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The Seventh Folklore Fellows' Summer School is being organised in the birthplace of the Kalevala, Viena Karelia, in June 2007

The out-of-the-way village of Venehjärvi is among the most picturesque in Viena Karelia. Finnish rune-poem collectors recorded a wealth of Kalevala-metre folk poetry there in the later nineteenth century. The countryside of Venehjärvi is dominated by a hill crowned with great pine trees, where a chapel dedicated to St Michael is situated. In its vicinity a sacrificial feast is organised in the autumn on Pogorocha day, when a ram is sacrificed following ancient fashion. In the villages of Viena it was the custom for someone recovered from illness by praying to God to take a calf to the monastery of Solovetskii. However, it was too long a journey from Vuokkiniemi to the monastery, so an animal was sacrificed on site. The flesh was cooked on the hill and the stew eaten only by men. The sacrifice is still made in accordance with ancient custom. The event is also the annual village festival (prasniekka), where a wide audience gathers from neighbouring villages as well. At the feast, songs, plays and dances are performed. In 2005 the women presented a long selection of old and new songs to the accompaniment of the accordian. Photo: Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen, 2005. Archives of the Kalevala Society.

Globalisation and the Renewal of Tradition

by *Anna-Leena Siikala,* Professor
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The next Folklore Fellows' Summer School is being organised in Viena Karelia in June 2007. Elias Lönnrot collected the main part of his material for the Kalevala there in the 1830s. The villages of Viena later became a focus of longing for many intellectuals: a golden land, whence materials were scooped for innumerable works of art and literary achievements. Folkloristic fieldwork was directed towards the world epic and achievement of artistic goals. Did these processes affect the inhabitants of the Viena villages? How did they fare in entrusting their forefathers' inheritance to Lönnrot and then to numerous folklore-collecting students?

The reality of Viena is quite different today from in the nineteenth century. It has reshaped itself during the harsh war years of the twentieth century as well as in the construction of a socialist state. The disappearance of the Soviet Union destroyed the economy and the infrastructure which had been built up. The district today is part of multi-ethnic and multi-cultural Russia, where cooperation between different ethnic groups is unavoidable and where multi-national companies are gradually casting their gaze. The northern regions possess forests, and further east in Russia there are energy resources of interest to mega-corporations.

As the economic situation has gradually begun to improve, the Karelian villages have started to revive. In northern Karelia, where means of living have always been scant, one now looks out for the cultural tour. One's glance naturally focuses on the spiritually most valuable goal, the Kalevala-style poetry and its sustaining culture. The preservation of the villages' building traditions in Paanajärvi was a great endeavour, in which outsider cultural friends had a significant role. Viena culture is built with efforts welling up from the past.

These sort of processes are well known throughout the world, be it in the Udmurt village of Kuzbayevo, in Khanty-Muz on the northern Ob, in the villages on the Pacific where the UNESCO canoe project is carried out or in Indian festivals. A critical researcher may be judgemental towards tradition villages. Is neo-tradition really culture, it is asked. Are the revived bear-wake rites of the Khanty, the Mari sacrificial festivals, presented in public, or the folklore songs learnt from books genuine culture? Certainly. They are a part of today's global culture, whose materials are derived either from the past or from dreams of the future.

Given the onward rush of technology, one of the greatest dreams of the future is predicted to be the simultaneity of events made possible by the swift interchange of information, which will erode our sense of time and place. Innovations are made accessible immediately and ideas and thoughts spread with hitherto unimagined speed. This already seems to be taking place. In a shrinking world our mental maps expand, our collaborators and work surroundings alter. The rapid spread of consumer goods and fashions from one country to another has led to the situation where the cultural expressions of each area are being multiplied. The paradox of world-wide integration is that it does not lead to one easily understood entity of a 'world village', but to the increase of regional diversity and to the juxtaposition or merging of cultural phenomena which previously were thought to be incompatible and to represent differing ways of life.

The experience of complexity in relation to a globalising world stems from a significant situation in new observations: regions which were earlier regarded as peripheral for economic or historical reasons take on the focus. Such regions these days aim to uncover the core of their existence and thus move into the field of international activity. One of the central points in new forms of globalisation is the rise of the marginal as an object of consciousness and performance. Stuart Hall has called the forward march of previously marginal areas and of marginal populations in the twentieth century a cultural revolution. This process renders the rise of new subjects, of new areas and ethnic groups open to public discussion.

A reaction against globalisation is the strengthening of local culture. Thus the villages of Viena are living determinedly through this time as they seek out their own identity. The phenomenon is not chance but rather one of the regular consequences of globalisation. At a time of disruption ethnic groups formulate an ego-concept of their past, exploiting their traditions and reviving and recreating them. In a multi-cultural environment traditions offer means of dissociation and of presenting one's own uniqueness.

What does the novel use of tradition wrought by globalisation signify for the folklorist? Are we to reject fieldwork, and concentrate on the 'genuine' tradition preserved in archives and remember the noble songs and tale-tellers of the past? No, we need no wistful or exotic pictures of Lönnrot's Karelians or of other ethnic minorities. We should see them as people living their lives today and taking refuge in their own cultural traditions in times of difficulty. We need to know about their everyday steps as well as their holy traditions, their ways of speaking and living, according to which they make their choices in life.

Magic Narratives as Dialogue Between Archives and Rural Inhabitants in Finland 1880–1960

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Just over a century ago, the Finnish countryside was in the grip of a witchcraft epidemic as intense as any reported in the sixteeenth or seventeenth centuries. Rural nineteenth-century villages were populated by witches, healers, and quarrelsome neighbours who believed they were able to cause each other magical harm. At the center of this magical activity were specialists in sorcery, healing and divination known as *tietäjäs*, or 'ones who know'. The *tietäjä* was assumed to have secret knowledge others did not possess. Although the majority of *tietäjäs* appear to have been men, some were also women, particularly in the northern areas of Finland.

We know something of this world from the abundant written traces left behind by persons who were very close to it. People used magic rites and incantations to bring harm to their enemies or steal their good fortune as late as the 1950s in some parts of rural Finland. The vitality of magic-related beliefs and practices in modernizing rural Finland is demonstrated by the over 52,000 recorded verbal incantations and nearly 100,000 magic-related narratives and descriptions housed in the Finnish Literature Society (FLS) Folklore Archives in Helsinki.

It is the latter, magic-related narratives, and more specifically the factors which motivated their production and recording, which are the topic of the present paper. Narratives on magic and the supernatural can be seen as continuous chain of narrative dialogue arising in everyday social life. This goes further than simply saying that they are intertextual, in other words "arising from a preexisting cultural web of expressive forms" (Abbott 2002: 94), toward regarding the writing or speaking of narrative as a form of action taking place in the world, performed for some purpose, with this purpose being inextricably linked to the earlier communicative performances of other persons. Recent studies in sociology, ethnology and social psychology have striven to theorize the social *uses* of narrative, by focusing on narrative pragmatics and the ways in which oral and written texts are constructed by communities for certain purposes, shifting attention away from the text as an object to the text as rhetoric, that is, a language designed to do something "within communities of interlocutors" (Gergen 1999: 42).

This perspective allows us to spotlight an important dimension of Finnish folklore narratives on magic. More than written traces or reflections of cultural or traditional thought, narrative accounts of magic-related events and situations were tactical 'moves'[1] carried out during the course of ongoing controversy and argumentation regarding the use of magic itself. Understanding these narratives as not only as representations but also *practices* draws our attention to the narrator as actor in ever-changing social situations. Our focus shifts to the *production* of narrative texts, which in the case of early modern magic narratives is an important story in its own right.

The History of Collecting Narratives on Magic

At the end of the nineteenth century in Finland, in conjunction with nation-building goals, an intense folklore collection campaign was set in motion to record and preserve for posterity knowledge concerning traditional agrarian culture, the culture of the majority of Finnish-speaking inhabitants. Persons at all levels of the Finnish-speaking population eventually became involved in this effort, which resulted in possibly the largest folklore archive in the world, the Finnish Literature Society Folklore Archives. Folklore materials were first recorded through systematic interviews in the 1830s by educated collectors, who were later joined by tradition enthusiasts coming from the ranks of the rural population starting in the late 1870s. These latter 'writing folk informants' and local rural collectors sent their written recollections, and those of their neighbours and kin, directly to the Finnish Literature Society in Helsinki.

According to the 'Programme for Collectors of Finnish Folk Poetry'[2] published in 1891, the year 1878 can be seen as a starting date for the rapid accumulation of folklore materials by the FLS Folklore Archives. Advertisements placed in newspapers by the Finnish Literature Society encouraged ordinary people to become involved in the collec-

tion of folklore as early as 1883, the year in which the FLS approved the 'Call to Collecting' drawn up by Eliel Aspelin (see Pöysä and Timonen 2004: 223):

> The Finnish Literature Society has always counted among its most important duties the attempt to rescue from forgetfulness and ruin the products of our folk poetry, but although a rich abundance of these treasures has already been gathered by diligent collectors and most of them even published, there is still no reason nor justification for the Society to consider its work finished. The field of study is so vast and the memory of the folk so rich, that it cannot be considered even close to exhausted … For this reason it is the intention of the Society to continue its work in this area, by funding collection trips proper; but because private citizens too, as many examples demonstrate, can with much success carry out this same collection work, each in his own home locale, the Society has decided to encourage those willing to begin assisting in this patriotic labour under discussion, and will at the same time give some indications of what should be taken into account and in what manner the notetaking should be carried out. (Aspelin 1885: 216.)

Calls for popular participation in folklore collecting continued throughout the following decades. One of the motivations behind mobilizing the Finnish-speaking populace to accumulate oral tradition was apparently the fear that as other, wealthier nations began to develop their own folklore collection programs, Finland – which at this point was not yet an independent nation-state – would fall behind:

> It was not until 1878 that the first foreign society was founded for the purpose of folklore collection: the English Folk-Lore Society. But since then, such societies have spread throughout the civilized world, in all places awakening the most lively interest in intellectual spheres.
>
> Have we now, since then, lagged behind due to our small numbers of scholars and few material aids and facilities? We have not, for we have, to a greater degree than elsewhere, been able to make use of the help of uneducated persons to lay the groundwork for collection efforts, and instead of large promises of money, to appeal to their ever-ready love for the fatherland …
>
> … In hopes that in future we will not fall behind in development when compared to other nations, we venture once again to appeal to interested persons among the citizenry, asking them to promote and hasten the work of collecting according to the following instructions, before it is already too late. (Krohn 1891: 1–2.)

By 1923, fears that Finnish collection efforts would lag behind that of other nations had subsided. E. A. Tunkelo, the secretary of the FLS and compiler of the guide 'On the Collection of Finnish Folklore'[3] was able to wax self-congratulatory on the successes achieved by the campaign to recruit amateur folklore collectors: over 400,000 texts, including approximately 75,000 texts related to magic rites, had been received by the Archives. But since it was apparent that social transformations were eradicating traditional knowledge faster than collectors could document it, the Archives reiterated their call for assistance, emphasizing the important role to be played by the less educated sectors of the population:

> … Nevertheless we do not yet have leisure to rest in our collecting labours! We can, and must still add to our folklore collections.
>
> … As the popular education of modern times, conveyed by school and literature, puts an end to the different realms of our nation's older traditional knowledge, there is good reason, with an eye to future needs, to quickly collect from elderly persons and send to the Archives for safekeeping whatever can be found from different neighbourhoods and locales.
>
> To this end we present in what follows certain practical suggestions, which have been deemed necessary, for those who are willing. And we point out that in this matter, collectors with less education can often achieve more than collectors who have studied at schools of higher learning. (Tunkelo 1923: 1–2.)

It was becoming obvious to the Folklore Archives that the nationwide programs of education and enlightenment promoted by the cultural elite and the new civic organizations were steadily reducing the possibilities of preserving the nation's cultural heritage in its fullest detail. This, in turn, produced a curious side-effect: older persons who had found their knowledge and accumulated wisdom devalued in a rapidly-changing society were suddenly in demand when it came to recording for posterity Finland's traditional verbal arts and lifeways. The vast collections of folklore materials housed in the FLS Archives represent one of the few traces left by the voices of this older generation of uneducated Finns, whose perspective on the world would otherwise have been largely lost.

In the nineteenth century, the primary goal of the FLS Folklore Archives was the collection of epic folk poetry. Yet from the beginning, magic rites and their accompanying Kalevala-meter incantation formulas were seen to be an important part of Finnish speakers' ancient cultural heritage. In terms of collecting priorities, Elias Lönnrot[4] considered the genre of magic incantations to be second only to mythic and historical epic poetry (Apo 2003). The FLS's guide to collecting magic, *Taikanuotta eli opas taikojen kerääjille* (Magic Net: A Guide for Collectors of Magic) edited by O. A. F. Mustonen,[5] first appeared in 1885 and new

editions came out in 1894, 1911 and 1936. The 'Magic Net' was originally compiled on the basis of a large corpus of magic descriptions and incantations sent to the FLS by blacksmith Heikki Meriläinen in 1880. While working for O. A. F. Mustonen's father as a surveyor in the north of Finland, Meriläinen had decided on his own initiative to collect the magic-related knowledge of sorcerers and healers (Meriläinen 1927; Laaksonen 1983: 11).

Ordinary persons living in the countryside may have been jotting down verbal incantation formulas and descriptions of magic practices much earlier than the 1880s – at least as early as the 1840s (see Issakainen 2005). However, prior to the Folklore Archives' creation of an informant network and the advertisement of collection contests in the press, such persons probably did not know where they could send their written texts for storage, or more generally, who besides themselves might be interested in them. It is not known how much of the folklore recorded by rural inhabitants met the same fate as that described by a man from North Ostrobothnia:

> My father [b. 1804] had written down for himself those incantations for staunching blood and healing earth-derived illnesses, and other poems that [*tietäjä*] Rössi had recited for him, but mice had eaten large holes in those papers. I saw those papers, I was a small boy then. Probably those pieces of paper were then just burned, there were a number of such tattered papers. (Tyrnävä. 1924. Juho Kalliokoski. – Heikki Kalliokoski, b. 1839.)

The recollected writings of narrators born in the nineteenth century which *did* end up in the Archives bring us tantalizingly close to a world view in which magic, sorcery and the supernatural were intimately involved with everyday life. The fullest, most spontaneous and often most surprising descriptions of magic tend to come from writing folk informants, since the information they provided was not restricted by an interview situation nor by the aims and expectations of educated collectors and researchers. Yet while such narratives are compelling, particularly in their description of the social and cultural contexts surrounding magic belief and practice, many were written by persons who had already partially assimilated and invested in modern attitudes which extolled progress, science, and the value of a school education. Due to the speed of modernizing processes in Finland, descriptions of magic were recorded at a time when their narrators already lived on the threshold of the modern age. Many of these narrators were born into families where elaborate magic rituals and fear of magical harm were an unquestioned part of daily life, but were already laughing at such beliefs by the time they were in their youth. And by the time they had reached middle-age, they were being encouraged by Finnish authorities and educators to reflect upon their childhood experiences of magic and record them as part of a national cultural heritage.

Dialogues with Different Interlocutors

Those persons who collected folklore texts on the topic of magic for the FLS Folklore Archives seem to have had several possible reasons for doing so. In the case of educated collectors, they often wished to obtain material for their own research. Rural and urban collectors alike carried out collecting from a strong sense that the preservation and accumulation of Finnish oral-traditional heritage was vital for the nation and for folklore studies. Other motives were personal recognition and monetary gain. Rural tradition enthusiasts were often motivated to submit their collected texts to the Folklore Archives as entries in collection competitions, from which they could win cash and book prizes.

Narrators (who could be the same or different person from the collector), on the other hand, were engaged in one or more types of *dialogue* when telling their stories to a collector or writing their stories for the Archives. Magic narratives were produced, first of all, to express their narrators' opinions or display their knowledge in a dialogue (real or imagined) with the Archive's staff and researchers. This is understandable, since it was the Archives' published guides, brochures, and announcements that encouraged narrators to write in the first place. The dialogic relationship between narrator and receiving archives is a dimension of folklore production which has only recently begun to be explored in Finnish folklore studies (e.g. Peltonen 1996, Pöysä 1997, Latvala 2001). When narrators produced oral or written texts expressly for preservation in the Folklore Archives and engaged in conversation with an imagined member of the Archive personnel, their own position as interlocutor was transformed. Simply by writing down recollected narratives and sending them to the Archives in response to collection contest announcements in newspapers, folk narrators participated in new kinds of social relations and were inserted into new social power structures, since for many this was their first contact with an institution of the urban elite.

I take here as a brief example the correspondence between the Archives and two male folk informants,

Jaakko Lonkainen (born *circa* 1853) and Pekka Vauhkonen (probably born in the late 1850s or 1860s).[6] Letters from both men are currently housed in the FLS Folklore Archives. Both men lived in the same parish of Kitee, in Eastern Finland, where some of the most archaic beliefs and practices connected to magic and the supernatural survived well into the twentieth century. Letters by both men reveal their first-hand knowledge of magical practices and experiences. While Lonkainen described himself as a practising *tietäjä* who received his knowledge from 'female spirits', Vauhkonen by his own account never practiced magic as an adult, although he had an uncle who was a famous *tietäjä*, and had himself witnessed and participated in numerous magic rites carried out in his childhood home at the instigation of his parents.

From Lonkainen, who was known to be a *tietäjä*, blacksmith and *kantele* player, we have eight letters addressed to Kaarle Krohn at the Finnish Literature Society over a period of eleven years, from 1894 to 1905. Lonkainen also sent along magic objects used by *tietäjäs* in at least one of his letters.[7] For Vauhkonen, a construction foreman, we have a 78-page series of narratives detailing the magic beliefs and practices he observed in his youth, as well as four letters written to the Archives (the last of which was probably sent to the Archives with his papers after his death). The first three letters were sent over a period of eleven years from 1922 to 1933. We also have a letter *from the FLS* which Vauhkonen received in reply to his first letter. This letter, although sent to Vauhkonen, ended up in the Archives because Vauhkonen had written on the back of it to send further materials to the archives at a later date.

The letters of both men to the Archives are highly deferential in tone, Lonkainen's especially so: "Most humbly I thank you for your letter containing 10 marks";[8] "I only hope that I have not overburdened you with such a long letter."[9] In part, this deference clearly derived from the fact that at least some of the letters sent by both men were requests for financial compensation for their collecting work – in Vauhkonen's letters these requests are much more straightforward.[10] Both men wrote to the Archives of the difficulties of recording folklore at their advanced age and how their eyesight was no longer sufficient to read and write clearly, since eyeglasses were beyond the means of many rural inhabitants.

The highly formal content of both men's letters also indicates an uncertainty regarding what sorts of texts the Folklore Archives might be willing to accept. Both men were aware that there was an ideal folklore method and that certain types of folklore were more desired by the Archives than others, and they strove to fulfill these expectations in the texts they sent to the Archives. At the same time, they expressed doubts about whether the folklore they had collected and written down from their own memories was sufficiently worthy to be accepted by the FLS. Lonkainen worried that his Kalevala-meter poems were not the original or most authentic versions (revealing the influence of his correspondent's, Kaarle Krohn's, historic-geographic interests): "I could continue [writing down] many oral poems of magical knowledge (*taika opillista runoutta*), but since I know that they must be in their original form, then I will try to remember as many as I can …";[11] "I have heard changes to many of the incantation poems I sent you, and if it would be possible for you to send my letters back, then I could mark where the changes go and if necessary, I can send them back to you with the additions."[12] Vauhkonen, on the other hand, worried that the sexual or ribald nature of his proverbs and magic incantations would prove too shocking for refined readers at the Archives: "I have recorded from my memory proverbs which I have not found from the Proverb Collection and I send them now to offer them to the Finnish Literature Society; at the same time offering my most respectful apologies if

Jaakko Lonkainen plays a horn flute. Huikkola village, Kitee. Photo: A. O. Väisänen. Courtesy of the National Board of Antiquities.

there happen to be some words which are too indecent …"[13]

Second, tales and descriptions of magic use could express the narrators' viewpoint in the context of ongoing local, communal debates or discussions regarding magic. In other words, magic narratives were extensions of conversations or debates played out, past or present, within the informant's own community or circle of acquaintances (cf. Bakhtin 1986: 86).[14] Although largely invisible in historical and ethnographic documentation because of its sensitive nature, the topic of magic appears to have been at the center of controversy in many Finnish rural communities until the mid-twentieth century. As late as 1974, a female informant from Kitee in North Karelia (b. 1920) reported that in the case of mysterious illness, "where we live it was spoken in whispers that somebody had gazed with the evil eye, or it was said 'who has once again carried out sorcery or uttered a curse, since such and such happened?'" (Piela 2003: 314). Although stories regarding supernatural experiences are still used today to debate the reality of the supranormal,[15] the purpose of such debates in early modern Finland were different: stories dealt with the *ethics of magic's use*, its explanatory value for social and natural events, and especially the identity of the perpetrator. In traditional, face-to-face communities, narratives regarding magic and sorcery were often not publicly 'performed' for an audience in the same way as folk tales or fairy tales, but were whispered to friends and relatives as 'secret' knowledge, or conveyed as gossip or rumours to trusted neighbours (cf. Stewart and Strathern 2004). Folklorist Leea Virtanen has emphasized that many Finnish stories of witchcraft began their existence as rumours and gossip:

> In primitive communities, rumours of witchcraft, for instance, were spread as personal gossip. One can hardly understand the social signficance of magic in, for example, the older peasant society without awareness of the gossip associated with it. Many archived narratives which appear to us to be stereotypical belief legends, provided interesting personal information in their context of narration regarding known neighbours' associations with evil spirit-forces. (Virtanen 1982: 194.)

Some collectors and informants strove to make the conversational and dialogic nature of magic narration clear from their texts, even going so far as to reconstruct everyday dialogue for their readers. In a 38-page text submitted to the Folklore Archives in 1930, rural collector Frans Leivo claimed to have reported 'word for word' the conversations he had overheard in his youth between a female *tietäjä* (whom he named Kaisa to protect her anonymity), and her clients. Leivo constructed this unique narrative by framing long sequences of dialogue within the description of a typical day in Kaisa's life which consisted of a series of visits from clients already known to her personally. His lengthy text is therefore built almost entirely of detailed exchanges of speech between magic-worker and clients, evoking a vivid picture of a small community of individuals and their magically-related concerns in daily life. Below, I quote from Leivo's text at length:

> … After 'grandfather' had left, came old woman Lehmälä: "May God grant you a good day." "May God grant, may God grant," answered Kaisa, "how is grandmother today?" "Well, nothing special, but I had to come once again and ask you for advice, since I heard that people come when they need wisdom and help." Kaisa: "Well, what makes you think I'm so wise, or from whom are you needing advice?" "Well from you, naturally, and your wisdom is already well known, help comes from you if anywhere." "Well, what sort of advice can I give, what seems to be the matter?" said Kaisa. "Lots of things are the matter, but one is that our cow doesn't come home from the forest at all." "Ah, you have moved to a new place and I'm guessing that a barrel of beer tipped over and it all spilled out onto the barnyard or some other place around your old home." Old woman: "Indeed we did, is there any way to repair the damage?" Kaisa: "Yes there is, nothing else is needed than that you clip a bit of hair off the end of the cow's tail, and put it in a corner of the barnyard or in a crack in the wall. It's no more than that."
>
> "And then another thing … I can produce no butter [from churning]." Kaisa: "Has some evil-eye looked at your churn?" Old woman: "I guess so, and once I loaned out my churn when a neighbour's churn was in a bit of an uncooperative mood." Kaisa: "Go secretly to some pig sty and let the pigs lick the churn a little. And it might help if you put a silver coin at the bottom of the churn when you start churning or if you shoot over the churn with a gun that is loaded with three different elements: gunpowder, salt and a tinder flint. That will surely help. Even better if it contained a little quicksilver …"
>
> Old woman: "Many thanks for your advice, how much do I pay you?" Kaisa: "I don't take any payment." Old woman: "But of course you must." Kaisa: "No, but if somebody wants to give me a gift, well then naturally I have to accept a gift." Old woman (putting 10 kopecks on the table): "Well then this is a gift. Goodbye now, and a thousand thanks."
>
> After the old woman had left, Daavetti's wife Maija walked through the door. Maija: "May God grant you a good afternoon." Kaisa: "May God grant, may God grant. Is there a wind blowing from that direction because you are the third person to come from there …" (Nousiainen. 1930. Frans Leivo 25.)

Folklore Collection: a Bridge Between the Early Modern and Modern Self

One of the reasons why folklore collecting efforts in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Finnish were so successful may have been that they fulfilled a number of aims – not only those of the archival researchers and staff, but also of the rural collectors and narrators themselves. Collection efforts were carried out in the same period as vigorous campaigns for popular education and enlightenment intended to produce patriotic, civic-minded citizens who, it was hoped, would participate in the salvaging of a disappearing national heritage. Yet from the point of view of the individual writer or respondent, to participate in the recording of folklore was to embark on the construction of a new kind of self, one striving to objectify his own subjective experience of the past in ways defined by national rather than local concerns. This new self was one who possessed a personal history in step with the nation's history, and this new history was based on a new way of narrating experience.

The creation of 'modern' personal histories to convey the impression of a unified self coherent through time became crucial when individuals no longer lived out their lives in the same community. In the days when an individual's history was known to everyone, there was less need for him or her to construct his own. But when social relations became more impersonal, as they inevitably did with increased mobility and the penetration of the state bureaucratic institutions and the modern market economy into the countryside (from the 1860s onward), having a well-structured personal history became a passport to a full identity as an adult citizen. Such personal histories became increasingly expressed in autobiographies, diaries, letters, and so forth. But they were also documented in other ways: through identity papers, educational diplomas, job files, medical files, and various certificates of civic accomplishment. Today we take for granted the notion that each of us has personal memories, chronologically ordered, through which we define our identities. It is through memory that we see ourselves as unique and continuous individuals with a biography. But this kind of remembering is a relatively recent form of social performance. While the cognitive capacity for memory is shared by all human beings, the actions we treat as 'remembering' under certain conditions are not natural or innate, but are culturally- and historically-specific ways of making oneself intelligible to others (e.g. Gergen 1997; Rose 1997; Swanson 2000: 111).

The large-scale project of folklore collecting in Finland placed a new value on the concept of personal memory. The collective memories of uneducated, ordinary Finns became conceived of as a rich repository, almost a living national treasure. This was made clear in collecting guides and brochures printed by the Archives which announced collection contests and which were sent to would-be informants and collectors:

> The Finnish Literature Society has always counted among its most important duties the attempt to rescue from forgetfulness and ruin the products of our folk poetry, but although a rich abundance of these treasures has already been gathered by diligent collectors and most of them even published, there is still no reason nor justification for the Society to consider its work finished. The field of study is so vast and the memory of the folk so rich, that it cannot be considered even close to exhausted … (Aspelin 1885: 216.)

Never before had the memories of the ordinary rural populace been so important. What gave personal memory its valued status in folklore collecting was the fact that this recollected folklore was being used to construct, or at least enhance, the history of the Finnish nation *as a nation*. Folklore was thought to allow Finns to discover their past and to give them the necessary foundation for a national cultural identity (cf. Wilson 1976; Anttonen 2001, 2003). In other words, the collection of folklore was encouraged because it was seen to promote not only the academic endeavour of folklore research, but also the building of the Finnish nation. Even efforts to collect magic descriptions and incantations were referred to as the carrying out of a patriotic labour (Mustonen 1885: 3; Aspelin 1885: 216).

This appeal to rural inhabitants' sense of patriotic duty and love for the fatherland, with no expectation of financial compensation, was the primary strategy used to mobilize the Finnish citizenry to collect folklore. As Kaarle Krohn wrote in the 1891 edition of his 'Programme for Collectors of Finnish Folk Poetry':

> Have we now, since then, lagged behind due to our small numbers of scholars and few material aids and facilities? We have not, for we have, to a greater degree than elsewhere, been able to make use of the help of uneducated persons to lay the groundwork for collection efforts, and instead of large promises of money, to appeal to their ever-ready love for the fatherland … (Krohn 1891: 1.)

The 'Magic Net' guide to collecting magic, too, alluded to the fact that in recording folklore for the Archives, collectors from the rural populace were

expected to be content simply with having carried out their national duty: "All indications suggest that the field of magic is very broad and will easily yield a good harvest to those who collect it: many descriptions of magic rites and thereby the satisfaction of having carried out a patriotic labour" (p. 1). These exhortations to the Finnish-speaking populace contain no indication that the compilers of the collecting guides had given much thought to the difficulties and expenses faced by rural collectors. A vivid description of such difficulties, however, is provided in a letter draft written by Pekka Vauhkonen to the FLS, in which he implied that the Archives had not taken into account all of the obstacles faced by the amateur folklore collector in the countryside: lack of ink, paper, and light sources for writing during the long winter nights all made the job of recording from memory more difficult. Reading between the lines, one can surmise that what gave Vauhkonen cause for anxiety was the notion that folklore collecting and recording – especially in post-Civil-War Finland – could be seen as a gauge of patriotic sentiment. He may have worried that poorer rural residents' devotion to their country could be called into question if they were, in fact, unable to carry out such collection due to limits on their time and resources. Vauhkonen stressed that those who managed to produce any folklore at all for the Archives, despite the difficulties and poor financial compensation, could only have been motivated by a sense of patriotic duty, which was how he characterized his own efforts:

> The nights here are long but also so pitch dark that on moonless nights it's hardly possible to see to go to bed, much less write. For this reason such work requires some source of light and that too, has to be purchased. Moreover one must buy pens, ink, and blotting paper, and so forth. The paper and postal expenses that we receive for free are a small factor when compared to the time, effort and other expenses, without knowing whether or not one will win the collection contest.
>
> Thus these are for us (the lower-class inhabitants) of rugged Karelia – with the exception of the gentry and perhaps a few others – the great obstacle to our carrying out this great patriotic duty, even though we otherwise would very much like to participate in adding our mite to the great memory pile of ancient times … But of course in Karelia there are also manor lords, though they would hardly condescend to give of their time and effort for such a paltry sum, even if the entire 5000 mark [prize] were promised to only one of them; it is so expensive for the mighty folk, you see, to utter a proverb, so that they hardly have time to remember patriotism. – And regarding other aspects of proverb collecting, I can say from experience that it is very slow work, even if someone has an abundance of them in their own head and are able to pluck them from there onto paper, not to mention collecting them from others. They do not gush forth from the brain to the mind like (for example) water bubbling up from the bottom of a spring, but come only gradually, at random, and most often at night and then they must be written down right away and it is for this reason exhausting, nor is it worth doing even for a small, certain payment, instead, one only does it because one is inspired by the collective memory of our forefathers. (FLS Folklore Archives, parentheses in original.)

Rural informants did not use their submissions of folklore materials only to present themselves as patriotic, however. The modern intertwining of personal and national history shaped the ways in which persons presented themselves as culturally valued selves in other ways as well. Folklorist Pertti Anttonen has argued that Finnish ethnography and folklore collecting were not mere quests for ancient survivals, nostalgic projects to collect vestiges of tradition threatened to fade into oblivion. Rather, they served to indicate that Finland had now *surpassed* its era of prehistory, it was now certifiably modern. Traditional folklore was valuable *because it was disappearing*, and this disappearance was proof that contemporary Finland had entered the modern age: "With antiquity in its past, the Finnish nation could be modern and develop further, unlike the peoples without history that were 'doomed' to live in the past, in tradition" (Anttonen 2001: 67–8).

Many tradition enthusiasts from among the rural folk used the same rhetorical strategy to emphasize their own 'modern' identity by avidly collecting the older folk knowledge, but at the same time presenting themselves as having personally turned away from the older superstitions to embrace a progressive, educationally-oriented world view. It seems to have been important for such 'enlightened' folk narrators to not only to emphasize their own role as intermediary between past and present, but to also show that they were 'modern' because they had advanced beyond a 'superstitious' past. It is in this spirit that Pekka Vauhkonen concluded his 78-page manuscript regarding his personal experiences of magic:

> This way of life, in which darkness and the powers of evil were feared, was still lived at the end of the nineteenth century and is still lived today in many places in the Finnish backwoods. Of course, modern education (*sivistys*) has to a great extent shoved aside the useless tricks of the era of magic, but many plowmen of the light of enlightenment and sowers of the seeds of enlightenment (*valistus*) are still needed, before our

> people are everywhere weaned away from belief in magic, from fear of the magical harm (*rikkomiset*) of others and all sorts of other magic-doings (*taikailu*). (Kitee. 1921. Pekka Vauhkonen VK 107:1, p. 78, emphasis mine.)

Indeed, constructing the self through personal memory and constructing the nation through collective memory can be seen as parallel processes (e.g. Lowenthal 1985). As anthropologists Paul Antze and Michael Lambek (1996) have argued, modern selves and modern nations are comparable, for they are 'imagined' in the same way, using the concept of memory to shape similar kinds of identities. Just as selves have personal histories and strive for legitimate identities, so too do nations, and in both cases such histories are essential to the notion of these entities as bounded and internally consistent rather than poorly-bounded or amorphous. In the modern democratic system, the concept of memory is also vital to the notion that both the nation and the individual are political agents which can be held accountable for their actions. Antze and Lambek suggest that in the modern period, histories of the individual and of the state became symbolic narratives which legitimated each other. In late nineteenth- and twentieth-century Finland, this created new types of identity conferred upon 'ordinary' members of the folk – identities which eulogized them as links to a valued national past.

Narratives recorded by writing folk informants and sent to the FLS Folklore Archives were written with an imagined recipient in mind – one who was expected to frown upon or discount any claims regarding the existence of the supernatural or the efficacy of magic. In order to tell a valued story of the self, writing folk narrators and collectors had to stress their own personal progress and enlightenment, as a citizen in step with the nation's history. At the same time, in the very act of turning to the ordinary people for help in collecting Finnish-language folklore, the Archives placed a new value not only on memory but on 'stories', 'tales' and magic knowledge itself. The local and personal became elevated to the status of *national* public interest and necessity. This encouraged would-be informants to distill and isolate magical experiences from their embeddedness in everyday life, turning them into objects to be evaluated according to a new set of standards. Asking ordinary people to assist in folklore collection also authorized them to talk about magic as a topic *legitimated by the Finnish cultural elite*: rural collectors and informants knew that they had the ear of one of the most important cultural institutions of the country, and collection guides assured them that as long as they sent *oral tradition* to the Archives, it would not be dismissed out of hand. In and of themselves, the 'Magic Net' handbook and other collection contest advertisements which exorted readers to record and submit stories of traditional magic to the Archives meant that these magic narratives, and the experiences they described, could now be articulated within the dominant cultural language (Bourdieu 1977: 170).

The collection of folklore and particularly of magic-related accounts, therefore, was an arena of activity in which at least two distinct hierarchies of knowledge-evaluation came into play: on the one hand, information verifiable through modern scientific methods was held to be more legitimate than information obtained through non-scientific, traditional means (through custom, personal experience or the transmission of folk belief, for instance). Related to this was the privileging of the curricula of national educational institutions over knowledge transmitted within the context of village and family. On the other hand was an epistemology in which traditional customs, narratives and folk poems were seen to speak to the existence of a 'nation'. Within this latter knowledge paradigm, traditional, orally-transmitted knowledge was a basis for agreeing on concepts of Finnishness. Folklore, including traditional magic beliefs and incantations, was seen as evidence of an entity which could be called the Finnish 'people', who (it was argued) deserved to be sovereign due to their long cultural history, unity and creativity.

This paper is a shortened version of a chapter from the author's forthcoming book, *The Magical Self: Body, Society and the Supernatural in Early Modern Rural Finland*, to be published in the FF Communications series in 2006.

Notes

1 The theories of social uses of language expounded by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and ethnologist Michel de Certeau draw upon the Wittgensteinian metaphor of language as a game in which words gain their meaning through the way they are used. Within these theories, language and practice are seen as *moves* in a game or an 'art' of speaking or operating (de Certeau 1984: 86–8; Bourdieu 1991: 2).

2 In Finnish: *Ohjelma suomalaisen kansanrunouden keräämille*. Krohn 1891.

3 In Finnish: *Suomalaisen kansanrunouden keräyksestä*. Tunkelo 1923.

4 Elias Lönnrot (1802–84) was the compiler of the Finnish national epic, the *Kalevala*, and one of the first great collectors of Finnish and Karelian folklore, having un-

dertaken eleven collecting journeys between 1828 and 1844.

5 The real name of O. A. F. Mustonen was Oskar Lönnbohm, brother to Finnish poet Eino Leino.

6 Although it has not been possible to ascertain Pekka Vauhkonen's date of birth, one Kalle Vauhkonen was born 1838 in Puhossalo, Kitee (the village where Pekka Vauhkonen grew up), and was probably Pekka's father. Kalle Vauhkonen was born the son of an itinerant labourer.

7 J. Lonkainen's letter addressed to Kaarle Krohn dated March 14, 1897.

8 J. Lonkainen's letter addressed to Kaarle Krohn dated October 13, 1896.

9 J. Lonkainen's letter addressed to Kaarle Krohn dated March 14, 1897.

10 J. Lonkainen's letter addressed to the Finnish Literature Society, no date given; Letter by P. Vauhkonen to the Finnish Literature Society, dated March 6, 1922.

11 Kitee. 1896. J. Lonkainen 14.

12 J. Lonkainen's letter dated January 13, 1897, no addressee given.

13 Letter to the Finnish Literature Society, dated March 6, 1922.

14 As Mikhail Bakhtin points out: "in the absence of a real addressee, an addressee is presupposed in the person … *of a normal representative of a social group to which the speaker belongs* …"(1986: 86, emphasis mine).

15 Gillian Bennett (1986: 431) describes the supernatural experience narratives told by her Manchester informants in the 1980s as follows: "Stories, especially stories based on good authority such as personal experience or family knowledge, are … a favored device in the discussion of controversial and delicate issues. Speakers expect them to be used as evidence for personal opinion and/or as 'discussion documents' to be taken up and co-operatively analyzed in subsequent conversation."

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Oral Tradition and the Internet: Navigating Pathways

by *John Miles Foley*, Professor
Center for Studies in Oral Tradition,
Center for eResearch, University of Missouri-Columbia

The Comparison: OT and IT

Initial reaction to any proposal to compare oral tradition (OT) and the internet (IT) may well be skepticism. After all, one is the most ancient of word-technologies, far predating Gutenberg's printing press or hand-inscribed symbols of any sort. In fact, if we project humankind's existence as *homo sapiens* onto a single calendar year, such apparently primordial events as the invention of the Greek alphabet are seen to have occurred as recently as December 19th, or almost 97 per cent of the way through our species-year. And the internet? If we date its effective origins to the era of the Netscape-Explorer 'Browser Wars', this now-essential tool came into being a mere 16 minutes before midnight on New Year's Eve, by reference to the same time-scale.[1] In contrast, oral tradition presumably arises early in the course of our existence; although it can't be securely dated (since dates depend on documents or analysis of tangible materials), it must have emerged many species-months before any sort of literacy or pre-literacy. What could two media so historically disparate possibly have in common?

Let's start by noticing what both OT and IT are *not*. They most emphatically aren't fixed, spatialized series of symbols, designed to be decoded visually according to strict conventions. In other words, they aren't texts, whether illuminated manuscripts, mass paperbacks, or cave walls.[2] Neither of these bookless technologies can by themselves ever produce materials that can be warehoused or deposited in a library, simply because neither one consists of prescribed sequences of surfaces that can be physically pigeonholed in appropriate slots; mounting a once-living species in a museum, no matter how lifelike the exhibit, is not the same as observing it in the wild. OT and IT are in fact very much alive, and because they're alive they're always changing (in a rule-governed way), always evolving in relation to their environments, never absolutely fixed and static, never final, complete, or uneditable. Moreover, they positively thrive on a regimen of kinetics and change, drawing strength not from an ultimately brittle fossilization – a reduction to stasis – but from their endless potential and flexibility. Rather than foreclosing on instability and evolution, OT and IT embrace these qualities as dynamic assets.

Variation within limits

So much for what these two media aren't. As for what OT and IT actually *are*, their most fundamental shared characteristic is their trademark variation within limits, or rule-governed change. On the oral tradition side, whether we are describing a folktale, an epic, a legend, a genealogy, a charm, or some other genre, each instance of any traditional form differs slightly and programmatically from all others. Like a carrier wave for radio or television signals, the basic pattern of the genre or type informs each occurrence, but the details that emerge during realization of potentials show systemic variation. An epic, for example, may be sung at half or twice the length of a prior performance; even with such a marked difference in extent, however, the underlying pattern will insure that the story remains 'the same' in OT terms.[3]

Likewise, as the internet morphs, it does so by variation and extension – the individual sites changing and the network comprising more and more nodes – but always within a rule-governed environment. This pattern of evolution means that one's experience of the internet may vary considerably from one week or even day to the next, as the virtual community builds out the ever-evolving structure according to certain applicable rules (using php or html code, for example). And the web can no more afford to ignore the generative patterns on which its constitution is based than can any genre of oral tradition. Special (and specialized) languages serve as the creative vehicles for both media, with basic fluency essential for all concerned.

Performer and surfer/clicker

And then there is the irreducible individuality of the OT performer, or in IT terms the surfer or clicker. Given a functionally plastic language and the rami-

fying power of networks, the act of performance in both media adds another level of variability. Could two oral poets in different audience environments, each with particular likes and dislikes, one performing at night on a Tuesday and the other at noon on a Sunday, ever duplicate each other's 'work' exactly? Of course not – at least not in the textual terms we customarily assume. But at the same time let's also note that the systemic, pattern-based nature of their shared idiom will also preclude complete divergence: because they're telling the same story, the accidents of time, place, personality, and environment will have a less pronounced effect than they might otherwise.[4] Traditional structure and meaning, multiplex and flexible as it is, puts a brake on wholesale variation by enforcing broad, generic rules for communication. (Like most of what we have to say about OT and IT, this phenomenon of rule-governed multiformity is really nothing more – or less – than a special case of language itself.)

Not so different for the clicker or surfer navigating the interlinked complexities of the web. Moving from one site to another, operating within recognized parameters but with a divergent itinerary each time, the surfer experiences not the same series of static pages but a system of thought-processing and representation ready-made for personal remaking. Do you want to learn about the world-renowned Book of Kells, a ninth-century Irish illuminated manuscript, for instance? A quick Googling of the network produces pathways to a Celtic 'art works' page, the official site of the Book of Kells CD-ROM, and the Wikipedia entry on the famous manuscript, among other possibilities.[5] The first of these offers sample images, much in the way a manuscript facsimile would do, along with links to other information and perspectives – more than a bibliography, since you can choose the next stop on your trip without leaving the source page and be taken there immediately and virtually, without a trip to a local library. Or you may decide to visit the official site and order a tangible item, the CD; but even in this transparently mercantile environment you can discover gratis information in the form of an overview, a timeline, famous pages from the manuscript, and background on Trinity College library, where this early medieval treasure is physically housed. Finally, and most promising of all, you can access the Wikipedia entry: a remarkable, multifaceted site that thoroughly and expertly covers such dimensions as history, contents, and use, as well as leads via ePathways to dozens of complementary resources. The only question left for the surfer, then, is what sort of performance to undertake at that particular moment and in that particular situation. Multiple, interlinked possibilities await all learners, who can shape the experience in myriad different ways each time they start clicking their ePerformances into being.

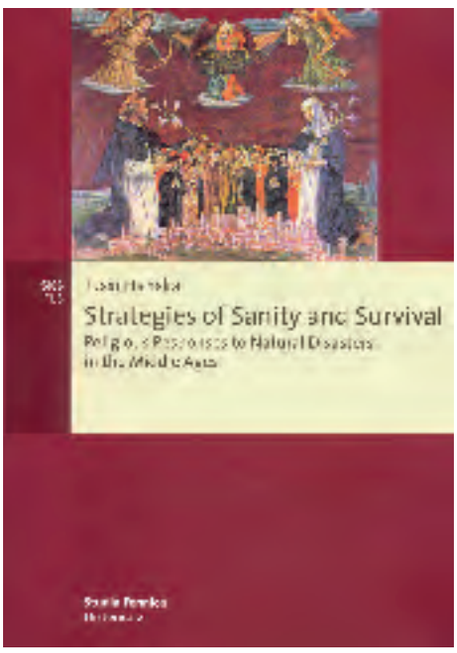
oWords and eWords

Another OT–IT correspondence is the nature of the 'words' the two media employ to negotiate meaning. In both cases the specialized language consists not of textual units, but of composite, idiomatic addresses. In many oral traditions a thought-byte consists minimally of a phrase or poetic line, indivisible units like Homer's 'green fear' (*chlôron deos*) or the South Slavic epic poets' 'black cuckoo' (*kukavica crna*).[6] Although our textual custom is to consult a lexicon and piece together a translation from what we perceive as the crucial elements constituting each phrase, in fact such phrases are most faithfully construed not as collections of parts but as idiomatic wholes. Research shows that 'green fear' acts as a single unit – effectively a pathway – that signifies 'supernatural fear', an idiomatic meaning that no existing lexicon will divulge but that emerges as a necessary implication once we collate its instances and probe its contextual sense. Similarly, 'black cuckoo' stands by idiomatic association for more than the dark-colored bird that dictionaries prescribe; by idiomatic convention it designates a woman who is already widowed or about to be widowed. In each instance what we divide by white spaces in our texts and describe non-contextually in our lexicons are in reality 'syllables' (green + fear) that make up larger 'words' (greenfear). Let's call them oWords.

How does the singer's oWord compare to the thought-bytes of IT? Do we find corresponding eWords? For a start, consider the nature of the ubiquitous URL, with its constituent parts – http *plus* :// *plus* www. *plus* site-name *plus* suffix (.org, .com, etc.) – each of them powerless in its own right until they're all combined into one idiomatic whole. Once that combination takes place, however, these addresses become the most powerful of pathways, leading the surfer at a single click to a unique digital destination in the fantastically complex worldwide network, a unique node in an interconnected web that spans millions upon millions of linked possibilities. This connection doesn't happen because

continued on p. 16

Recent Publications of the Finnish Literature Society



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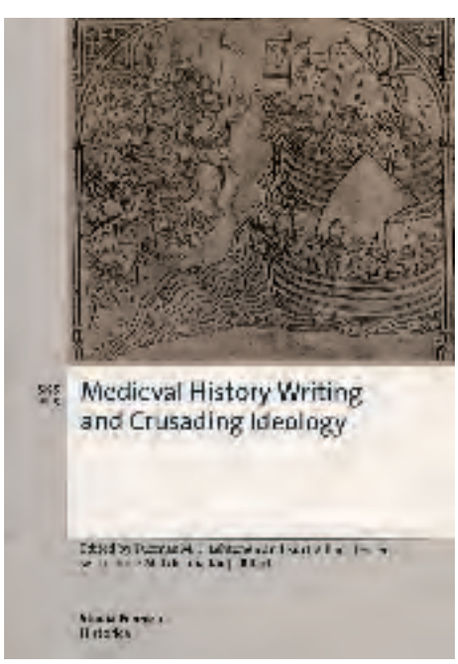
Jussi Hanska,
Strategies of Sanity and Survival – Religious Responses to Natural Disasters in the Middle Ages
Studia Fennica Historica 2. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2002. 220 pp. ISBN 951-746-357-X. 27 €

Natural disasters have long been a neglected subject in the study of history. At most they have been casually mentioned as a background material for political or social history. During the 1990s this state of affairs has slowly began to change. Nevertheless, there is still no general history of natural disasters available in any language.

This book aims to cover one grey area in historical studies, that is, spiritual responses and survival strategies of medieval man in front of natural disasters. It asks what were his means to deal with natural disasters, phenomena he could not scientifically understand. How did he try to prevent them? What were his feelings and actions when the situation was on? How did he manage to carry on with his life afterwards?

It is an unusual book in many respects. It is a specific study based on original and in most cases unedited sources, but it can also be read as a general introduction. It crosses boundaries between different fields of learning and traditionally accepted time periods of history. Even if it is essentially a book on medieval man, it stretches far beyond the middle ages as conventionally understood. The final chapter traces the slow disappearance of the medieval mentality until the early nineteenth century.



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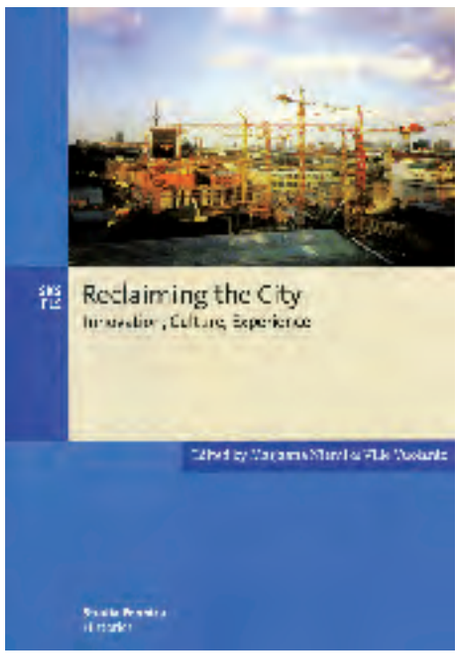
Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology
Edited by Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Kurt Villands Jensen with Janne Malkki and Katja Ritari
Studia Fennica Historica 9. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2005. 320 pp. ISBN 951-746-662-5. 31 €

This book examines how the crusading ideology was formulated in medieval historiography and how the crusading movement affected Christianity and the world beyond. The second main theme is the spread of the crusading movement to Northern Europe, especially Scandinavia and the Baltic Sea area. Northerners not only participated in the crusades in the Holy Land, but also learned and were inspired to create and take part in a new crusading movement within the Baltic Sea reagion itself. The relationship between the crusades to Jerusalem and those in the North must be of fundamental importance to understand the dynamics that created history, both locally and in a general European context, but this relation itself has seldom been the object of thoroughgoing research; on the contrary, the considerable scholarship on both the North and the South has been pursued in isolation.

Reclaiming the City – Innovation, Culture, Experience
Edited by Marjaana Niemi & Ville Vuolanto
Studia Fennica Historica 6. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2003. 240 pp. ISBN 951-746-526-2. 31 €



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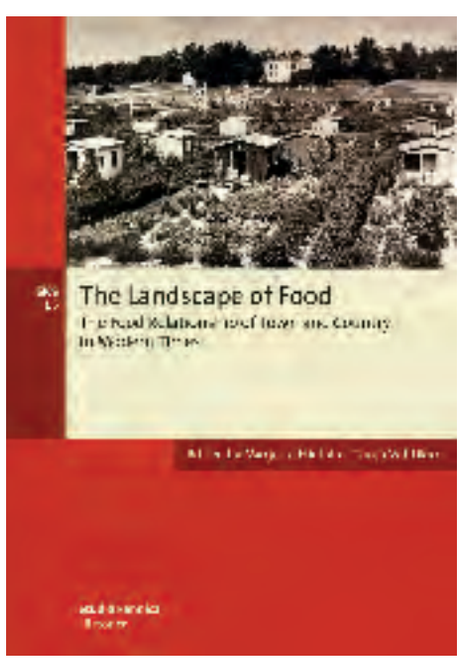
The dramatic changes which cities and towns have undergone over the past three decades raise important questions for urban historians. Do these changes signal a fundamental break with the past? To what extent have global forces dictated the change? Can cities and towns forge their own destinies?

Reclaiming the City provides historical and comparative perspectives on these topical questions, examining in particular the impact of global and local forces on urban development in the long term, the cities' capacity to rise to the challenge and their continuous need to both enhance and contain diversity. These themes are developed by exploring different aspects of urban development such as counter-urbanisation, cultural innovations, changes in spatial form, migration and identity formation.

The questions are explored in diverse urban settings, ranging from ancient Rome to the present-day metropolis, from manufacturing centres to national capitals and from noble World Heritage cities to disreputable sailortowns. The contributors are from Finland, the United Kingdom, the Czech Republic, Sweden and the United States.

The volume is published in honour of Academy Professor Marjatta Hietala.

The Landscape of Food – The Food Relationship of Town and Country in Modern Times
Edited by Marjatta Hietala & Tanja Vahtikari
Studia Fennica Historica 4. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2003. 232 pp. ISBN 951-746-478-9. 31 €



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The Landscape of Food introduces new perspectives on the social history of food by focusing on the food relationships between urban and rural areas in Europe from the late eighteenth century to the present day. The theme is approached by historians, ethnologists and geographers through a series of studies of the Netherlands, Germany, Slovenia, Switzerland, Britain, Finland, Italy, Greece and Norway.

The volume examines a multitude of aspects of the urban–rural interface, such as provisioning of cities and towns with fresh foodstuffs, urban food production, and changes in the diet. It takes readers back to the nineteenth-century town with its commercial cowsheds, cattle markets, piggeries, and market gardens and its self-provisioning from allotments and backyard chicken coops and rabbit hutches. The environmental problems associated with these activities presented targets for veterinary surgeons and public health reformers.

The emergence in the twentieth century of industrial provisioning of the towns and the preservation of food, with its branded and heavily advertised goods and increasingly standardized recipes and restaurants is discussed, as is the changing role of the countryside. During the second half of the twentieth century, the provision of meals in the home is shown to have developed from the rationing and privation of World War II up to the heating of supermarket products in a microwave oven, while cooking, in some urban societies at least, has been reduced to a form of telelvision entertainment. The reaction to this industrialization of the diet is also discussed, particularly in terms of the utilization of 'foods from nature'.

continued from p. 13

of any single 'syllable' within the extended compass of a URL: www. alone won't do the job, even though we know it stands for the worldwide web, nor will the domain suffix by itself summon the site. But meld all of the 'syllables' together into a single eWord and suddenly you've accomplished the virtual equivalent of locating a very small needle in a huge haystack. The composite 'word' doesn't even have to describe the site in textually transparent, everyday language, and indeed often it doesn't; we all know of sites whose URLs are impenetrable from a literal point of view (the social networking sites http://del.icio.us and http://www.43things.com are convenient examples). Like the *guslar*'s 'words' (or oPathways), web addresses (or ePathways) serve as composite units that usage has tied by convention to a particular function. Both oWords and eWords work idiomatically as, respectively, oPathways and ePathways, promoting navigation and enabling meaning within the oral-traditional and virtual worlds.

Putting the OT–IT analogy into action

This analogy in the dynamics of representation turns out to be more than merely an unexpected correspondence. The natural confluence of OT and IT offers us new opportunities for deploying media strategies. Consider an old and stubborn problem faced by scores of fieldworkers. We undertake a careful, well organized field expedition to collect precious specimens from a culture's ecology of oral traditions, employing the very latest technology to record as many live performances as possible. We then return to home base, intent on delivering to all interested parties as much of this content – along with accompanying context and analysis – as possible. But what's our first move? We represent and analyze oral tradition by textualizing it – by denaturing the emergent, multimedia event and collapsing its living shape by reducing it to an item. Diluting the experience into a form suitable for the page and the book necessarily means eliminating voice, melody, instrument, gesture, movement, audience, and whatever other features of live performance don't translate to the designated medium for communication. Ironically, a healthy percentage of what we sought and recorded is in the process stripped out of our edition and analysis. And why? Simply because these aspects can't be contained between the covers of our default communicative medium – the conventional book.

Here's where the special relationship between OT and IT can help to accomplish what books aren't equipped to support. One of the methods developed at our Center for Studies in Oral Tradition for taking advantage of this relationship is the *eCompanion*. This electronic, online facility supplies audio, video, photographic, and data-base support for text-based discussion and explanation, and it does so by utilizing the ePathways of the internet. Instead of simply perusing a print narrative that describes an oral tradition (very much a second- or third-hand experience), readers can supplement the text by listening, watching, and researching the very same oral performance that had to be reduced in order to fit it into a book. With the paperback in one hand and a mouse in the other, the reader/user can see and hear beyond the page; he or she can, to a degree, join the audience at the performance. I introduced this strategy in association with my book, *How to Read an Oral Poem* (2002), whose eCompanion (www.oraltradition.org/hrop) presents video of a slam poetry performance by Lynne Procope as well as audio of various orally performed genres acoustically recorded in the Former Yugoslavia. We have recently extended the concept of the eCompanion to augment some of the articles published in our journal *Oral Tradition*, adding audio, video, and other 'reading aids' as free, publicly available partners to the journal text (www.oraltradition.org/ecompanion).[7] The eCompanions restore at least some of the dimensions of oral tradition that are characteristically deleted as part of the 'media compromise' mandated by the book format, and it does so by observing what I take as the golden rule of media strategies – let the book and the internet do what each does best, and, where possible, seek creative ways to use them in tandem.

Another strategy that I have developed to assist in restoring the reality of oral tradition is the *eEdition*. Again, consider the challenge. Even if you have access to an eCompanion with audio or video to accompany the text, the parts of the book remain irretrievably segregated. Granted, the original-language transcription and the translation may be juxtaposed on the same printed page, but you still have to wrestle with the inconvenience of the introduction, commentary, glossary, and any other sections of the apparatus residing at different physical locations in the volume. Do you need to consult the commentary? Then it's necessary to leave the work itself, transfer your exclusive attention to another part of the book, locate the required information, and then return to the text of the work to resume your interrupted reading. Do you want to check on

the idiomatic meaning of a particular phrase? If the volume contains such a resource, you can certainly examine its contents and profit from the additional information, but once again the price for such an investigation is (at least a temporary) fracture of your core engagement with the work. You simply have to stick your thumb in one section, make the journey to consult the appropriate appendix, and then trek back to the original thumb-marked spot. Because books organize themselves by spatial segregation along a linear axis, they operate by separating the various facets of representation, isolating each of them in its own place. Referral between and among the parts makes for a staccato re-experiencing of a performance that was once fluid and continuous.

Here again IT can help, this time by 'resynchronizing the performance'. In the eEdition of *The Wedding of Mustajbey's Son Bećirbey as Performed by Halil Bajgorić* (www.oraltradition.org/zbm), which also exists as a conventional book (Foley 2004), we have reconstituted as much of the event as possible by making the full 75-minute audio available online and by electronically linking the several parts of the apparatus to the transcription–translation page. Thus the main page, itself scrollable and accompanied by the acoustic record of the performance that can be played concurrently, contains three sets of built-in links that allow users to consult various parts of the apparatus without ever leaving the work itself. Click on the lines highlighted in the English translation, and the idiomatic meaning of those phrases and scenes will appear in the box to the right of the translation. Select the orange 'C' button, and whatever is contained in the edition's commentary (chiefly performance-based notes, but also occasional philological and comparative observations) will appear in the box. Click on the green 'NVR' button, and the differences (if any) between my transcription of that line and the rendering done by Parry and Lord's assistant Nikola Vujnović will pop up, again in the same circumscribed area.[8] Other sections of the volume, such as H. Wakefield Foster's chapter on the role of music and R. Scott Garner's analysis of performatives, are also linked to the main eEdition page as whole items that can be quickly accessed. Most importantly, the entire eEdition, with all of its parts electronically reintegrated and interactive, is freely available online to anyone with a connection to the web. Thanks to the fundamental homology of OT and IT, any user can now resynchronize the performance and, to an extent impossible within an exclusively textual environment, join Halil Bajgorić's performance.

The Experiment: A Media Suite

Sometimes we can profit from reexamining assumptions submerged in well-established procedures. When I first began to think about the analogy of and potential connections between OT and IT, and then about exploring and explaining the phenomenon, I of course turned immediately to the representational vehicle we are culturally trained to employ: the default medium of the printed book. Old habits die hard, media-wise as in the rest of life, and my reflex reaction was to start by constructing a linear list of perceived correspondences between these two thought-technologies. From this starting point, supported as always by the ritual citation of other relevant writings, I planned to produce a narrative that 'told the story' of how OT and IT, strange bedfellows though they might seem, functioned in arrestingly similar ways. Such a book would, if convincingly pieced together, draw the comparisons I wanted to describe as well as make a persuasive case for the mental activity of navigating pathways as the most basic of human cognitive processes. It would also increase understanding of each of these thought-technologies by revealing what it shares with its shadow-medium.

The joke was of course on me. Blinded by culturally rooted assumptions, I didn't at the outset glimpse the irony underlying my carefully wrought plan – namely, that the envisioned procedure would amount to using *only the book* to explain two *bookless* media. It would in effect be the equivalent of employing only oral tradition to explicate the tablet, papyrus scroll, vellum manuscript, or paperback. The internet might fare slightly better than oral tradition as a vehicle for divulging the secrets of the book, but only to the extent that it presented a static electronic page, a cybernetic facsimile of the textual platform; the web's core identity as a network of linked pathways just doesn't mirror the spatial linearity of inscribed surfaces. Use only the book to explore the cognate dynamics of oral tradition and the internet? What a fundamental error in understanding media! But of course this is the precisely the blind-spot and the reflex that our unthinking devotion to the religion of the written or printed page has induced.

The question thus arose, front and center – how could I escape the default cultural settings of the book medium in order to give the OT–IT comparison the depth it deserved? The general outlines of an answer seemed ready at hand: enlist the power of the internet and digital configuration to enhance the

presentation, much as the eCompanion and eEdition enhanced page-driven reductions of oral performance. The next step was to imagine not what was physically feasible to mount on the internet (a backwards strategy, in my opinion), but instead to inquire what the internet could uniquely do to make the book presentation fuller, more meaningful, less constrained by the abstract dynamics of the page. If we aimed to invent a network or suite of electronic appendages that truly cooperated with the book, then the emphasis should be on the golden rule cited above: namely, ask each medium to do not what you can force it to do, but rather what it does best; and then seek creative ways to integrate the individual tools into a useful kit.

With these guidelines in mind, then, I conceived of a media-suite that consisted of a conventional, brick-and-mortar book combined with several integrated e-facilities. The book, provisionally entitled *Pathways of the Mind: Oral Tradition and the Internet*, is under contract with the University of Illinois Press and scheduled for publication in 2007. Why include a conventional book at all? First, because this part of the network will attract its own audience to the larger Project, providing them a narrative account of the OT–IT comparison in the terms and form they expect. More comprehensively, I see no reason to adopt a purist or absolutist position that unreflectively bars the book, no need to altogether abandon a proven, established communicative channel en route to enhancing the default mode of presentation. To the book node in the network I am adding five electronic appendages to constitute the overall network: a developmental blog, eCompanions, eEditions, a tagged data-base, and an aggregator. Together these six linked entities constitute the Pathways Project (www.pathwaysproject.org).

The Blog

Given the broad scope of the OT–IT analogy (the comparison) and the counter-conventional nature of the Pathways Project enterprise (the experiment), it seemed logical to begin by putting incipient ideas into the form of a developmental blog, entitled 'Oral Tradition and the Internet' (www.otandit.blogspot.com). Since February 2005 I have been logging a series of brief entries on such topics as 'Reaching beyond the stand-alone book', 'The irony of Proteus', 'The oAgora and the eAgora', 'Media suites', 'Networking past, present, and future', 'Filing versus tagging', and various approaches to oPathways and ePathways. My aim has been twofold: to put some basic ideas into preliminary shape and to elicit comments from readers of the blog. And the process has succeeded in ways I couldn't have imagined, with extremely helpful messages sent both publicly through the site and privately via personal e-mail. In response, I have, for example, registered the blog under a Creative Commons license (http://creativecommons.org) to encourage (not prohibit) use according to applicable rules, as well as thought through suggestions for and challenges to the OT–IT model. As the book proceeds, I will expand on various subjects covered in the blog, but it is already clear that the blog must remain a current and permanent partner in the overall project, one of the appendages that both explains and embodies the importance of pathways in both media.

eCompanions and eEditions

eCompanions and eEditions, which will be linked to the Pathways Project home page, are two more of these appendages. Once again, as in the case of the developmental blog, users will be able to experience the connection directly rather than merely read an abstract account of how it works. With eCompanions they will be able to supplement numerous articles in the journal *Oral Tradition*, the book *How to Read an Oral Poem*, and other textual resources by clicking on applicable audio, video, photographic, and bibliographical support. Via eEditions they can resynchronize the oral performance and gain online admission to the audience; in addition, everything they need to increase their fluency in the performance idiom will be available at a single click and on the same ePage, rather than ostracized to another section of an unwieldy, hard-to-manage text. These two electronic facilities image the reality of the OT–IT connection as well as show how that connection can more meaningfully support the representation and understanding of oral tradition through internet-based and digital strategies.

A tagged data-base

Conventionally, academic books are buttressed by a bibliography, exhaustive or selected, that serves two functions: as supporting evidence for the arguments proposed in the book's narrative and as further reading for those who wish to pursue the arguments beyond the present exposition. Occasionally these lists of references are annotated with at most a few sentences per item, in order to increase their usefulness. Often, however, the financial strin-

gencies associated with publication limit the length and fullness of such bibliographies. With these concerns in mind, the Pathways Project will offer a comprehensive online digest of related books, articles, and websites that will not be constrained in size or coverage by the requirement that it fit between the covers of a book, nor for that matter by the publication date of the *Pathways of the Mind* book (see the Aggregator below). In addition to its size, coverage, and annotation, this data-base will be multiply tagged (rather than divided into sections) so that the interested user can quickly and deftly locate all those resources relevant to whatever topic he or she is pursuing. Thus an entry might well be tagged for a dozen or more topics, such as a book, article, or website that features information on music, epic poetry, politics, Slavic languages, oral performance, accompanying instruments, Balkan history, or whatever. This digest, freely and publicly available, will also contain contributions suggested by other users of the Pathways Project, and thus will function as a kind of group, open-source repository.

An aggregator

The Pathways Project as a whole will be set up as an RSS website, so that modifications to any part of the site – whether updates on the data-base, additions to the eCompanions or eEditions, new blog entries, or whatever – will be reported to anyone who subscribes to the feed. We are also experimenting with the creation of a freestanding, robotic aggregator that would periodically search the internet for new information and sites relevant to the OT–IT analogy and report them to subscribers. In both of these ways, as through the tagged and updatable data-base, the Pathways Project will continue to evolve beyond the publication of its brick-and-mortar component, the book. In the end, the goal is to use electronic tools and strategies to escape the endemic spatial and temporal limitations of the page and book, both by converting the reader's experience into a coordinated, multimedia event and by fostering a cybernetically powered brand of 'continuing education' on the subject.

Notes

1 On these calculations, see Foley 2002: 23–5. On the absolute dating and use of the world's writing systems, see Daniels and Bright 1996.

2 For that matter, neither OT nor IT (fully networked and rule-governed) is the same medium as the static web page, linkless and immutable, whose only real difference from a book page is its texture of pixels on a screen rather than ink on acid-free paper. (I am discriminating between networked and link-enhanced websites on the one hand and static web pages on the other.)

3 In the performers' own terms, each performance is indeed 'word for word' the same, since for them a 'word' is a unit of utterance, a sound-byte and thought-byte, rather than a textually defined word. See further Foley 2002: 11–21. On the morphological rules for such 'words' in ancient Greek epic, *Beowulf*, and South Slavic epic, see Foley 1990.

4 Corresponding kinds of structural and idiomatic controls will regulate the variation within non-narrative genres as well. See, for example, the variability in Serbian magical charms (Foley 1995: 99–135).

5 The URLs for the three sites mentioned are as follows: the Celtic art works page (http://celtdigital.org/CeltArtKells.htm), the CD ROM page (http://www.bookofkells.ie/), and the Wikipedia entry (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Book_of_Kells).

6 For these and other examples, including oWords of all sizes in both South Slavic and ancient Greek, see Foley 1999.

7 In April 2006 *Oral Tradition* – the entire journal as well as the eCompanions – will begin its second incarnation as a web publication, free of charge and available to anyone in the world with an internet connection. Its electronic home will be our Center web page (www.oraltradition.org). Eventually, all of the back issues of the journal, established in 1986, will also be made available there as gratis internet publications.

8 As explained in the prologue to 'Nikola Vujnović's Resinging' (Foley 2004: 144–56), this table chronicles the ways in which the transcriber Vujnović, also an epic singer himself, re-made the song within his own traditional idiolect. Even when he was putatively rendering in written form exactly what he heard from the recording, the systemic pliability of the oral traditional method of composition led to inevitable 'departures' from the original. While acting as a scribe, Vujnović was in effect re-creating the performance.

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Folklore Fellows' Summer School in the Landscape of the Kalevala

The seventh Folklore Fellows' Summer School will run on 11–20.6.2007 in Viena Karelia, a mythical place for oral poetry: Elias Lönnrot collected most of the oral poems for his epos the *Kalevala* there.

Viena Karelian villages are situated in the western part of the Archangel area in Russia. After Lönnrot published the *Kalevala* (1835, 1849), the unique culture and beautiful northern landscape of Viena fascinated artists and writers. Many folklore collectors recorded Karelian oral epic and other genres in the nineteenth century. The villages became a symbol of originality for intellectuals creating cultural identity.

The village of Paanajärvi, situated on both sides of the Kemijoki river, is among the most ancient in Viena. The village's fifty or so houses form an architecturally unique collection of wooden buildings. Over the decades the village has been threatened by plans to build new hydroelectric plants on the Kemijoki, which if carried out would have covered the whole village below water. Present information indicates that power-plant plans have been abandoned and the revival work of the village can continue. The Finnish Juminkeko Foundation, which works from Kuhmo, has carried out sustained and valuable revival work in the villages of Viena, including Paanajärvi. – Photo: Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen, 2005. Archives of the Kalevala Society.

During the Second World War, the geographical position near the border of Finland and Russia affected the people and villages severely. The new life brought by socialism also changed the culture. Now villages are in the process of reviving their economy and culture. Special attention has been paid to preserving the old type of village structures and houses. The village of Paanajärvi with traditional Karelian buildings was in 1996–2001 among the hundred most endangered sites on the list of World Monuments Watch because of a planned water power station and reservoir. Now Paanajärvi is safe; it was awarded the Europa Nostra prize in 2006.

The landscape inspired the title of the course: *Oral Poetry and Field Work*. The lectures and thematic seminars will deal with studies of oral poetry and intertextuality of genres, the *Kalevala* and the political uses of folklore, field work in Lönnrot's time, but also in the globalised world of today, the reviving of traditional villages and the authenticity and interpretation of changing culture. The participants have the possibility to discuss their own research problems in thematic groups. The lecturers are inspiring folklorists from several countries. The Finnish specialists will add the knowledge on the Kalevalaic oral poetry.

The participants will live in some of larger village houses, while the seminars will be held in the school of Vuokkiniemi, which educates children up to university entrance. Living among the villagers, and trips to sites known for their history and connection to the *Kalevala* story and to today's cultural centres make the summer school in itself a short field trip. Clothing and equipment should be suitable for these purposes.

The organising committee of the seventh Folklore Fellows' Summer School includes members from five Finnish folklore departments, the Graduate School of Cultural Interpretations, the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literary Society and the Kalevala Institute. The Kalevala Society, which has a good knowledge of the cultural life in Karelia, is an important co-ordinator. The practical side of the seminar is handled by Juminkeko Foundation,

specialising in the history, culture and revitalisation of Karelian villages. The website of Juminkeko (http://www.juminkeko.fi) has an English website-presentation on Karelian folklore villages.

Participants are to find their own means for funding the travel costs. The participation fee is 350 euros. The organising committee will, however, take care of costs in Finland, if any of the participants cannot do this by her/himself.

The language of lectures and seminars is English. For this reason a good knowledge of English is a precondition for participation.

Up to now, the FFSS have accepted only such participants as have not previously taken part in the course. Because the seventh course differs from previous ones, the participants may already have experience of FFSS. When choosing the participants, the FFSS will pay special attention to the thematic field of research interest and the motivation shown. The invitation for visas should be made by the beginning of 2007. For that reason, the organisers will select the participants at the end of 2006.

Welcome to FFSS 2007 in Viena Karelia!

Prof. *Anna-Leena Siikala*
University of Helsinki
Chair of the FFSS

Lauri Harvilahti, Director
Folklore Archives of
the Finnish Literature Society
Vice-Chair of the FFSS

Prof. *Seppo Knuuttila*
University of Joensuu
Director of the Graduate School
of Cultural Interpretations

Dr *Pauliina Latvala*
University of Helsinki
Secretary General of the FFSS

Maria Vasenkari, MA
Kalevala Institute, University of Turku
Course Secretary of the FFSS

Scottish Ethnology Report

by *John Shaw*, Dr, Senior Lecturer
School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh

Recent developments in ethnology in Scotland encompass a wide the variety of research initiatives being carried out in the context of the changes, both rapid and gradual, that are taking place in the field. As a part of a wider university reorganisation, one of the most significant recent events for us has been the combining, from 2001, of the School of Scottish Studies with the Department of Celtic into a single entity (Celtic and Scottish Studies) and the appointment of a personal chair in Celtic and Scottish Studies. The result has been to enhance the potential for research and publications in aspects of ethnology relating to Gaelic culture, which we regard as a positive investment in the future of our discipline.

Specific, interdisciplinary projects are also beginning to make an impression. One of these examines the state of folk tradition in Scotland through an interdisciplinary study of its revivals and survivals. Closely allied is the publishing activity emerging around the bagpiping, ranging from historical interpretation to the dynamics of change over the past century. In terms of the prospects for folkloristics during this century, it has begun to become apparent that further promising directions lie in the increased interaction between practitioners in the field and the host communities. The School has lent constant and substantial support to the preparation of the recently launched Tobar an Dualchais/Kist o'Riches Project, a pioneering national initiative (and the first major one of its kind) to be carried out over four years with £2.8 million in funding that will make the contents of the major sound collections of Gaelic and Scots ethnological materials widely accessible online. In keeping with the School's long-term commitment to tradition-bearers and their communities throughout Scotland, the benefits will extend well beyond the world of academic researchers, bringing the traditions to all levels of education, cultural and arts organisations, folk performers and small communities.

Calum Maclean (1915–60), a Gaelic-speaker from Raasay and the first full-time collector to be hired by the School in 1951, left behind a legacy of fond respect by Highland singers/reciters and international academics, along with his monumental contribution of important (and now unrecoverable) materials held in folklore archives. A major three-year research project awarded to the School to begin in 2006 will enable the digitisation and transfer of thousands of pages of Maclean's Gaelic field transcriptions to disk with sophisticated search and classification enhancements. The project has been made possible through the generous co-operation of the Department of Irish Folklore, University College Dublin, who have agreed to provide access to the major part of the material.

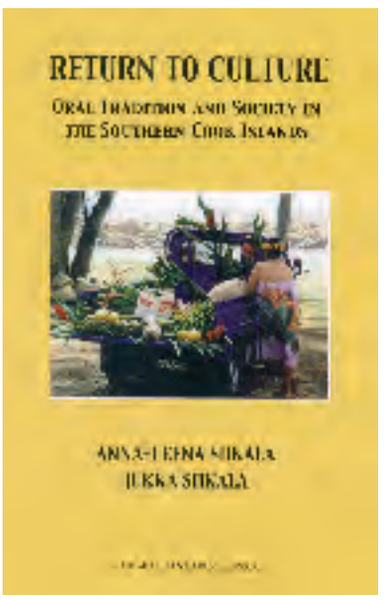
The full-time lecturers in Scottish Ethnology at the School of Scottish Studies. Seated (from left to right): Katherine Campbell, Margaret Mackay; standing: Gary West, Neill Martin, John Shaw. Photo by Ian MacKenzie.

Visit http://www.celtscot.ed.ac.uk

Reviews

Connecting across Disciplines, across Oceans

Anna-Leena Siikala and Jukka Siikala, *Return to Culture: Oral Tradition and Society in the Southern Cook Islands*. FF Communications 287. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 2005. ISBN 951-41-0965-1 (hard), 951-41-0966-X (soft)



Whether we come to it knowing the exact location of the Cook Islands in the Pacific Ocean or not, this is an important book for folk-narrative scholars. *Return to Culture: Oral Tradition and Society in the Southern Cook Islands* is a complex and ambitious study where analysis and metaphor, scholarship and vision, ethnography and theory are consciously set to work *at* one another in subtly transformative ways that are to impact not only its readers' understanding of culture, tradition, genre, and fieldwork, but the conceptualization of the place of Pacific cultures and traditions in European and American scholarly disciplines and knowledge-making.

In the introduction, the authors, Finnish folklorist Anna-Leena Siikala and anthropologist Jukka Siikala, announce: "This volume is an attempt to overcome the long-lasting differentiation of disciplinary practices that have molded theoretical understandings of the basic concept of culture that underlies both anthropological and folklore studies" (p. 15). To do so, they advocate a 'return to culture' not as a homogenizing and ethnocentric representation of the culture of the Other but, following Saussure, 'a system of differentiations' that is "the generating foundation of discursive practices and the interpretive ability of members of a cultural group" (p. 17). Narrative texts and social groups can be better understood when the analysis of texts is grounded in an understanding of meta-cultural norms and the analysis of social arrangements takes into account what is said about them by members of the group. The Siikalas conducted fieldwork in the Southern Cook Islands in the 1980s and 1990s, focusing on archival and published narratives as well as present-day social practices; 24 color photographs illustrate key aspects of Cook Islanders' everyday social interactions.

In a way, the South Pacific is the place of choice for this fieldwork and project because anthropological studies of the region abound while Polynesian oral narratives – and the authors invoke Ruth Finnegan's "Why the Comparatist Should Take Account of the South Pacific" – has not been an integral part of contemporary folklore studies. The Siikalas' approach to studying both the 'oral tradition' and 'society' of the Southern Cook islands in a comparative framework that is both geographical and disciplinary is, then, meant to call out problems to which an anthropology/folkloristics division of labor has lead and to also pull decidedly away from a primitivizing or condescending attitude that historically marked the inception of both disciplines. Neither move is simple or final. Their joint authorship strives for a shared methodological practice even as it re-inscribes the folkloristics/anthropology division of labor into the writing: Anna-Leena Siikala is responsible for chapters 2 and 4–9, Jukka Siikala for 1 and 10–14, both for chapter 3. Rather than focusing their attention on themselves as North-European researchers in the South Pacific, the authors' self-reflection takes the form of historiographic discussions of folkloristic and anthropological schools as well as of interventions in contemporary debates about the role of society and the state in a global economy that is also affecting so-called first-world countries.

Given the scope and ambition of this book, I think it best for me to state the obvious: the following reading of *Return to Culture* is necessarily shaped and limited by my disciplinary training, experience,

and perspective. I see myself as a scholar of folk and literary narrative trained in both European and American literary studies, folkloristics, and cultural studies (but not in anthropology), who has over the years benefited from participating in the American Folklore Society and the International Society for Folk-Narrative Research meetings. Living and teaching in Hawai'i since 1983, I have experience with the challenges that approaching Hawaiian (and more broadly Polynesian) narrative traditions poses to a scholar with my training and mental habits. Often the recognition of these challenges has resulted in scholarly silence. I am particularly attuned to how small a role Oceanic folk narratives play in contemporary folkloristics, and I want this book to make some difference.

Return to Culture consists of five parts. While acknowledging the role of colonization in the representation of Pacific island traditions – the subject of an excellent book by Paul Lyons, *American Pacificism* (2006) –'Interest in Oral Tradition' (pp. 21–57) focuses on the 'agency of the people studied' (p. 23) by documenting the Cook Islanders' participation in the process of an intertextual 'library creation' (p. 35) both in the nineteenth century when they were recontextualizing oral stories on paper, specifically in *puka tupuna* (family books), and in the mid-1970s when, as recorded in their national archives, the 'Ātiu islanders agreed to naming a virtual library or literature as constitutive of their history and identity without dictating the correct version of these stories. This documentation is punctuated in the first two chapters of this section by a reflection on voice and text, different recording approaches, the significance of focusing on power rather than communication in our approach to both performance and text, and the need for a dynamic understanding of tradition as 'process'. Drawing on the late Lauri Honko's approach to tradition and her collaborations with him, Anna-Leena Siikala writes: "Traditions may be constructions, selections or inventions, but they are not just any constructions" (p. 46): this impacts how we understand the 'invention of tradition' and 'authenticity' debate as it affects both "Western nation builders and the non-European people building their own identity by renewing elements of their own culture" (p. 41). The co-written third chapter 'Basic texts for culture' emphasizes how focusing on folklore primarily as communication and performance (what the authors identify as an American 1960s and 1970s approach) is inadequate in a Pacific Island society where islanders value *kōrero* or narrative traditions as their history and where the knowledge of *kōrero* – for which special individuals are responsible in different contexts – is tied to political and land rights

Part II, 'Strategies for Reproduction', is a very rich discussion of genre in which Anna-Leena Siikala contrasts the discursive practices of Southern Cook Islanders' *kōrero* with the 'European model of narrative collection' in particular of legends (p. 60). The *Kōrero* is delivered as *papa'anga* (genealogies) and *tua tai'to* (ancestors' stories): linked to history as generational connection and landmarks both, the stories' meaning is lost when recontextualized in a printed collection of individual legends. I have been studying a similar mismatch occurring in the translation of Hawaiian *mo'olelo* as 'legends'. Siikala argues for an inclusion of the role of *puka papa'anga*, Cook Islanders' manuscripts containing genealogical and topographic information, in research focused on their longer narratives – since this would bring history and agency back into the picture – and for an appreciation of the specialized knowledge that goes into becoming a *tumu kōrero* (teacher/teller of [hi]story). The final part of this section focuses on spatial memory and natural landmarks as 'concrete testimonies of the islands' history' (p. 120): to me it is the core of the book, the mapping that draws out a Polynesian counter-narrative of (hi)story, one that connects stories, generations, and place in ways that anticipate and complement the conclusion of Part V.

Because concepts of time, place, and story are 'culturally oriented' (p. 133), 'Interpreting Narratives' (pp. 132–90) demands that we think of understanding stories as framed by translation, or questions of translatability. Thus, in Part III Anna-Leena Siikala approaches narrative interpretation as framed by cultural expectations – those of the teller as well as those of the listener or collector; if the story comes from an 'alien culture', the scholar "must understand basic cultural models in order to organize the background knowledge and the logic of the narrative" (p. 139). Her case study starts with the observation that food is prominent in Polynesian narratives and moves to a multi-faceted discussion connecting pigs, children, adopted children, flowers, and land in a web of loving or reciprocal relations. This understanding of 'shared knowledge' (p. 154) among Cook Islanders does not result, however, in the performance of one meaning: the comparison of several narratives focused on the historical character of Moenau shows how greed is consistently punished but the drama can take different dimensions depending on the teller's interpretation of the relationship between commoners and chiefs or the history of inter-island conflicts.

Parts IV and V are closely connected and written by Jukka Siikala. 'Metaphors for Society' investigates social arrangements in the Cook Islands by analyzing "the way people themselves create their sociability", meaning what the foundations for their social relations are and how people talk about them

(p. 191). The discussion focuses on questions of continuity, hierarchy, and origin; the framework is often comparative with other Polynesian societies. Perhaps because I am not an anthropologist, I found this section the most dense and difficult to follow. I see how it counters the older European understanding of Polynesian social structure as simple and how it moves towards an understanding of both cosmology and society founded on a culturally oriented notion of 'becoming' which is not equivalent to that of parentage in Western genealogies. But the details and connections escape me – and this points in a way to how difficult it is to overcome the limits of different disciplinary practices without serious training in both, which the writers have but not every reader will.

Part V, 'Returnings: State and Culture', has a philosophical and political bent that I did not expect following Part IV, and it is with Part II the part of the book that is most suggestive for the future of non-islander studies of the Pacific Islands. When Jukka Siikala asks 'Whose state is impossible?' his perspective is a pointed response to those who wonder about the viability of small independent states in the Pacific. While he does not dwell on the detailed economy of Tonga, Samoa, or the Cook Islands (which is part of the challenge that these nations do face), he does consider these states *and* every state in the globe as affected by the globalization of the economy: the 'zombie-institution' of the state is becoming weaker everywhere; and, as Lamont Lindstrom and Geoffrey White have pointed out, he notes that there is a return to 'the chiefs' – social institutions that modernity considered primitive and are now regaining political visibility – in struggles all over the globe (p. 245). Siikala recognizes that all over the world there is a "need for culturally legitimate structures of authority" (p. 256) and suggests that kin-based social organizations or chieftainships "can become a way of organizing, not international (between states), but world politics" (p. 257). It is from within this larger framework that Jukka Siikala conducts a comparative analysis of how 'chiefs' have played different roles in the history of three Pacific Island societies and how these institutions have changed or assumed 'unexpected tasks' (p. 245) in dealing with the challenges of emigration or diaspora in a global economy.

Countering an Orientalist or 'Pacificist' approach, the point of this analysis is to re-consider the crisis of the Western modern nation-state in relation to what 'colonial hubris' (p. 9) had reduced to the traditions of the Other: to learn from the long and changing Polynesian history of social organization. The final chapter 'Tilling the Soil and Sailing the Seas' brings this home methodologically for the disciplines of folkloristics and anthropology: what does doing 'fieldwork' mean today when the global tourist industry brings thousands of visitors to, e.g., the Cook Islands every year and Cook Islanders again by the thousands leave their home islands to work in New Zealand, the USA, and Australia? Critiquing both James Clifford's move towards 'fieldwork as travelling' (p. 262) and Arjun Appadurai's understanding of 'ethnographic incarceration' as enabled by a "native" practical attitude towards and attachment to place (p. 266), Jukka Siikala reads two Rarotongan narratives to get at Polynesian meta-cultural concepts of being in the world – and he does so in relation to both Epeli Hau'ofa's indigenous remapping of the Pacific as Oceania ('Our Sea of Islands' and 'The Ocean in Us') and Martin Heidegger's notion of 'dwelling'. This reading brings out the beginning of an understanding of how metaphors like the rooted tree and the sailing canoe, land and sea, and the modes of myth and history – all seemingly opposites from a Western and modernist perspective – are smoothly connected in Cook Islander oral tradition and society. "The place of the society is where 'it is going on'" (p. 278) is one of the lessons for us as people and researchers to take to heart.

The Cook Islands are in the South Pacific, more precisely in Central Polynesia. A modern state in free association with New Zealand, they consist of 15 volcanic islands and coral atolls that are quite distant from one another. Their political neighbors are other island-states like Niue, American Samoa, Kiribati, and French Polynesia – all to some degree still dealing with colonization since decolonization does "not eliminate colonialism in the same way as the decaffeination process frees coffee of its most significant stimulating substance" (p. 21). The capital Avarua is on Rarotonga, the largest island in the Cooks; the language is similar to New Zealand's Maori; the islands' population is over 20,000, with more than 40,000 Cook Islanders living in New Zealand and 5,000 in Australia; statistics for 1992 show there were 72,000 tourists visiting the Cook Islands, and that industry is growing. Connecting the practice of anthropology, the study of the far-away Other, with that of folkloristics, historically the study of the home-grown Other, is the stated goal of this book; a broader subtext is connecting the future of peoples at opposite ends of the colonial-imperialist divide in less destructive ways by re-orienting Euro-American ways of being in the world and with others.

I should state at this point that my reading of *Return to Culture* may be more politicized than the text is, but suggestions for this reading are definitely there in the discussions of political economy, post-colonial debates, and disciplinary historiography in relation to the Cook Islands' oral traditions and society. At times, I wished for something more. Indig-

enous scholarship from Oceania is meagerly represented, perhaps because its discussions of oral traditions are intervening in the field of history rather than folkloristics or anthropology; comparisons between the Cook Islands and Hawai'i – which lost its sovereignty to the United States of America and is struggling to regain it – are based at times on generalizations made by Western anthropologists who have been taken to task by Hawaiian scholars; a Western phenomenological and symbolic tradition of thought seems to hover over and even encompass at times the claims to social critique; and there is no discussion of contemporary performances of oral traditions as impacted, for instance, by tourism and emigration. As I put the finishing touches to this review, I have just returned from the *hoike* of the Hawaiian Charter School *Hālau Kū Mana* where high-school students theatrically adapted and danced to Hawaiian *mo'olelo* as the outcome of their learning about Hawaiian places, customs, social arrangements, and values; including such narratives along with the ones used in political speeches and tourist shows into the study of 'oral tradition and society' would make a further difference, especially in addressing contemporary issues of political struggle and globalization. And in a society where sovereignty is a much-contested goal rather than a reality, the notion of the nation-state as 'zombie-institution' has potentially a different valence than it does for first-world countries or 'postcolonial' ones. So the theory in *Return to Culture* works best for me when it is connected with the archival and field work conducted in the Cook Islands specifically rather than in the comparisons (which however play an important part in forwarding the general goal of not homogenizing culture and the meanings of tradition). And my reaction ends up reinforcing the book's conclusion that the "interpretation of [a] conceptual world is possible only by analysing the practical activities in a specific location" (p. 279).

Overall, *Return to Culture* delivers what it sets out to do, and its project is admirable and potentially transformative of the contemporary disciplinary habitus of Western-trained folk-narrative scholars. I'll briefly point to a few of the magic seeds, but the generative force of this study will impact scholars in their specific locations of fieldwork differently. The study of written texts – manuscripts or published collections – is fruitful when focusing on oral traditions from the Pacific because – counter to stereotype – in many instances (though to different extents) Polynesians made use of the technology of writing in the nineteenth century to preserve their own stories. This is a text-based study – and as such has its limitations – but it purports to be one that pushes the 'culture as text' grid into a more interconnected disciplinary practice. Folk-narrative scholarship needs to be in conversation not only with anthropology, literary studies, and history, but with cultural studies, philosophy, political economy, and cultural geography. Interdisciplinarity is a goal rather than a method, a worthy one that involves intra-disciplinary transformations rather than simple exchange. Learning the languages of the people whose narrative traditions we study is essential: is that learning one of the obstacles to a more planetary (rather than global, in Gayatri Spivak's terms) conception of contemporary folkloristics? Highlighting, rather than masking, the role of translation in the representation of narrative traditions – especially those of the Other – is an important tool to unmake 'colonial hubris'. Genres and genre distinctions are not the same all over the world. Small, 'traditional' societies rest on conceptual worlds that extend much farther than 'modern' Euro-Americans habitually imagine: connecting with them does not takes us to paradise but to a possible re-orientation and re-evaluation of 'culture'. And there are ways to acknowledge this re-orientation that do not paradoxically narrow the ethnographic focus primarily on to the fieldworkers. None of these are entirely new ideas, but together, and in the context of a study of the Southern Cook Islands that seeks to address European and American scholars in several disciplines, they chart some challenging journeys for Western folkloristics and transnational oral-narrative studies.

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Forthcoming in the FF Communications

FFC 289. *Kristin Kuutma,*
Collaborative Representations: Interpreting the Creation of a Sámi Ethnography and a Seto Epic
Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

Forthcoming in August 2006

Cultural representations are constructed through interaction of cultural researchers and culture bearers. A study of collaborative processes that resulted in published representations of Sámi and Seto traditional culture requires an exploration of the emerged voices and representational agencies, editorial activities and reception histories. The focus of this book revolves around two manifestly representative texts from the early twentieth century: Johan Turi's story of Sámi experience *Muitalus sámiid birra* and the Seto epic *Peko* performed by Anne Vabarna. The current analysis of the complex performative interaction between the culture bearer, his or her repertoire, and the culture researcher benefits from an interdisciplinary anthropological and folkloristic approach, informed by hybridity and the blurring of disciplinary boundaries in historicizing inquiries into cultural documentation and textual practices.

FFC 290. *Laura Stark,*
The Magical Self: Body, Self and Society in Early Modern Rural Fnland
Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

Forthcoming in September 2006

Just over a century ago, sorcery and witchcraft were still part of the social dynamics of rural Finnish communities. In some parts of the countryside, people used magic rites to attempt to bring harm to their enemies as late as the 1950s. Tens of thousands of descriptions of magic and sorcery provide rare glimpses into the social pressures and tensions people experienced in their everyday lives. They also tell us how early modern persons understood self and body in ways that differ from today. Why did persons believe in magic? Why did narratives on magical harm circulate throughout rural communities? Why was a reputation for sorcery useful in nineteenth-century village life? In this book, the author traces out important social and psychological features underlying magic in early modern agrarian Finland and neighbouring Karelia. She argues that behaviours and beliefs linked to magic and the supernatural did not disappear from daily life simply because persons were educated in new scientific and materialist belief systems. What changed were the surrounding social, ecological and economic conditions which made magic a reasonable strategy in nineteenth-century daily life. When these conditions were transformed, so were people's modes of thought and experience.

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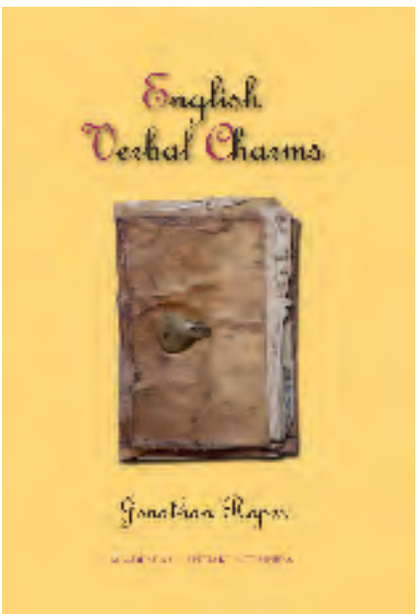

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FFC 288. *Jonathan Roper,*
English Verbal Charms
Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 2005. 242 pp.
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Some of the earliest English writings that now survive are records of verbal charms. They mark the beginning of a millennium-long semi-continuous record of traditional verbal charms, which runs until almost the present day. This represents a remarkable set of data for a vernacular language, and yet when charms have been studied in the past, Anglo-Saxonists, later medievalists, antiquarians and Victorian folklorists have each focussed on their particular period, and the full span of the material has not been addressed. *English Verbal Charms* aims to provide a description of the genre of charms and the practice of charming by drawing on the surviving data from the entire period. It also presents a discussion of charm-types found in England, mentioning wherever possible their European analogues.

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