical guidelines for its scope and enforcement. Much responsibility is left to the hypothetical "competent authority".

Whose rights are at stake

The Unesco Recommendation just mentioned deals with the broader issues of safeguarding folklore. Yet it contains a paragraph on the intellectual property aspects of folklore which complements the rationale of the Draft Treaty in an important way by listing more rights to be protected. The Recommendation formulates the recipients of protection by stating that we should

- (i) protect the informant as the transmitter of tradition (protection of privacy and confidentiality);
- (ii) protect the interest of the collector by ensuring that the materials gathered are conserved in the archives in good condition and in a methodical manner;
- (iii) adopt the necessary measures to safeguard the materials gathered against misuse, whether intentional or otherwise;
- (iv) recognize the responsibility of archives to monitor the use made of the materials gathered.

Thus the informant, the collector, the folklore document itself and the folklore archive holding the document should be protected and supported in order to guarantee the responsible use of folklore. Here the focus of protection shifts in fact to tangible objects, the documents containing folklore, be they written, aural or visual. This opens up a pragmatic vista on copyright and folklore, because the works to be protected are not immaterial spiritual phenomena in the minds of people but tangible objects conserving human ideas and expressions. The folklore archive may be said to assume the role of "competent authority" discussed above. The authorisation of use must be sought at the source of folklore performance, the informant, as well as at the source of its documentation, the collector. Both have individual rights concerning particular materials. The

folklore archive should monitor their rights and the forms of folklore dissemination in general.

This last constellation of protection is in harmony with the existing infrastructures of folklore work. It need not remain hypothetical but can be written into archival codes and research contracts even regardless of whether certain international treaties have been ratified or not. In many cases the performer of folklore passes for an artist and may receive recognition as an author, not of folklore as such, but of his unique interpretation and performance of it. Without the collector, however, that performance would have disappeared without trace. So he may be respected as a co-author of folklore.

The folklore document thus created will lead a life of its own which is secondary compared to the original folklore process from which it was derived. Yet it lends the indispensable possibility of reviewing culture to future generations. Thus it must be protected as the container of inexhaustible cultural values. The folklore archive, in turn, lends institutional authority to folklore documents and provides for technical competence and judicial arbitration in matters of folklore protection and use. If there is any kind of royalty generated by folklore materials, it is the folklore archive which should be able to channel the funds to the rightful source, be it the performer, the traditional community, the collector or some institution, including the folklore archive itself.

The "competent authority"

Let me conclude with an anecdote. A scholar wrote to me recently saying that he had worked for several years on a database of 11,000 regional folk tales now ready to be displayed on the Internet. He had consulted lawyers about the copyright concerning the individual tales. The answer was that "every narrator is the owner of his or her recorded performance" and that the publisher should acquire permission for each tale from its narrator, if he is still alive, and if not, from the next of kin if less than 70 years have passed since his death. The scholar, envisioning the difficulties involved, was uncertain whether he could realise his plan of putting his database on the World Wide Web at all.

Here again, the folklore archive holding the materials and acting as the "competent authority" could take the responsibility of granting permission after judging the rights of not only the storytellers but the collectors and other shareholders of folklore ownership as well. In other words, a well-functioning and clearly coded infrastructure represents the best guarantee for the enforcement of copyright and other rights actualised through the secondary use of expressions of folklore.

Read more in *NIF Newsletter* 1-2/1982:1-5; 1/1983:1-7; 3/1984:1-3, 5-31; 1-2/1985:3-13; 4/1986:8-25; 1/1987:4-21; 3/1987:3-9; 4/1987:15-18; 2-3/1989:3-12; 1/1990:3-7. □

How to become a member... continued from p. 1

participants in the FF Summer School, authors in the FFC series, or representatives of closely-related disciplines whose participation would help to achieve the functional goals of the researcher network through contacts with research, teaching and archive establishments in different parts of the world.

Member contacts are maintained by the bulletin FF Network giving information on forthcoming FF Summer Schools, the monographs appearing in FFC, conferences, projects and other activities of scholarly networks on special themes.

The rules of the Folklore Fellows (see FF Network No. 11, October 1995, p. 10) are ratified and amended by the Board of the Finnish Academy of Science and Letters at the unanimous proposal of the Folklore Fellows Executive Committee.

Membership applications

Applications for associate membership should be sent by mail or e-mail as a freely formulated letter of application to *two* members of the Advisory Committee (see the list below). The letter should contain sufficient information on the folkloristic merits of the applicant, a curriculum vitae or personalia, academic degrees and positions held plus a list of publications. In addition, a copy of the letter should be sent to the chairman, Dr Lauri Honko, Folklore Fellows, P.O.B. 14, 20501 Turku, Finland, or e-mail: lhonko@utu.fi.

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There is no deadline for the application. The processing of membership normally takes 2–3 months. The Executive Committee also has the right, on the ad-

vice of the Advisory Committee, to invite members without formal application. The minimum requirement for associate membership is an academic degree (not necessarily in folklore) and folkloristic publications.

Nominations for full membership and honorary membership should be made at the discretion of the chairman. They will be decided by secret ballot in the Advisory Committee.

The membership benefits include the bulletin FF Network (sent free of charge) and a 20% member discount on the volumes published in FFC.

Lauri Honko
Chairman, FF

A New International Association for the Preservation of the World's Heritage of Epics

On November 24 and 25, 1999, a new international association for the preservation of the world heritage of epics was founded in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. The founding conference was organized by the head of the Kyrgyz State Institute for the Preservation and Propagation of the epic "Manas", Mr Beksultan Jakiev, and supported by Unesco. The conference was attended by members of the Kyrgyz government, by the Unesco representative for Central Asia and by scholars from Kyrgyzstan, Russia and various parts of the Russian Federation (Yakutia, Tatarstan, Khakassia), Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Armenia, Mongolia, China (including Inner Mongolia and Xinjiang), Iran, Turkey and Germany.

The basic aim of the association is the collection, preservation and study of epic poetry, in particular oral and traditional epic poetry. The majority of the participants came from areas where epic poetry is still orally performed and where epics play an important role as cultural symbols in their respective societies. With the dramatic political and social changes in Central Asia and with the intensifying of globalization, traditional culture is more than ever in danger of extinction. It was felt by all participants of the founding conference that there is a pressing need to collect and preserve the world's heritage of

traditional epics while this is still possible. For this effort international cooperation is absolutely necessary, in particular as the areas where oral epic poetry still flourishes belong to the economically less privileged parts of the world.

The association is called Mezhdunarodnaya Assotsiatsia "Eposy Narodov Mira" (MAEN)/ International Association "Epics of the World's Peoples" (IAEWP). Mr Beksultan Jakiev (Bishkek) has been elected president of the association; Prof. Karl Reichl (Bonn, Germany) and Mr Alexander Zhirkov (Yakutsk) have been elected vice presidents.

The first goal is to establish a network of scholars working on epic poetry; to initiate an exchange of information on activities and projects; and to organize conferences and symposia, as well as festivals with epic singers and field trips. A Festival of Epic Singers is to take place in Kyrgyzstan (in the Manas complex in Talas) from May 20 to 25, 2001.

For more information contact: Mr Beksultan Jakiev, Gos. Direktsia po propagande eposa Manas, bul. Erkindik, 54, 720040 g. Bishkek, (Kyrgyzstan), e-mail: manasprj@elcat.kg, or Prof. Karl Reichl, Englisches Seminar, Universität Bonn, Regina-Pacis-Weg 5, 53604 Bonn (Germany), e-mail: k.reichl@uni-bonn.de. □

A definition of folklore

"Folklore is a tradition based on any expressive behaviour that brings a group together, creates a convention and commits it to cultural memory."

Source: *Indian Folklife*. A Quarterly Newsletter from National Folklore Support Centre, Volume 1, Issue 4, January 2001, p. 2.

Folklore Fellows' Summer School 2002

VI International Training Course for the Study of Folklore and Traditional Culture

The VI international training course was originally to have been held in August 2001 but has had to be postponed for a year due to unforeseen structural damage at the University of Helsinki. The University's Biological Research Station at Lammi has now been reserved for the School from June 17 to 31, 2002. As in previous years the 2002 Folklore Fellows' Summer School will be addressing the theory and methodology of folklore and will be designed for researchers, postgraduate students, university lecturers and persons working in folklore archives. The theme of the school, "Memory, Recollection and Creativity", points to the significance of oral tradition in forming images of the past and unleashing creativity. Special attention will be paid to the use of oral tradition in the ethnic processes of multi-ethnic communities and to the research ethics of folkloristics.

Focus on intercultural dialogue

The arrangements at Lammi will be in the hands of a committee representing the departments of folkloristics at the various Finnish universities chaired by Academy Professor Anna-Leena Siikala. She will be assisted by the Secretary General of the FFSS, Professor Lauri Harvilahti and the Course Secretary Pauliina Latvala, MA, both from the University of Helsinki. Any questions about the sixth FFSS should be addressed to Ms Latvala at the Institute for Cultural Research / Folkloristics, P.O. Box 59, 00014 UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI, Finland, fax: +358 9 19122970 or e-mail: pauliina.latvala@helsinki.fi.

Folklore research in Europe has to a great extent tended to concentrate on the scholar's own language and cultural area. In order to avoid this somewhat introvert approach, a need has nevertheless been felt for international dialogue of a more profound nature than the occasional encounters at congresses. The FFSS courses seek to engender true intercultural dialogue by drawing participants from all continents and as many cultural regions as possible. Many applications were received for the VI School now postponed until summer 2002. The standard of the applications was unfailingly high and they reflected a wide range of interest in the problems surrounding the collection, study and recording of folklore. Unlike many of the established disciplines in the humanities, folkloristics would appear to be in a state of expansion and gaining a foothold over an increasingly wide geographical area. Applications have thus been received from such countries as Albania, Argentina, Cameroon, Estonia, India, Japan, Kenya, Latvia,

Nepal, New Zealand, Nigeria, the Philippines, Russia, Tanzania, Uganda, the UK and the United States, in addition to the Nordic countries.

Unfortunately only 30 applicants could be accepted for the course and, as in previous years, the criterion for selection was the standard of scholarship. Allowance was also made for each applicant's need for training and the regional distribution of trainees.

All the participants must have a good command of English, since this is the language of the Folklore Fellows' Summer School. There will be Finnish postgraduate students acting as assistants and, schedule permitting, attending the lectures and joining in the workshops in addition to the participants proper.

Topics

The main topic of the course is the significance of folklore as the art of memory, its recollection and re-invention in performance. The focal role of folklore, as the symbol capital of the ethnic processes characteristic of the increasingly global world of today and as the building materials of local cultures, is still a major issue from the point of view of folkloristics. Unesco, for example, has underlined the importance of research into cultural diversity and creativity. In order to understand the use of tradition in contemporary culture, the folklorist must be familiar with the traditional forms of folklore. The continuity of traditions, cultural values and practices founded on them, the poetic language of folklore, and the problems of performing and reproducing tradition thus remain in the foreground of research.

A command of the classic questions of folkloristics and of the materials in the archives lays firm foundations for innovative research and the cultivation of views and interpretations that may be sophisticated in their novelty. On the other hand, the vistas afforded by fieldwork on the life of folklore reveal the tremendous change taking place in culture at this very moment amid the myriad developments brought about by economics, politics and communications. Contrary to the predictions made by the sociologists and others a few years ago, traditions are showing no sign of disappearing. Rather, they are providing the substance for new cultural phenomena. We may in fact well ask where oral tradition and folklore stand in the changing world of today. What sort of existence does it lead in the growing field of intercultural communication or multicultural and multilingual environments?

In addition to lectures focusing on the theory and

methods of folklore studies, the Summer School will concentrate on the means and substance provided by folklore for the evaluation and transmission of individual and common experiences. Special attention will be paid to the creation of the self and the inventiveness of tradition in the shifting contexts of multicultural and multilingual localities. A further topic for discussion will be the cultural division of labour. This concept underlines the systematic differences in the competence and uses of folklore in society.

Awareness of the significance of folklore in the life of individuals, micro-communities and ethnic groups faces research with certain ethical challenges. Scholars in the Nordic countries have in the past few years been drawing special attention to the ethics of folklore. Hence the FF Summer School held in Turku in 1999 included a workshop devoted specifically to folkloristic ethics. This debate will continue at Lammi.

Workshops

The Summer School faculty will consist of eminent folklorists of international renown representing different countries and research traditions. The course will be divided into theoretical lectures on a theme and four workshops each addressing participants' own research problems in addition to the general topics.

The themes to be addressed by the workshops are 1) Epics and Creativity, 2) Dialogues between Local and Global, 3) Narrated and Relived Histories, and 4) Ethics and Problems of Fieldwork. These themes have been chosen with a view to giving the main theme greater depth. The workshop topics can be interpreted loosely in order to give each participant a chance to make his/her views heard in the discussions. In order to foster intellectual exchange, each participant will give a paper on the state of research in his/her own country and his/her particular research topic. Participants are advised to prepare for this beforehand. Each workshop will be led by two well-known folklorists and will cover both participants' own research problems and the writing of a joint report based on the literature reserved for the course.

Lammi Biological Research Station

Lammi Biological Research Station is located amid verdant countryside in the province of Häme in southern Finland. It has modern lecture halls and seminar rooms, computers and Internet connections. The FF Summer School in 1997 proved that Lammi is a good venue for a folkloristic training course. The concentrated work sessions can be interspersed with a variety of leisure activities. The station is surrounded by wild forest with paths for walking and jogging, and the nearby lakes afford opportunities for boating and swimming. The Finnish sauna is likewise part of the programme at Lammi seminars. There will also be an excursion to a nearby village to study the local culture. Lammi further specialises in linen handicrafts made from local flax according to the traditional models.

Another item on the programme will be a visit to the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society in Helsinki. The Society was founded in 1831 and has some of the largest collections of folklore in the world. Participants will be introduced to the new methods of documentation and taxonomy at the archives and the new computer applications now being used in archive work. The Society has an ethnological library with a specialist folklore section in the same building.

The two-week Summer School is a concentrated training course during which many valuable contacts can be forged. I personally have learnt much from the scholars representing different cultural regions at each of the courses I have attended. Most fruitful of all have, perhaps, been the discussions that have brought to light differences in research traditions and approaches. A good Summer School can provide theoretical knowledge, suggest new methods and different interpretations. And best of all, it raises new questions about folklore and the world, and a new way of perceiving the nature and mission of our discipline in the changing world.

Welcome to Lammi!

Anna-Leena Siikala
University of Helsinki

Information about the earlier FF Summer Schools 1991–1999 is available at
www.folklorefellows.fi/netw/ffss_arc.html

Sigillo d'Oro (Città di Palermo)

International awards are comparatively rare in the humanities. An award which has gained recognition during the past 18 years in the field of anthropological studies is the *Sigillo d'Oro (Città di Palermo)*, a gold medal carrying the seal of the City of Palermo, administered annually by the Centro Internazionale di Etnostoria in Palermo with the help of an international jury. The prize pertains to a group of related disciplines such as archaeology, comparative religion, cultural anthropology, ethnohistory, ethnology, ethnomusicology and folkloristics.

The local term "Studi demoetnoantropologici" refers to three layers of research traditions, namely, "demo" to folklore, "etno" to ethnology/ethnohistory and "antro" to cultural anthropology, a kind of semi-historical sequence best understood in the Sicilian context. Local studies on folklife and folkpoetry have expanded toward studies on distant foreign cultures and modern ethnic groupings in urban multicultural contexts. The keyword "etnostoria" seems to denote a preference for historical profiles of cultural development.

A passage offered only in Italian in the programme leaflet may explain the purpose of the prize: "Considerato il Nobel delle discipline demoetnoantropologiche il 'Pitrè - Salomone Marino Città di Palermo' premio, con il suo massimo riconoscimento, il *Sigillo d'oro - Città di Palermo*, i più illustri studiosi del settore. Alle sue edizioni partecipano studiosi di tutto il mondo, spesso a dispetto delle artificiali barriere erette tra gli uomini e le culture dei popoli."

The *Sigillo d'Oro* is awarded for outstanding life-long scholarly work. The recipient is invited to give a public lecture at the University of Palermo. The reference to the Nobel Prize implies honour, not money, but the heavy medal is pure gold. It is handed over at a festive ceremony at which numerous other prizes are distributed for scholarly books, films and other mostly individual achievements selected on the basis of competition.

These prizes derive from the late 1950s, when two professors at the University of Palermo, the well-known historian of folklore research Giuseppe Cocchiara and the Renaissance historian Gaetano Falzone created the international award named after two Sicilian pioneers in the study of popular traditions, Giuseppe Pitrè and Salvatore Salomone Marino.

The recipients of the *Sigillo d'Oro* (granted since 1983) are:

1983 Claude Lévi-Strauss, France
1985 Lutz Röhrich, Germany
1986 Vinigi Grottanelli, Italy

1987 Carlo Tullio Altan, Italy (Trieste)
1988 Béla Gunda, Hungary
1989 Wolfgang Laade, Switzerland
1990 Vittorio Lanternari, Italy
1991 Paulo de Carvalho Neto, Brazil
1992 Maja Boscovic-Stulli, Yugoslavia (Croatia)
1993 Alan Dundes, U.S.A.
1994 Vittorio Maconi, Italy
1995 Linda Dégh, Hungary/U.S.A.
1996 Maria Rostworoski, Peru
1997 Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, Brazil
1998 Tullio Tentori, Italy
1999 Mary Douglas, United Kingdom
2000 Lauri Honko, Finland

The list is undeniably international and multidisciplinary. Interestingly, it contains more South than North Americans. Considering the broad spectrum of disciplines, folklorists do fairly well. The number of domestic recipients is not disproportionate.

Why Palermo? The present capital of the autonomous region of Sicily was in its golden age, the Norman era in the 12th century, with its then 300,000 (!) inhabitants a flourishing centre of trade and the arts, a kind of capital of the civilised world. Today, the City of Palermo has gained worldwide recognition for its successful battle against organised crime. The battle has taken culturally interesting forms. During the past five years about 160 neglected monuments, churches, castles, parks, fountains, theatres, villas, railway stations, etc., have been "adopted" by schools and most of them restored by volunteers and reopened. 25,000 students from 150 elementary, junior and high schools have participated. A new pride is superseding the dark decades of mafia in Palermo.

History may explain part of the global zeal behind the *Sigillo d'Oro*. Another important factor is the international jury administering the prize, especially its permanent Vice President Professor Claudio Esteva-Fabregat from Barcelona, who knows culture anthropological research both in Europe and the Americas through personal experience. The President of the jury and the Director of the Centro Internazionale di Etnostoria, Professor Aurelio Rigoli holds all the strings in his hand as far as local cultural politics and Italian scholarly interest groups are concerned. Good diplomacy and a passion for Sicily are his trade mark. His efforts are making Palermo the world capital of ethnoanthropology.

Source: Il "Pitrè". Quarant'anni di Antropologia mondiale a Palermo. Palermo: Centro Internazionale di Etnostoria, 1999. 190 pp.

Reviews

Indexing a Mayan tale-world

Jim C. Tatum, *A Motif-Index of Luis Rosado Vega's Mayan Legends*. Folklore Fellows' Communications No. 271. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia (Academia Scientiarum Fennica), 2000. xxxviii + 117 pp.
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Jim Tatum has presented us with a valuable insight into the work of a little known Mexican author, Luis Rosado Vega (1876–1958). As a native of Yucután, Rosado Vega was understandably interested in the folktales of his *patria chica*. The two volumes he published on the subject are *El alma misteriosa del Mayab* (1934) – pre-Columbian material, and *Amerindmaya* (1938) – post conquest material. It might have been useful if Tatum had given the full titles of the two works and the number of pages. *El alma misteriosa del Mayab. Tradiciones, leyendas y consejas* (269 pp.). The subtitle says that the author intended to include traditions, legends, and folk beliefs. *Amerindmaya. Proyecciones de la vieja tierra del mayab, de aquella que fue en su día tierra encantada de maravilla, de amor, de ensueño, de fe* (448 pp.) is a title that speaks to Rosado Vega's intention to portray an enchanted land full of marvels, love, fantasy and faith. Although Rosado Vega had planned a third volume that dealt with folk songs, there is no way of knowing if he had compiled his field work since it has never been published. From the viewpoint of ballad scholars this loss is a sad one.

In the course of traveling through the rural districts of Yucután, as the founder and director of a new Museum of Archeology in Mérida, "he began collecting oral traditions and legends which he found in abundance in the small rural settlements" (p. xiii). What we do not know is how he went about collecting this material. What questions did he ask? Did no one tell him a comic tale? Did he censor his results, eliminating tales that he considered unsuitable? Had he limited his query to legends or belief tales? Judging by his subtitles, and the use of the word "leyendas" I suspect that his inquiry might have guided the responses of his informants, by asking for legends and folk beliefs.

Citing Stanley Robe's outline of the typical legend, Tatum writes that many of the tales follow a recognizable pattern: a human "engaged in routine activity" comes upon a manifestation of the super-

natural; the mortal reacts to the superior power of the supernatural with either awe or fear; he then copes with the appearance with "amulets, charms, and prayers, or he may consult brujos, and brujas, médicas, or with a priest" (xv). These didactic tales may result in either rewards (special privileges), or punishments (death by drowning, by knife), or they may be etiological (why the deer's tail is cropped). For rewards, see Q0–Q199, for punishments, see Q200–Q599, and for etiological tales, see A2200–A2848.

Tatum casts light on Rosado Vega's cultural orientation: "It is very apparent ... that he is always an emotional champion of the Maya; he venerates the past glories of the pre-Columbian culture and sympathizes with the twentieth century Indian. Further, his fierce nationalism and condemnation of the Spanish conquest bring to mind the question of his objectivity" (xiii). Taking the next logical step, he wonders whether an educated writer might not have unintentionally fictionalized some of the tales he collected (xiv). He cites Barbara Woods (*The Devil in Dog Form: A Partial Type-Index of Devil Legends* [Folklore Studies 11: Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1959]) who says that Rosado Vega's work was plagued by "inaccuracies, inadequate data and legends based on literary sources" (xiii n. 3).

Dealing with the question of identifying those tales that are indigenous and those that derive from Spanish traditional culture, Tatum mentions the early work of Franz Boas and Aurelio Espinosa, both of whom had said that Spanish American folklore was principally from Spain. Other folklorists, Ralph Boggs and George Foster, viewed the tales that have persisted as blends of the two cultures (xiv). Rosado Vega minimizes Hispanic influence when he writes that the tales he collected are Mayan in origin, ideology, form of expression and philosophy, a statement that Tatum questions because nowhere are these terms defined adequately (xiii). The problem is further complicated by the early presence of Spanish missionaries some of whose stories most certainly had entered the cultural repertoire.

Some of these blends are easily identifiable by their specific content: A2221.12 *Chibilú* bird saves Jesus and Mary from enemies, as reward allowed to fly high and make nest in tree top to avoid predators (also classified under B450 Helpful birds, Q20 Piety rewarded, Q190 Rewards – miscellaneous, and V250 The Virgin Mary). Another motif that reveals a Spanish Christian intrusion is in a transitional state – M218 "Contract with devil destroyed." M211.9 "Person sells soul to devil in return for the granting of wishes." In the process of de-Christianization, the Virgin has disappeared, but the demonic transaction remains. A familiar medieval tale is M211 "Bargain

with devil (hermit). Virgin Mary brings man pact he signed with devil and frees him from devil's power."

Other devil motifs are less clear as to their origin. Tatum explains that there are indigenous demonic figures "the feared *xtabay*, an evil demon in the form of a beautiful woman ... the *kakazbal* the most evil of all demons" (xv-xvi n. 12). The motif of a demon in the form of a beautiful woman intent on seducing her victims is familiar in the Spanish Christian tradition. Tatum classified this motif as D42.2.2 "Devil takes form of beautiful woman to seduce and kill man", F402.1.4 "Demons assume human form in order to deceive", and G303.3.1.12.2 "Devil as beautiful woman seduces man". In the Spanish medieval Christian tradition it was G303.3.1.12.2 "Devil as beautiful woman tries to seduce bishop (hermit)". It survives in such current legends as the Colombian tale "La Muelona" (José Antonio León Rey, *El pueblo relata*. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1980. 60.147-149), and in a Costa Rican story of "La tsegua". Of course, when a motif enters an oral traditional culture, it is assimilated most easily if similar motifs already exist. So, we suppose that the idea of a demon disguised as a beautiful woman must have been already a familiar one when it arrived with the *conquistadores*.

Two intriguing entries report a local creation myth: A1241.6 "Man made from red earth and grass" and A1281.8 "First men without well developed faculties". They reflect the difficulties involved in assigning a European or an indigenous origin to some motifs. Although there is no denying the universal nature of these motifs, is it a coincidence that they appear in the Quiché Maya creation myths of *Popol wuj: antiguas historias de los indios quichés de Guatemala* (Sepan Cuantos No. 36, México: Porrúa, 1986) where the first humans failed because they were made of clay and were soluble in water? In the European tradition, the color of the earth used to form the first man was red, perhaps because it explained the redness of blood (Theodor Gaster, *Myth, Legend and Custom in the Old Testament*, New York: Peter Smith, 1969: 18-19), and, of course, the first humans were a failure and were eliminated in the Flood. If this is not a case of polygenesis, then maybe both the Quiché Maya and the Yucután traditions had accepted the Western Christian creation myth at roughly the same time.

A number of other entries coincide with traditional Hispanic motifs: A2611.0.1 "Plants from grave of dead person or animal." This motif is reported in Hispanic ballads about tragic love as E631.0.1 "Twinning branches grow from graves of lovers", and E631.0.1.3 "Rosebush grows on grave of dead woman, generated by rose petals given her by her love." The motif also appears in medieval Marian narratives: V254.7.3 "'Ave' appears on leaves of tree planted over grave of person who said the prayer everyday."

Some entries are not informative enough, for instance, A2848 "Origin of stalactites" II 389. Without a topical index, the user must rely on memory to

find related entries that also coincide with Book II page 389. For instance Q551.3.4 II 389 "Transformation to stone as punishment" includes cross references to C961.2.1 II 389 "Transformation to stalactite for breaking tabu" and D231.2.2 II 389 "Transformation woman to stalactite" and D661.7 II 389 "Transformation as punishment: adulterous woman turned into stalactite."

B210 "Speaking animals" alludes to twenty-one different animals all of whom said something. The fact that they all enjoyed the same unusual ability is interesting, but what they said would have been of even more interest. Similarly a series of unreliable relatives are listed without saying what they did: K2211 "Tracherous brother", K2213 "Tracherous wife", K2214.1 "Tracherous daughter", K2219 "Tracherous father". Surely the various acts of treachery would have been useful to students of narrative. My appetite for more information was also piqued by A2824 "Origin of drum", F842.1.6 "Bridge made of spider web" and F991.1 "Cactus bleeds".

An examination of the cross references to other motif-indexes yields neither evidence of indigenous nor Spanish influence. There are only two entries cross-indexed with Robe *Index of Mexican Folktales* - A2261.5.1 "Wizard with keen sense of smell" and F561.9 "Idler lies under tree, eats fallen fruit". The rest are associated with a disparate list of indexes: one with MacDonald, *The Storyteller's Sourcebook*, A2378.4.10 "Why deer has short tail"; one with Haring, *Malagasy Tale Index*, A2491.1.2 "Why bat hangs upside down"; three with Neuland, *Motif Index of Latvian Folktales*, B211.2.19 "Speaking squirrel", B211.3.12 "Speaking owl", B211.4.4 "Speaking fly"; three with Kittley, *A Motif-Index of Traditional Polynesian Narratives*, B211.3.12 "Speaking owl", B211.4.4 "Speaking fly", D2177.5 "Imprisonment in tree"; one with Baughman, *Type and Motif-Index of the Folktales of England and North America*, F405.11.1 "Lesser demon leaves when gift of cooked beans are left" and two with Bordman, *Motif-Index of the English Metrical Romances*, K2214.3.2 "Tracherous son slays father [for inheritance]" and F531.7.3 "Red giant".

As would be expected in a repertory of tales of a rural population, animal tales are frequent, as are stories about plants, and other physical features of the informants' world. For example, in a region with few lakes and no rivers, a principal water source is the *cenote* 'sinkhole', and a local tree, the *ceiba* is a part of the Maya creation myth. Although trickster tales are less frequent than in most European folktale compilations, there is one prank-playing creature, the *czin* who is "a lesser demon with a sense of humor who loves to play tricks, causes minor problems, is hairy, horned with a long tail, poor and dresses in black". This creature is perhaps a congener of the West Indian "Anansi" (xvi).

The contents of this index deviates from the European indexes the author cites. For instance, he notes the absence of demigods, culture heroes (A), and quest tales (H). He also notes the paucity of stories dealing with tabus (C), tests of cleverness and truth-

telling (H), and reversal of fortune (L) (xvii). He speculates about the “extraordinarily large percentage of motif variations not previously recorded.” The unspoken premise is that motifs of Western Christian origin have a low percentage of new motif variations, while Amerindian tales tend to have higher percentages (xvii). My understanding is that within a traditional culture, indigenous tales have a greater vitality; the storytellers feel free to enlarge and change them, while the relative stability of imported items suggests that storytellers are less likely to deviate much from what they had heard previously. He stops short of speculating further when he writes: “It would seem, at best, to interpret these numbers only as indicators, nothing more” (xvii). Perhaps no conclusion is possible because this index is based only on Rosado Vega’s two volumes. The sample is small, and quite possibly skewed because of the biases, and idiosyncrasies of the Mexican compiler.

Tatum explains how he has used the Stith Thompson classification system, acknowledging the particular difficulties that arise when one adapts a European system to a non-European corpus. He marks with an asterisk entries not listed by Thompson and also indicates those that coincide with entries in other indexes. A very useful feature of this index are the internal cross-references in which he lists other entries related to the principal one, a practice best illustrated with an example in which the same tale serves an etiological function and also classifies a kind of punishment:

A2766.2. Why *dzuedzue* tree weeps: sorrowful goddess searching for lost child. I.86

Q502.4. Punishment: goddess must wander earth searching for lost daughter. I.86

Incidentally, are these motifs related to the Mexican tale of “La llorona”?

I am puzzled by the author’s choice of such unlikely parallel indexes as Bordman’s *English Metrical Romances*, and Neuland’s *Latvian Folktales and Legends*. Equally puzzling is the inclusion in the Bibliography of Armistead’s *El Romancero judeo-español*, a catalogue of ballads. If there were a reason to seek Judeo-Spanish folk narrative, a more appropriate source would have been Reginetta Haboucha, *Types and Motifs of the Judeo-Spanish Folktales*, New York: Garland, 1992. The reader is guided through the entries by a list of Abbreviations Used for Cross-reference (xx) and a Bibliography (xxi–xxiii). A General Synopsis of the Index provides an overview of the categories into which the entries fall (xxiv–xxviii). A serious flaw is the absence of an alphabetical topical index.

In sum, Jim Tatum has created a thought-provoking index that will add to the general fund of information about oral traditional tales. He has called attention to a little-known author and scholar who had created a record of his personal traditional cultural world, a world that began in 1876 and ended in 1958. It would be fascinating if current fieldworkers might

be willing to try to renew interest in Yucután’s oral tradition, using Tatum’s index as a starting point. Will they find more tales about sex? About political structures? About tests? About religion? Will they be able to elicit humorous tales from their informants?

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Jim C. Tatum, *A Motif-Index of Luis Rosado Vega’s Mayan Legends*. Folklore Fellows’ Communications No. 271. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia (Academia Scientiarum Fennica), 2000. xxxviii + 117 pp.
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Jim C. Tatum’s motif index of the Mayan legends present in two anthologies by Mexican-Yucatec author Luis Rosado Vega (1876–1958) is a worthy scholarly accomplishment that focuses attention on the rich heritage of an area of the world that is of increasing interest. In keeping with the historic-geographical approach to folklore studies, this volume is a welcome resource for generalists wishing to study connections among international folktales as well as for Mayanists conducting either archival research or fieldwork. Tatum’s Motif-Index can be divided into two main parts, an Introduction and the Index itself, with sections listing the abbreviations used, a bibliography and a general synopsis of the index separating these two parts; the Introduction provides biographical information on Rosado Vega, a discussion of the stories that were analyzed for this motif-index, and an explanation of the indexing system developed for this analysis, while the Index adapts the system established in Stith Thompson’s *Motif Index of Folk Literature* (1955–58) to Rosado Vega’s Mayan legends. This addition to the study of folktales suggests intra- and intercultural comparisons and directions for new studies.

Recognizing that scholarship on Mayan tales has not kept pace with the interest in the archaeological, architectural, scientific, and societal aspects of that culture, Tatum chose Rosado Vega’s *El alma misteriosa del Mayab* (1934) and *Amerindmaya* (1938) to begin closing the gap. The Mexican author himself directed his attention to the indigenous folklore only relatively late in life after pursuing several careers in fields related to teaching, politics and journalism; his earliest writings were heavily influenced by the Europeanized and sophisticated modernista trend that took hold in Latin American literature during

the late 19th and early 20th centuries. When Rosado Vega's focus shifted to more down-to-earth themes after the Mexican Revolution, it concentrated on the political and sociological issues concerning the plight of the Yucatec Indians; his interest in the Pre-Columbian culture emerged after his appointment to found and direct the State Museum of Archaeology in Merida, when he began collecting survivals of the ancient Mayan traditions.

A reading of Rosado Vega's two books on Mayan legends and oral traditions will reveal that the stories are not direct transcriptions of oral tales but textualized recreations with ample personal interpretation: although recorded in Spanish rather than in Mayan language, Rosado Vega's nationalistic pride and denouncement of the Spanish Conquest are prominent elements of the two anthologies. Because his ideology, education, early literary style and travels are referenced throughout, one must question the author's impartiality when identifying his sources. Thus, Tatum is correct in indicating that Rosado Vega oversimplifies matters when he assigns pre-Columbian origins to the traditions in *El alma misteriosa del Mayab* and a post-Conquest genesis to those in *Amerindmaya*. Rosado Vega's notions of genre are another problematic area by today's definitions: while most of the tales do coincide with what is currently taken to mean legend, many of the tales bear resemblance to the European fairy tale and to moralizing fables. By placing the components of Rosado Vega's two legend collections in the context of international motifs, Tatum finds a sensible response to these dilemmas of authenticity and hybridization.

As expected, Mayan rural life is reflected in the stories and motifs from nature abound: deer, birds, snakes, dogs, insects as well as more indigenous elements such as jaguars, monkeys, cenotes and ceibas. What may signal the truly distinctive traits of Rosado Vega's legends are those motifs absent in Mayan lore but present in neighboring Latin American traditions and, inversely, the presence of a large percentage of previously unrecorded motif variations. The West Indian trickster *anansi* who takes on the form of a spider, for instance, is somewhat echoed in the Mayan *cizin*, a rather benign demon who may take many forms, but never that of a spider. The absence of folktales dealing with demigods, culture heroes, origins of people, quests, injunctions regarding eating and sexual conduct, humor, chance and tests of cleverness and honesty likewise suggest cultural specificity. Nevertheless, when pointing out that tales that reflect a Catholic influence show a low percentage of new motif variations, whereas those of more likely Amerindian origin tend to have higher percentages, Tatum rightly cautions that "it would seem, at best, to interpret these numbers only as indicators, nothing more" (p. xvii).

Tatum acknowledges the risks of applying a classification system designed for European folklore to non-European narratives. Thus, his classification system uses Thompson's index as a foundation but it also accounts for motifs not listed in Thompson's

work, motifs not listed by Thompson but found in other sources, and differences in wording in motif listings through a system of asterisks, parentheses and brackets. On occasion, Tatum disregards the numerical designations of other existing motif indexes to incorporate some of his own making that more closely follow Thompson's categories, especially in the "section D100–D199 Transformation: Man to Animal". Tatum's strategies for integrating motifs alien to Thompson's system are thorough and his explanations clear, leaving little room for confusion when using this index.

A Motif-Index of Luis Rosado Vega's Mayan Legends provides a glimpse of the content areas in the Mayan stories circulating early in the twentieth century. The observations in this work will no doubt inspire analyses of the indigenous vs. European elements of the modern Yucatec tradition with regard to theme, narrative structure, and world view, and theories to be confirmed by both fieldwork and bibliographic research.

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Inhabiting the spiritual world

René Gothóni, *Attitudes and Interpretations in Comparative Religion*. Folklore Fellows' Communications No. 272. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia (Academia Scientiarum Fennica), 2000. xxxviii + 117 pp.
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The present book is a collection of essays by René Gothóni published over a period of almost twenty years. Certain essays appear here in revised form. There are ten essays in all, together with a preface, an illustrated appendix, a bibliography and an index. The book is an excellent illustration of Gothóni's academic interests: we get a good introduction to what a Finnish scholar of comparative religion can have studied during the course of a scholarly career. The emphasis is on an anthropological approach combined with field studies, together with a comparativist angle – one might call the results a phenomenological perspective.

The essays cover quite a broad range of interests. We are first given a preface, which is enlightening with regard to the author and his personal interest in the study of religion. This is followed by discussion of the term religion itself, an eternal question

in this context. In a wise and illuminating move, the author introduces the concept of family resemblances, as elaborated by Wittgenstein.

This is followed by a discussion of the main different attitudes towards religion and what these signify for study of the field. In this context, the author draws examples from his own teaching experience at the University of Helsinki. Teaching religion is often a sensitive issue, which can provoke reactions both in conservative religious quarters and in the new-religious and enthusiastic camps. The author argues for a methodical detachment, which does not however preclude personal commitment.

The majority of the essays in the book deal with the monasticism. The areas covered are the lives of Buddhist monks in Sri Lanka, studied by the author in his doctoral dissertation, and those of Orthodox monks on Mount Athos in Northern Greece, a place that has become something of a retreat for the author in recent years. The author has previously published two books in English about monastic life on Mount Athos. The material included here consists largely of central elements from Gothóni's doctoral dissertation and his books about Athos. We are given descriptions of monastic life within both religions. The author highlights both similarities and differences, although it is the latter which perhaps predominate in his accounts. There is no doubt, however, that the reader is given a good insight into monastic life in both places. We become acquainted with the tribulations of daily life, together with the great goal of Nirvana or heavenly peace which provide the monk's hope and final goal. In his descriptions, the author comes close to his own personal experiences and can to some extent communicate these to the reader, too.

The final essay is entitled "What is to be attained?" Here the author poses the question of what purpose is served by all the asceticism and spiritual effort. What is the aim of the spiritual exercises? He answers by suggesting that, when we establish the objective world, we must also see another world that exists within it. Or, as he puts it, "...we realize that although it is invisible, it is nevertheless an empirical reality in our mind, the witness of which is manifest in the writings and lives of spiritual masters (in all religions)" (p. 153). Through spiritual exercises one internalizes the spiritual world and can begin to inhabit it, an experience that exalts the individual in question. One finds one's "spiritual pleasure" in the development of this inner world, something that characterizes not only the monk but also anyone else who takes religion seriously.

At this point, the author introduces perspectives clearly related to religious psychology, thus demonstrating an intellectual breadth and a willingness to extend scholarly perspectives. It is not just the matter of historical and comparative studies, then, which concerns Gothóni, but there are other viewpoints, too: an attitude that I greatly appreciate. The author, finally, has a great facility for clear and simple diagrams, as emerges in many of these essays. Where

the discussion of religion in relation to its "derivatives" is concerned, one might wish for clearer criteria. As things stand now, religion can easily emerge in an exclusively positive light, whereas sects, particularly suicide sects are treated as mere derivatives – and hardly even religious ones. More detailed psychological and sociological discussion would be useful here.

By and large, the book is an interesting and rewarding collection of research findings, based partly on more theoretical considerations and partly on field studies. It is eminently suitable as a university textbook.

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A vade mecum of indexing ...

Heda Jason, *Motif, Type and Genre. A Manual for Compilation of Indices & A Bibliography of Indices and Indexing*. FF Communications No. 273. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia (Academia Scientiarum Fennica), 2000. 279 pp.
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The philological avenue to folklore has an honorable history, inaugurated by the Grimms first at Göttingen, then Berlin, and ramifying into other fields, for example the historical-critical theology of D. F. Strauss and scholars at Tübingen (to become a center for folklore studies eighty years later). Succeeding generations practiced "normal science", applying existing insights and principles to previously untreated areas and data and calling that practice the study of folklore. Philology, like the folkloristics that develops from it, claims all products of human culture as its territory. To rule over the territory, it proposes to discover and contain those products and minds through language alone.

Because for the majority of the world's peoples, verbal narration occupies the center of the territory, and because narratives are so numerous, folklorists produced bibliographies, classifications, indexes, and finding lists. These tools of the philological folklorist are awkward to use until they become familiar. All who have traced for themselves an obscure path through the Aarne-Thompson *Types of the Folktale* or Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk Literature* have their adventures to narrate afterwards. Recurrently they ask themselves, Would it be possible to rationalize

these procedures, for instance by creating a new method? In response, Heda Jason writes, "A re-indexing and re-arranging of the materials according to a new classification scheme of folktale types would be too costly..." (p. 14). Other scholars have thought of revising and updating the type index, for example, Hans-Jörg Uther in "Indexing Folktales: a Critical Survey", *Journal of Folklore Research* 34, 3 (1997): 209–20. Heda Jason proposes, "What the discipline needs is more indexing of materials and adequately compiled indices" (14). In *Motif, Type, and Genre*, this author provides an ambitious and comprehensive set of guidelines. She urges these on her colleagues, to enable them to make each index accessible and to ensure that it is comparable to others.

The author has devoted most of her professional career to the comparative study and analysis of oral literature, especially the themes and patterns in Near Eastern and Jewish folklore. She has the qualities necessary for indexing and analysing: great patience, a willingness to tolerate tedious, time-consuming tasks, an insistence on thorough processing of materials, and a demand for corpora large enough to support proper generalisations.

Motif, Type and Genre assumes that folklorists need to be able to locate and compare items and repertoires. To that end, the author says, indexes should follow certain criteria, which are the substance of the six parts of her "how-to-do-it" book. Partly verbal and nonverbal forms are noticed but not treated; this book confines itself to *Erzählforschung*, which is one segment of the huge field of folklore. The six parts are subdivided, in scientific style; tables, charts, and sample analyses support the author's recommendations. She points to the "Euro-Afro-Asian" area (41) as the one most adequately studied and as more or less unified in oral and folk literature, though not in other culture elements.

Part A describes the author's concepts. She distinguishes literary works by composition and transmission (oral? written?), cultural status (folk? high?), and patterns of composition (analogous to what Aristotle called manner: verse, prose, or drama). She gives an unusually precise, new definition of *motif* (23), rethinks the concept of tale type, discusses ethnopoetic genres and repertoires, and distinguishes several levels of indexes, touching here on the difficulty of fitting "non-Euro-Afro-Asian" materials into older classification schemes. The term *ethnopoetic*, in this author's usage, refers to "works of literature, transmitted by performers in an improvised presentation on the basis of fixed literary canons" (Jason, *Ethnopoetics, a Multilingual Terminology*, Jerusalem: Israel Ethnographic Society, 1975: 3–4). It does not refer to either the American school of poetics, headed by Jerome Rothenberg, or the imitation in print of performance qualities, practiced by Dennis Tedlock and Dell Hymes.

Part B sets forth in detail the elements the author demands in a proper index. She makes recommendations about choosing a corpus, what to include in one's introduction, what language to write in, and

how to label the material to show its origins and sources. Much rigorous thinking has gone into her exposition of the segmenting of narratives, the numbering and ordering of motifs, and the need to follow Thompson's *Motif-Index* closely. Despite the notorious faults of Aarne's scheme for narratives, the author is loyal to it. She even recommends motif and type indexing of "written folk literature", such as detective stories and *bandes dessinées* (46), but she recommends against type indexing of Aarne's kind for non-Euro-Afro-Asian materials (48).

Even more detailed are the author's criteria for assigning texts to types and creating new ones. She includes directions for avoiding problems in tale type descriptions (71–75). Genre is crucial, because it is the "outcome of all [the] literary qualities [of a work] and of its relations to social and cultural contexts" (85). She asks for two kinds of bibliography as well.

Part C asks the indexer to provide "auxiliary registers": these include listings of texts with motif and type classification, subjects, proper names, place of origin, ethnic or religious group, cultural-historical period, language of communication, and information about performers.

In Part D, the author presents three sample analyses of texts from the Israel Folklore Archives, two of which she herself collected. With one incident in common, the three are otherwise different, so that the author can connect their incidents to existing and newly invented tale types.

Part E, recapitulating some of the author's earlier work, lists the ethnopoetic genres in the huge Euro-Afro-Asian culture area. Among these she distinguishes realistic, fabulous, and symbolic modes; within each she catalogs a large number of genres. Romantic epic, for example, exemplifies the realistic, the sacred legend exemplifies the fabulous, and proverb or riddle are symbolic.

Part F is most ambitious, assembling 339 indexes of folk literature from around the world, indicating language and ethnic group, motif and type indexes, and marking the entries to allow integrating the indexes into the Human Relations Area Files. Follows a list of 284 books and articles discussing problems of classification. These two lists are then analyzed under ten headings ("Level of indices, ethnopoetic genres, medium of composition..."). The book ends with a list of the author's abbreviations, a list of her references, and a table of contents.

... for whom?

The context of *Motif, Type and Genre* is a publication series, FF Communications, of limited circulation, directed to readers of this journal and *Fabula*. (This review is part of its context. As one of the scholars who rely on fieldwork done by others, I find two questions coming up: where does the book reside in the landscape of contemporary folklore studies, and what are its prospects?)

Manipulating multiple traditions as they do, folklorists today have contrasting concerns and priorities. For some, the extent to which what they call folklore is mediated, or indeed created, by the folklorist is a serious issue. Konrad Köstlin declares, "Scholarly treatment creates a new object and produces new attitudes toward it. Our normality consists of this reflexivity", in "The Passion for the Whole", *Journal of American Folklore* 110 (1997): 266. Related to this reflexivity is another concern, highlighted by the Americans Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs: the "metadiscursive practices" that regulate how the arts of the word are brought into scholarly discourse and how those arts are withdrawn from the persons, scenes, and events of production. A third folkloristic concern, which must arise as one reads a manual so occupied with textuality, is "the tendency of language to produce not a simple reference to the world 'outside' language but a multiplicity of potentially contradictory signifying effects..." (*Encyclopedia of Contemporary Literary Theory*, ed. Irena R. Makaryk, University of Toronto Press, 1993: 641). These concerns, I presume, are not unknown to the author, but she tacitly regards them as lying outside the scope of the systematic, painstaking treatment of folk literature. Her book speaks to philological concerns and priorities. Some folklorists are bound to find irrelevant a book that does not address what they regard as the current issues in their field. Some will find it a relief, others a chill, to come upon such a vigorous assertion that the politics of folklore can be left aside.

As to the book's prospects, there is no question that the author speaks authoritatively as part of her interpretive community. Neither author nor reviewer can predict how it may be used. Such a manual usually gains currency by being warranted by some organisation with authority to decree its use: a professorial supervisor or a scholarly journal. University instructors who train folklorists will want to recommend this book to students who show an interest in archival research or in surveying the collected materials from a particular people or language. Perhaps using it can be a prelude to fieldwork. Given the limits of scholarly publication and the worldwide activity of folklorists, it is certain that future indexes of folklore will be created and updated electronically. Heda Jason's comprehensive manual should also find a place on the electronic bulletin board.

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Oral and oral-derived epics in a global view

Lauri Honko, Jawaharlal Handoo and John Miles Foley (eds.), *The Epic: Oral and Written*. Central Institute of Indian Languages: Mysore, 1998. 234 pp. ISBN 81-7342-055-6.

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This volume gathers papers delivered during six panel sessions organized by Lauri Honko for the 11th Congress of the International Society for Folk-Narrative Research, held at the Central Institute of Indian Languages in Mysore, India in January 1995. As such, the collection contains selected reports originating within the framework of a group of approximately 70 active scholars from five continents and 22 countries, known as the "Folklore Fellows in Oral Epics", who at the time of the book's publication had met four times in the years 1993–96. Essays from the first meeting in Turku, Finland in June 1993 appeared as "Epics Along the Silk Roads" in issue 11/1 of the journal *Oral Tradition*, edited with an introduction by Lauri Honko, while the second, smaller meeting (in Turku, June 1994) addressed "Modes of Performing Epics." The result of the third meeting in Mysore in 1995 is what we find here, while the papers of the fourth meeting in Turku, June 1996 appeared in a volume "Textualization of Oral Epics" in October 2000.

The Epic: Oral and Written was published by the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, India, with support from the Academy of Finland. Jawaharlal Handoo, John Foley and Lauri Honko each shared editorial duties at different points in the project. The book opens with Lauri Honko's thoughtful introduction, while the authors and essays themselves are grouped under four thematic headings according to the following scheme: "Oral Composition of Epics" (Lauri and Anneli Honko, John Miles Foley, Minna Skafte Jensen), "Epic Traditions in India" (Heda Jason, John Brockington, Mary Brockington, Susan S. Wadley), "Epic and History" (Doris Edel, Isaac Olawale Albert), and "Integrating Oral and Written" (Lauri Harvilahti, Kirsten Thisted, Jiangbian Jiacao, Jia Zhi).

In his introduction Honko orients the focus of the diverse essays by presenting a theoretical framework in which the material might be best approached. Research on lengthy oral and semi-oral epics has rapidly improved in the last two decades, Honko tells us, primarily as a result of the quality and amount of fieldwork recently conducted concerning epic and epic-related genres in Africa, Central Asia, India, and Oceania. The study of epic in general, and of oral epic in particular, has almost always been conceived under the influence of the Homeric epics (p. 12), a historical circumstance that has caused distortions in the analysis of traditional supernarratives. Tradi-

tion-oriented supernarratives, and the many genres and sub-epics that constitute them, ostensibly stand to gain more from an analysis of their place within the linguistic environment, functional context, and tradition systems in which they live rather than from external comparison to an overburdened exemplum of Homer. To put it another way, the existence of comparative material matching the length of Homeric poetry now exists in abundance, and some of it, including epics collected in Bosnia and Hercegovina, even reveal certain generic similarities to Homer, while the living epics of Kirghizia, Tibet, and Mongolia easily dwarf the length of the Homeric material. In the case of Greece, furthermore, no written tradition survived to relate the facts of the origin or contemporaneous interpretation of Homeric poetry, and so those poems forever remain an anomalous case in which all analysis is involved to some degree in speculative retrieval, philological reconstruction, and aesthetic evaluation – which has sometimes resulted in the development of terminology lacking the coherence and logic of fieldwork-based analyses.

Honko divides epic into three categories: 1) literary, 2) semi-literary or tradition-oriented, and 3) purely oral epics (10). Milton's *Paradise Lost* exemplifies the first, left outside the focus of the present work. Honko also refrains from a full-length discussion of the third, 'pure' oral epic category, whereby especially the claim to "purity" opens "a long chain of questions, even disputes" (12). It is thus the second category of "oral *and* written" epic which attracts the focus of the papers collected here. Honko adds, "One volume is not going to solve many problems, but it is certainly one way of screening the issues and showing the scholars' view on what should be in the focus of our joint enterprise." If there is one defining feature of the book, Honko's quote points directly to it: theoretical studies of the interrelation between oral and written epics, presented alongside rich fieldwork reports analyzing oral performance and strategies of textualization, provide the reader with a broad range of material that will reward repeated study.

Units in purely oral composition

Lauri and Anneli Honko's article analyzes certain "units of composition" found in the "purely oral" Siri epic as sung and dictated by Gopala Naika – a singer, tradition, and ritual context that they have been collecting and analyzing for over a decade. At the time of the Congress in Mysore, the three-volume Siri Epic project prepared by the Honko-led research team had not yet appeared, and so this essay presents a dense but focused account of (and an excellent introduction to) the many questions, approaches, and solutions that guide the massive 699-page Textualisation of the Siri Epic (FFC 264).

By comparing certain differences in the sung and dictated versions of the epic, the Honkos develop an analytic scheme that covers both emic and etic units. As they put it, "The critical moment in creating

a methodology for an analysis of oral epics is choosing the units of composition. Theory must be brought into harmony with empirical field material. We have confronted this fact in our fieldwork among the speakers of Tulu in South Karnataka." (34) The Honkos delimit their units on the basis of both external narrative logic and internal divisions mentioned by the singer in interviews, and they settle on the following scheme as a provisional framework for the description of narrative variation. "Multiforms" are defined as "repeatable and artistic expressions of variable length which are constitutive for narration and function as generic markers." (35) They are based on the texture of the singer's language and can be anywhere from 2 to 120 lines long. The overall narrative line of the song is referred to as the "path of composition", which corresponds to Naika's own use of the word *saadi* 'path' to describe the progression of narrative (43). A "step" is a minimal narrative move within a multiform and along that same path. An "episode" is a unit divided on the basis of narrative logic and overarching plot structure; it excludes non-narrative singing, but can include numerous multiforms. "Description" is a longer narrative unit consisting sometimes of multiple episodes, and it matches closely certain concepts found in ancient Indian poetics. Based on thick documentation and in conversation with previous folkloristic methodology, the Honkos demonstrate that their scheme explains both segmentations in the singing itself as well as wider plot variation in both synchronic and diachronic frames.

After presenting the framework, the article then analyzes three appearances of a "Having a divine child description" (where one will find the occurrence of a multiform within a multiform [49]) as well as the multiforms "Silken Cradle," "Name-Giving," and "Caring." Each example is clearly presented and exhaustively analyzed. The Honkos take care to provide ample text in the original Tulu language so that readers can see for themselves the textural variation and reasons for their recalibration of oral-formulaic methodologies. The research team's attempt to match their analytical scheme to the emic language of the singer, as well as their subsequent analyses on the basis of this framework, will be of great methodological assistance to folklorists planning their own future projects; by constantly referring this question back to similar problems raised by ancient Indian poetics, the Honkos' take an additional step forward by opening a truly astonishing range of questions whose depth and significance will take many, many years to unravel. In this article, the reader is witness to epoch-making research.

John Miles Foley's contribution, entitled "The Rhetorical Persistence of Traditional Forms in Oral Epic Texts", is a valuable contribution to contemporary debates surrounding the interpretation of texts based on, or originating in, oral traditional performance. His chapter outlines a program for reading oral-derived texts by blending oral-formulaic theory, ethnography of speaking, and ethnopoetic

approaches into an interpretive methodology that retrieves oral traditional rhetorical structures latent in oral-derived or tradition-oriented texts. The radicality of the tearing of oral performance away from its context in order to create visible textuality, Foley demonstrates, still leaves determinate traces of intralinguistic structures, networks of meaning, and story-patterns that would remain obscure if measured only by the canons of literary poetics. By beginning with the question of “what becomes of oral traditions, committed, in myriad ways, to textual form?” (85), and continuing with the goal of “how to ascertain as well as possible how a given text continues the tradition of reception” (90), Foley draws attention to the essential question of how to recover, interpret, and understand the phenomenal and semantic features in performance that are both preserved and lost, and, ultimately transformed (and frequently still legible) through the process of notation and textualization.

It is by “reading” in this way – by tracing and recreating traditional modes of signification and their still-legible rhetorical structures – that the poem’s life and afterlife, through reception and vigilant interpretation, continue to appear to later readers. A fuller elaboration of these reading methodologies can be found in Foley’s *Singer of Tales in Performance*.

The debate on transitional text

Minna Skafté Jensen’s point of departure is Albert Lord’s use of the term “transitional text” to describe certain texts that depend on both oral performance and writing for their form and structure. In *The Singer of Tales*, Lord first presented the idea of a hypothetical “transitional text” in order to deny, based on his empirical observations of singers in the former-Yugoslavia, that writing could help a living singer improve his composition by means of written media; for Lord, written and oral composition were incompatible.

Lord’s initial disagreement was with Homeric scholars who frequently argued that writing must have been used to improve orally composed materials in order to produce an epic as complex and polished as Homer’s. Lord, in response, countered by arguing that the notion of a “transitional text” was not only foreign to the singers whom he had observed in Yugoslavia but ultimately meaningless in a context where separate compositional techniques (the one written, the other oral) exist side by side. Lord therefore concluded that the use of the notion of a “transitional text” in the Homeric case was fundamentally flawed. According to Lord, the Homeric poems might well have been dictated to scribes, with a pace allowing the singer to eliminate metrical and lexical infelicities, but they certainly were not written down by the poet himself; writing and oral composition were two separate techniques, “contrary and mutually exclusive. – – The written technique ... is not compatible with the oral tech-

nique, and the two could not possibly combine, to form another, a third, a ‘transitional’ technique” (quoted by Skafté Jensen, p. 94). Interestingly, in *The Singer of Tales* Lord also proposed other appellations for similar sorts of intermediate, intermedial, or tradition-oriented texts, including “autograph oral” and “oral dictated” texts, the latter of which is a favorite point of contention among Homerists, the former of which seems to have gone relatively unnoticed of late.

However, Lord famously revised his view that the “transitional text” is an impossibility, much the result of having read more closely certain poems in South Slavic traditions in which literate authors exhibited an undeniable competence in both oral and written compositional forms, sometimes in the same poems and in the same ‘literary’ collection. The crucial essay where Lord announces his change of mind is “The Transitional Text” (in A. B. Lord, *The Singer Resumes the Tale*, Cornell UP, 1995.) As Skafté Jensen points out, Lord’s “The Merging of Two Worlds: Oral and Written Poetry as Carriers of Ancient Values” (in John Miles Foley [ed.], *Oral Tradition in Literature: Interpretation in Context*, University of Missouri Press, 1986) is also essential. According to John Miles Foley’s *The Theory of Oral Composition* (IUP, 1988, p. 49, 55), Lord first considers the possibility of “transitional texts” in an article published in 1968 (entitled “Homer as Oral Poet”, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 72: 1–46), but also discusses the topic in 1986 in “Perspectives on Recent Work on the Oral Traditional Formula” (*Oral Tradition* 1: 467–503), to which Skafté Jensen also refers.

After the change of mind, Lord explained with characteristic clarity that “transitional texts” could, in his opinion, be found in cases where oral traditional rhetorical modes were skillfully used in literate compositions by authors who grew up in and around living traditions and had early on composed oral epics but later become fully literate poets. However, it is important to remember that the hypothetical case of a skilled singer of long narrative who also personally uses writing in order to improve the quality of his or her own oral composition, remained, for Lord, anomalous.

Skafté Jensen, knowing all of this very well and presenting it clearly, wants to revisit and reaffirm Lord’s initial denial of “transitional texts” in order to shield Homeric studies from the reappearance of the idea of writing-as-an-aid-to-composition, and so she presents her discussion as a critique of the concept of the “transitional text” in general. Skafté Jensen first reviews some of Lord’s better critics (certain medievalists and anthropologists who argued, in opposition to Lord, for a continuum of texts between oral and written), and then discusses recent theories concerning the origin of the Greek alphabet and its relation to Homeric transcription in order to demonstrate that Homerists have once again reinstated the “transitional text” as an explanatory model. She points out that recent Homeric scholars such as Barry Powell, in particular, have returned

to Lord's notion of "transitional text" in order to argue that writing was responsible for the original form of the poems (certainly writing was essential at some point, but how remains a vexed question).

Rejecting Romantic hypotheses about the "fixation" of early Homeric texts and the oral tradition that gave rise to them, Skaftø Jensen's essay wisely separates the notion of "transitional text" from "oral dictated text." She argues that the use of writing for fixation is based on a fallacious conception of history-as-progress, or of the development of culture as oral-to-written, and she recalls the fact that in early Greece writing technology had other, performative functions, particularly in funeral inscriptions, and graffiti, where the voice of the written inscription is one of performative authority. Her conclusions not only square with folkloristic research but also reaffirm "the relevance in general of the oral comparison" (112) by rejecting the recent obsession among Homerists with the notion of "fixation": "... the idea of fixation has in general been rather prominent. What if this is totally misdirected? In a way, I think we should consider letting go of the idea altogether" (108).

To this suggestion one would like only to add: could we not also let go of the term "transitional text" itself, and adopt a less teleological, and more phenomenologically precise, term? Is not the notion of a "transition" from "oral" to "written" historically and folkloristically naive? Not surprisingly, Lauri Honko answers this question in the introduction to this volume when he writes that, "The idea of a predominantly one-way traffic from oral to written has been replaced by the more complex models concerning, for example, oral styles in written text and the 'written-like' handling of materials in oral performance; the visible or invisible use of notebooks and manuscripts in the oral performances of epics; various forms of 'copying' oral text; the transfer of ownership of oral texts, the mental editing of textual elements, oral and written, between performances, the intertextual formation of mental texts in the mind of the singer, etc. This discussion has generally made the border between orality and literacy more fluid than before." (26) (Also Kirsten Thisted's essay, discussed below, explicitly rejects the term altogether.)

Epics across continents

In perhaps the most ambitious article in its own way, Heda Jason offers an analytical framework for "the description of epic traditions in the Euro-Afro-Asian area (Christian Europe; Moslem North Africa, Near East and Central Asia, non-tribal India, both Hindu and Moslem; and partly, Buddhist Tibet and Mongolia)" (117). Although Jason begins by advocating an ethnopoetic genre of epic, she next provides an abstract categorical framework into which the epics of these regions can be arranged according to four components: compositional structure, internal complexity, mode of characterization, and relation to historical reality, the last of which is then subdivided

into "historical", "national", "universal" and "mythic" epics.

The question raised by such an ambitious framework is whether these categories (which are open to the charge of being one scholar's opinion only) have been erected on the basis of empirical observations (i.e., collected texts, oftentimes of fragmentary material, translated primarily into English, German, and Russian, sometimes with little or no contextual information), or are strictly theoretical divisions irrespective of historical transformations and functional variation. To put it another way, if we take the case of the Gesar narrative, an epic whose traditional life has flourished from Ladakh to Tibet and Mongolia and deep into Russian-Mongol Buryatia, one wonders if its myriad versions might not have penetrated many of her categories of "mythic", "universal" and "national" epic in different contexts and at different moments in the life of the tradition and its performers. In any event, her suggestions are provocative, her knowledge encyclopedic, and her essay a welcome contribution to the classic debate surrounding the classification and typology of folklore materials in general, and tradition-oriented epics in particular.

John Brockington's article on formulaic expression in the Rāmāyaṇa provides a useful inventory of different formulaic repetitions and their functions in the epic, and notes that formulaic expressions are not randomly deployed but exhibit a distinctive narrative function. Brockington argues that formulaic *pāḍās* appear more and more frequently in later parts of the Rāmāyaṇa in order to imitate a tradition already in decline, and he concludes that this higher frequency of formulaic language is "not an index of orality but rather a sign of decay of the genuine oral tradition" (137), a reversal of earlier oral-formulaic approaches in which scholars attempted to prove the oral provenance of a text by means of statistical or quantitative measures alone.

Mary Brockington gives a provocative and plausible account of the historical interaction in certain Indian traditions of "The Two Brothers" motive (AaTh 303) and the "Stepmother Redaction", the latter of which Kurt Ranke studied extensively in his 1934 FF Communications volume, *Die Zwei Brüder*. Although Brockington's article is brief, she adduces a copious number of variants and secondary works in order to demonstrate how "The Two Brothers" and "Stepmother Redaction" have almost certainly influenced each other's development in passing through the Rāmāyaṇa, international folktale traditions, and back again. The "Appendix: Selected Texts and Variants" gathers variants distributed as widely as Bosnia and South Asia.

Susan S. Wadley's paper is based on many years of fieldwork (from 1968 to the present) and offers penetrating insight into the many interacting oral and written traditions surrounding the North Indian *Ṭholā* epic. The many manifestations of the epic are widely divergent in form, style, and even content, and her detailed discussion of the possible and ac-

tual variations is intriguing. Perhaps the most surprising anecdote concerns the singer Matol, with whom Wadley has worked extensively, a literate singer who produced philosophic versions of the epic filled with verbal games, textural sculpting, and theoretical interpretations but a minimum of narrative continuity. Matol's career as a performer, however, is entirely another matter, since he leads a troop of *Ōholā* performers who present the epic by way of harmonium accompaniment, bowed instruments, percussion, and multiple singing. The existence of such variation in one individual, from rapturous musical performance to studied philosophical epics, is a fine example of the flexibility of traditional reception and the capacities of individual performers to remold the pool of tradition in myriad ways.

The inclusion of a category reserved for the relation between "epic and history" is a refreshing and provocative choice on the editor's part. Doris Edel's account of the proliferation of Irish *Táin* epics and the surprising stability that governs their many versions gives rise to the proposal that a "mental text" once belonged to the singers, tellers, and tradition, even before written versions appeared. The question of the point of contact between onomastics, historical events, narrative dissemination, and geography is broached here, and the addition of maps, graphs, and other visual aids make the article a unique and useful study.

Isaac Olawale Albert's account of Nigerian Yoruba singers and their place in relation to regional royalty is not only fascinating in and of itself, but useful for helping readers to understand and conceive the position singers might have once held (and in some cases continue to hold) in official courts, while the analysis of the value and degree of accuracy or 'truth' that such singers are expected to create, narrate, codify, and preserve, is similarly stimulating.

Lauri Harvilahti provides a dense and informative study of various ways in which variation in performance, genre, metrics, and music can be recovered and analyzed within a corpus of collected texts, and his particular point of departure is material from Ingria. Harvilahti begins by considering the possibility of "incompetence in performance", which is to say, instances in which performances for collectors were disfigured by external, contextual, or functional factors. His example is the singer Naastoi, who in West Ingria once sang excellent songs for the collector V. Alava, but in the following year produced only sixteen verses of one song and another with the help of a daughter-in-law, neither of which compared in scope or complexity to the earlier collected songs. Whereas some interpreters might conclude from this "thin" information that the later materials represented a decay in the tradition or a decline in a particular singer's ability, V. Alava's diary explains that this was certainly not the case: instead, the singer was "in a bad mood" (195) at the time of subsequent collection and did not wish to sing on account of various feasts taking place in the village at the time. Without this contextual information, any

number of erroneous hypotheses concerning the singer's failure to produce comparable singing might have been offered. Harvilahti's point, however, is that the ethnopoetic context explains that what V. Alava witnessed was an instance of "incompetence in performance," albeit for perfectly explicable reasons, not a decline in the tradition. This study reminds the reader that performance traditions do not always produce texts suitable for typological analysis, hierarchical arrangement, and systematic historical-developmental interpretation.

Harvilahti's essay, however, goes farther. He outlines different modes of performance in Ingria, and sketches the diversity of thematic concerns performed there, thereby demonstrating the complexity of the tradition and the heterogeneity of texts that its collectors produced. In Ingria, for example, lyrical and lyric-epic women's songs span the semantic spectrum from everyday themes of family life, birth, and courtship, to mythical songs and aetiological poems. Harvilahti invokes Matti Kuusi's observation that women's singing in the region makes frequent use of a "poetic" first person singular "I" as the subject of the poem, even when "the poetic 'I' does not necessarily represent the singer herself" (197) but instead re-performs the experiences of the traditional community by means of a first person singular that compresses and expresses in a traditionally referential manner the emotive particularities of the song for its hearers.

What is so curious, and so interesting, Harvilahti explains, is that "certain scenes and formulas centered around the poetic 'I' link together poems that do not belong together contentually" (198), but instead form "extensive networks" that include domestic themes of the daughter's fear of isolation in marriage quite alongside mythic, aetiological poems otherwise without thematic relation. Harvilahti concludes that the predominance in this region of a deictic "I" spread across genre and otherwise distinctively different thematic material offers an instance of "adaptation prompted by the lyric-epic poetic network," which is to say, a local tradition of performance that has adapted to the particular narrative concerns of the singers and audience found there, by means of the traditional narrative forms, genre, and techniques available to them. The additional analyses of ways in which notated melodies can be brought to bear on texts, and the demonstrations of metrical incongruencies between collected melodies and collected verses, serve not only to shed light on the Ingrian tradition itself but also to offer useful strategies for folkloristic analysis that will be of interest to a wider audience of folklorists.

Kirsten Thisted's account of the history of collecting in Greenland adds another important, nuanced voice to the discussion of tradition-oriented epics. In fact, Thisted's essay is so nuanced and detailed that it could have easily appeared in any of the sections of this book (except, of course, the section on India) without further qualification. She explains the process and influence of Danish collectors working

in Greenland as early as 1823, and presents a useful depiction of certain issues debated, at the instigation of Hinrich Rink, by the Danish administration concerning literacy, 'spiritual decline,' and technological change in Greenland. After a section on "early principles of editing" and a critical evaluation of famed Greenlandic collector Knud Rasmussen's work, Thisted not only synthesizes her findings (212–13) but adds them to the debate surrounding "transitional texts" and "transitions" from orality to literacy. Significantly, Thisted reacts to Lord's use of the term "transitional text" by suggesting that it be discarded. Rejecting the implications of teleological development from orality to literacy latent in so many discussions of tradition-oriented texts, Thisted instead argues that one should discuss the "transformation" of oral storytelling into a written medium, or a "meeting" between "traits" of oral and written poetics preserved by authors and editors who enjoyed relative degrees of competence and incompetence in both performed and written media (218). In doing so, she eliminates much of the unnecessary debate in which the strawman of 'orality-vs.-literacy' is fruitlessly set up and knocked down ad nauseum.

Following Brian Street explicitly, Thisted pluralizes the notion of writing technology into "literacies" and thereby vastly but fruitfully complicates any attempt to write a single "history" of an oral-cum-written literature from a developmental or sequential point of view. Interested readers of this article will want to consult Victor Mair's extensive scholarship on certain Chinese texts that were based on oral storytelling and contributed to the spread of a prosimetric form or "chantefable" from India, through Buddhism, and into popular Chinese culture; Mair explains that the very translation of this genre of "pien-wen" texts is "transformation texts."

Jiacuo Jiangbian's report on "Gesar in Contemporary Tibetan Society" is a brief but tantalizing review of recent work conducted in Tibet. The epic tradition of Gesar remains vibrant in oral and written form, but its remote location and beguiling multiformity leave much still in obscurity. The reader will find discussions of context, forms of transmission, relations to other Tibetan art forms, and speculation on modes of traditional 'persistence' of genre down to the present day.

Jiangbian explains that Tibetans still recite Gesar on feast days, for sacrificial rites, and in religious worship. In times past, according to Jiangbian, warring tribes recited Gesar before leaving for battle in order to secure the protection of the war-god. Merchants recited Gesar before setting off for long travels (along the Silk Road, perhaps?). Since Tibetan society has remained largely illiterate outside of temple life, the recitation of Gesar has served as the primary means of education concerning the history, enlightenment, and national culture among Tibetan communities. The epic is filled with folk proverbs, Jiangbian tells us, and these proverbs have entered the daily speech of the people and often provide norms and exemplars for decision-making and judgment.

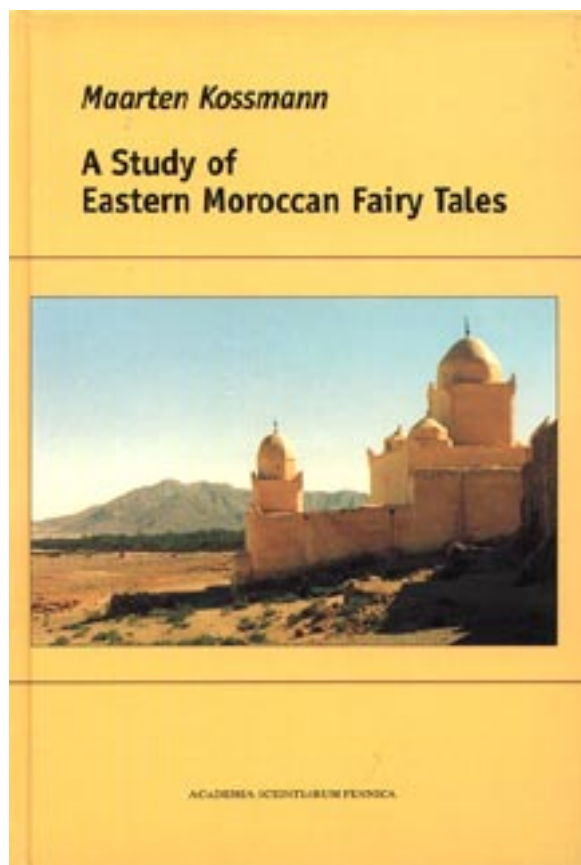
Jia Zhi's survey of epics among Chinese minorities concludes the volume and gives a valuable overview of the research presently underway concerning epic traditions that still flourish in China. Jia discusses the topos of "acquisition by divine inspiration" or "god granting" modes of epic-learning (230), a particularly prevalent phenomenon in western China and Tibet in which singers frequently claim to have learned the epic in dreams, during difficult illnesses, from bronze mirrors, and through other revelatory experiences on the steppes and mountain plateaus. Other singers in the region, it is worth noting, are "self-studying" and learn "painstakingly by themselves, during their roaming and begging."

Interested readers will want to read Lang Ying's study of the great Kirghiz Manas-singer Jusup Mamay in a forthcoming issue of the journal *Oral Tradition*, where Mamay offers several multiform accounts of his own version of the "acquisition by dream" experience. Jia also points the reader to the work of Chinese Tibetologist Yang Enhong, whose decades of fieldwork in Tibet now combined with her research on textualization methodologies is sure to produce a sea-change in the Western understanding of Tibetan epics. Jia's discussion of the documentation of singers carried out by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences' Institute of Ethnic Minorities' Literature and his taxonomy of singers and epics among Chinese minorities will undoubtedly point many in the direction of China, and one looks forward to the results.

In conclusion, it can be said that this collection does a fine job of bringing the problem of tradition-oriented epics into sharper focus. From ancient Greece to the present day, tradition-oriented epics have attracted a mixed bag of speculation concerning compositional integrity, modality of existence, and interpretation of the written materials in question. Analysts have tended to define tradition-oriented epics by pointing out what they are not: they are not purely oral phenomena dependent on an organic functionality within a living context, nor can they be meaningfully analyzed by the same interpretive techniques demanded by the literature of, say, Wordsworth, Joyce, or Beckett. Instead, tradition-oriented epics – stripped of immediate context but for that reason textually reborn – hover somewhere in between and demand a composite methodology that engages both the micrologies of variation as well as the critical traditions that allow such variation to be interpreted within a historical context. Nordic folkloristics, because so thoroughly grounded in fieldwork, documentation, and linguistic expertise, are in a particularly strong position to define and develop this methodology. This collection of essays, grounded in the fundamentals of Nordic methodologies but generously engaged in an international conversation, certainly goes a long way in placing the discussion on firm empirical and theoretical ground.

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This book studies the structure and style of orally transmitted fairy tales from Eastern Morocco in Berber and dialectal Arabic. Drawing on materials collected in his own fieldwork and other sources, the author pays special attention to the aesthetics of the fairy tale as understood by Max Lüthi and to the analysis of tale-specific formulae. Two hitherto unpublished Figuig Berber fairy tales are appended, as is a comparison of two versions of an Eastern Riffian story which, though collected independently at an interval of 60 years, show remarkable similarities.

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