I. K. Inha photographed Viena Karelia, the birthplace of the Kalevala in 1895. 'The little mistress (emäntä) of the house' picture of Kostamus, near the Finnish border, represents Inha's classic work. Courtesy of the Finnish Literature Society (SKS).

Folklore Performance and the Sense of Belonging

by *Anna-Leena Siikala*, Professor
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The next Folklore Fellows' Summer School 'Oral Poetry and Field Work' will be held in Viena, Russian Karelia. Villagers there celebrate their own traditions as in many other localities of today's world. In Venehjärvi, where I. K. Inha took his classic photos of Karelian culture in 1895, local men nowadays organise the yearly sacrificial ritual on Pogorocha day every year. In this and other local festivals, the singing group of women, called Marthas of Vuokkiniemi, performs old Kalevalaic poems. The strengthening of the local and the marginal is a typical feature of today's globalised world. During the process of change, ethnic groups seek to establish their identity, consciously constructing it by the bricoleur technique, exploiting and creating their past and their traditions.

A folklore collective of Bessermen, a tiny ethnic group of the Republic of Udmurtia, Russia. Anna-Leena Siikala (front), Elina Rahimova and Pekka Hakamies also appear in the picture.

Folklore collectives, which perform at festivals, at visits and at home during cultural events have an important place in the creation of contemporary ethnic self-awareness. Understanding of local culture depends on the ideas given by ethnologists and by folkloristists. Cultural portraits created by researchers have been transmitted to local people through museums, folklore publications and exhibitions. In Russia, the huge influence of the state in the creation of locally visible representations of ethnicity is evident in the folklore collectives in rural villages. During the 1930s, leading Russian folklorists recommended folklore as a basis for socialist folk art. Since the 1990s the celebration of festivals in individual villages and towns has been much favoured; the programmes include presentations by the republic's folklore groups both amateur and professional.

Among the Finno-Ugrian people of Russia, collectives performing traditional material are very varied; groups range from those which live the tradition to those which present it on stage, and school professional directors. Performers are often older women, who can express *joi de vivre* in a colourful and impressive manner. Why do the women gather together? The standard answer to the question, 'Why do you sing?', is 'For the soul and myself.'

The groups are displays of creative female togetherness. Culturally and politically, however, they have a broader significance. Folklore and its dissemination are important tools for belonging together. It is precisely here that the festivals' vital force lies. In everyday life, the sense of belonging is experienced through reciprocity and mutual help.

Special acts, performances and arenas heighten the feeling of belonging. Folklore and its public performance are powerful instruments in creating the emotional experience of belonging together.

Collectivity in Folklore

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Collectivity has been considered one of the defining characteristics or distinguishing features of the essence of folklore along with orality, anonymity and formulaicness (e.g. Virtanen 1988: 24). Folklore has been defined as artistic communication in a small group, and transmission through face-to-face contacts has been regarded as characteristic of it. Folklore arises from a song, narrative or saying of an individual only when an audience has received it and sung or narrated it on to others. Folklore is not merely normal speech, for there is always a community behind it. The concept of the collectivity of folklore was given a more precise definition when Albert Eskeröd in the 1940s presented his viewpoint on the 'collective tradition', which he believed was qualitatively more and quantitatively less than the sum of individual traditions: the collective tradition was that part of an individual tradition which had passed through social control and become a community tradition (Eskeröd 1947: 77–8).

The roots, or the wider social background, of the definition of collective tradition presented by Eskeröd and cited by many others is to be found in Emil Durkheim's concept of 'collective representation', presented at the beginning of the twentieth century (Durkheim 1977: 42; Knuuttila 1992: 65). It is characteristic of both perspectives that the distinctive features outlined by the concept cannot be exhaustively traced back to individual characteristics, but rather that collectivity is something which lends the concept its own particular essence.

The philosophers John Searle and Raimo Tuomela have similarly developed the concept of 'collective intentionality', in which the relationship between the individual and the collective is analogical with that between individual and collective tradition, in the sense that collectivity cannot be traced exhaustively back to individual intentions (Searle 1995: 24–5; Tuomela 2002: 5–8).[1]

A scientific philosophical basis for the concepts of collectivity and collective representation can be found in the model of three worlds proposed by Karl Popper and adapted specifically for cultural phenomena by Ilkka Niiniluoto (Niiniluoto 1990:

14–37; Niiniluoto 2002: 23–5). In this model phenomena exist on one level physically, in the world called World 1, and on a second level as subjective experience and knowledge in World 2. In addition there is a World 3, the creation of human beings, which contains among other things various cultural phenomena and which in the end depends ontologically on the first two worlds but in a certain way is autonomous. Thus although the Sampo poem or the proverb *Parempi virsta väärää kuin vaaksa vaaraa* ('Better a mile wrong than an inch of danger', approximately) exist physically as records and recordings and in print in World 1, and as phenomena in the minds of a greater or lesser number of people in World 2, it is impossible to demonstrate any kind of essential place of existence in either; both the Sampo poem and the proverb are essentially independent of the individual entities of Worlds 1 and 2, though existence in World 3 in the end is based on the first two worlds, in other words no independent, ideal existence is posited.[2]

Lauri Honko once suggested that folklore exists on the one hand in performances and on the other in people's minds and memories (Honko 1980: 30). In this way folklore is situated particularly as a phenomenon of World 2, which exists as subjective experience and knowledge. Later Honko formed the concept of 'mental text' to depict more precisely how a long folklore epic existed subjectively in the mind of an individual between performances (Honko 1998: 94). At least according to materialist perspectives an existence in World 1 as a physical entity is also inevitable, and here folklore can be seen as the ink on the paper, as magnetic characteristics of the tape or as zeros and ones in digital memory—or as an electrochemical imprint in the human brain. A text becomes folklore above all by existing in World 3 as a cultural, collective phenomenon, without resort to any individual's memory or performance, or any particular physical documentation. In the end, the existence of folklore in World 3 is based on the first two worlds. If some piece of folklore disappears from people's minds, and is not documented in the circles of World 1, it automatic-

ally ceases to exist. Thus we may do no more than wonder whether ancient mythic runes were sung in South-West Finland (Varsinais-Suomi), since the tradition, which may once have existed, has ceased to exist as a subjective memory, nor has it been recorded in the form of physical documents.

Thanks to collectivity, folklore is not merely individual speech, but something that possesses more than normal evidential force when, for example, researching folk belief, cultural models, values and mentalities. At times the special status of folklore also appears in its communicative use. Through folklore it is possible to express matters indirectly and in a sense retreat from the responsibility of saying something, possibly unpleasant, directly to someone's face. Folklore offers a means to show that behind what is actually said is a second authority, greater than the individual, to which the speaker retreats. A greater authority is drawn upon too when a performer of a healing charm asserts: *en puhu omalla suulla, puhun suulla puhtahalla, Herran hengellä hyvällä* (SKVR VII$_3$ 739, 887) ('I do not speak with my own mouth, I speak with a clean mouth, with the good spirit of the Lord').

The authority lent by collectivity appears clearly in proverbs, which in performance may have a preface attached immediately beforehand: 'The old saying is true, that / As it is said: "Better a mile wrong than an inch of danger."' (E.g. Briggs 1988: 105–6; also Hain 1951.) The use of proverbs is often a clear sign of relying on their authority as crystallisations of collective experience and wisdom, and there are concrete examples of how an individual's expressions only turn into proverbs when others are aware of the expression's generic nature and begin using it over and again in various situations where its generalising basic meaning is consistent with the speaker's intent.

How can a text be recognised as a piece of folklore on the basis of collectivity? Methods include its repeated appearance in speech or the number of occurrences in archival records. The frequency of repetition gives an indication of how centrally the text in question belongs to its users' general collective folklore and how much empirical value it has when, for example, drawing conclusions about the value system of the community.

At times other features such as mode of presentation and stylistic and structural characteristics may indicate to the listener that a folklore text is being delivered. This has been emphasised in the presentation-centred method of folklore research (Bauman 1978: 22), and in epic research John Miles Foley has continued to develop a theory of how the recognition of a performed text as folklore automatically starts a process in which tradition-aware listeners seek out in their minds meanings differing from the normal in the text and its parts (Foley 1995). A listener, in recognising a text as folklore, can automatically claim that collectivity too belongs centrally to the text's characteristics, and that the text is to be received and understood as something other than a normal turn of phrase.

The categorisation of texts and the recognition of them as folklore becomes problematic in a situation when the text itself contains no features to aid identification, and the listener does not have previous knowledge of the text's repeated performance or the records of it, which would provide grounds for concluding it belonged to the collective tradition. People tell each other stories every day that they have heard about things which in some way or other seem worthy of telling because they are unusual, amusing, clever or remarkable for their content in some other way. The listener may think that 'It happens' or 'Would you believe it?', but hearing it again in a slightly different form and with the events placed perhaps in a different setting may reveal that it is a piece of collective folklore and not an individual story. Similarly, an individual record in an archive does not normally provide the wherewithal to conclude that the item in question belongs to folklore. Only when there are several records can we claim the material is folklore (cf. Lehtipuro 1982: 47), and correspondingly its existence is no longer to be traced back to any individual document.

The recognition of a text as folklore marks a change in its relationship to reality in the eyes of the researcher. For a listener and a narrator folklore may be just everyday narration, which is believed to communicate information about reality. For the researcher folklore on the other hand does not, according to its nature, tell facts about individual happenings or matters, but it presents a picture of the narrators' views of what it is considered possible to happen or what is believed to have happened in the past—if it is a realistic genre of folklore that is under consideration. Different genres of tradition have noticeably different relationships to reality: in fairy tales reality is depicted quite differently from in an urban myth, for example.

The research field in folkloristics has changed as classical close-text-based folklore has declined and lost its former significance from the perspective

of the community as a meaningful preserver and transmitter of knowledge, as society and culture have modernised and perhaps finally postmodernised. Beside folklore in the narrow sense, remembered knowledge and oral history have become objects of research, as well as experience narratives and nowadays increasingly the investigation of a particular phenomenon in the community using narration as the research material. This has raised new questions, such as what the relationship of the new objects of research is to folklore and its typical features, counting collectivity among them.

Within research into oral history there have developed concepts of 'historical memory', 'collective memory' and 'social memory'. They appear very much analogous to the concept of collective tradition, although I have not yet seen definitions to the effect that 'collective memory is quantitatively less and qualitatively more than the sum of individual memories' (cf. Peltonen 1996: 30). Points of convergence with folklore are found at least in content, function and performance, when it is a matter of recounted history. Common points may be found too in the goals of research, when from behind narration and narratives there is an attempt to reach cultural patterns or collective images.

Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett a decade ago suggested changes that were taking place in the field of folklore research. She examined how new media are putting into question many of the characteristics considered typical of folklore, such as face-to-face communication, oral transmission, community and identity (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995: 73). Mates writing in front of a computer terminal may never have met or may not know each other's real name, but nevertheless may exchange messages, which has interested folklorists.

First copy machines and then computers and mobile phones with their text and picture messages have changed the nature of folklore and its manner of transmission. Yet one central characteristic remains, collectivity, and anonymity is also often associated with it. Few if any know who started circulating the imaginary conversation between President Bush and his secretary of state, Condoleezza Rice, in the form of an email attachment on the topic 'Hu's the new leader of China' at the end of 2002,[3] but the text spread quickly around the world. After the terrorist strike of 11 September 2001 one person after another received a text message in Finland in which 'Osama' asked for a few nights' accommodation, as everyone hated him so much, and the signatory for sure was not the original sender of the message. There were innumerable recipients and transmitters of both the email and the text message.

Collectivity goes a long way to defining the nature of folklore and its special features as compared with other forms of communication between people. Just as the classically defined form of folklore has dwindled and the object of folklorists' researches are more often the various phenomena of modern culture, so the old characteristic features like orality and transmission through face-to-face contact in small groups have lost their former significance. Nevertheless, collectivity has taken on a more central role than hitherto in defining the object of folklorists' research.

When spiritual folk culture as an object of folklorists' research is defined as a cultural notion with images, concepts, feelings and stances (cf. Siikala and Siikala 2005: 49), then among the characteristics of the phenomenon being investigated there always belongs collectivity, regardless of the fact that today the research material may be very individual, such as narratives of experience or personal stories. Many other fields of research make use of similar material, and the objectives of research may be similar. This poses a challenge for folklorists: they must show that their method of examining the material brings to research in general and to the cross-over of sciences a contribution such as is not afforded by other disciplines. At the same time folkloristics must bear in mind that folklore exists and that its research in a contemporary and interesting way is their special task.

Translated by Clive Tolley

Notes

1   According to Searle the concept of 'social fact', which points to the phenomena of a social reality created by people, always contains collective intentionality. Durkheim already employed the concept 'social fact', and Searle's concept does not appear to differ from it in any significant way (Searle 1995: 38). David Wiggins has examined the existence of a certain language in the manner of the above mentioned as social object which cannot be traced to the individual psychology of the language's speakers (Wiggins 1997: 499).

2   Karl Reichl, investigating the nature of the existence of folklore beyond the performed texts, sees the assumption of a Popperian World 3 as a switch from nominalism to Platonism (Reichl 2000: 107). On the other hand Niiniluoto rejects Platonism in the manner of existence of World 3 (Niiniluoto 1990: 25–32).

3   E.g. http://www.ma.huji.ac.il/~hart/humor/hu.html. Read 7.12.2006.

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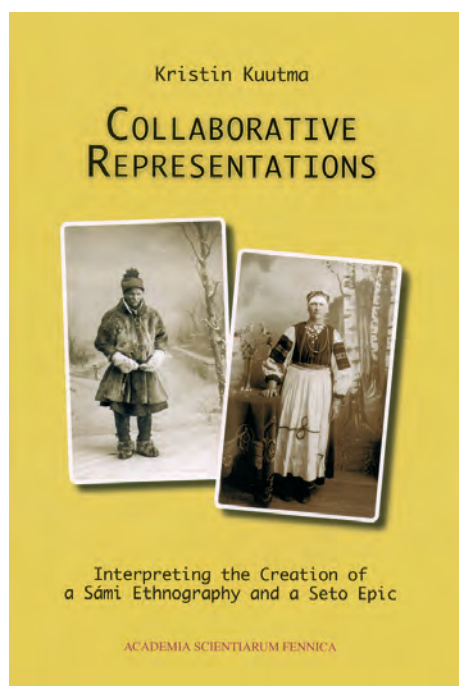
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Cultural representations are constructed through interaction of cultural researchers and culture bearers. A study of collaborative processes that resulted in published representations of Sámi and Seto traditional culture requires an exploration of 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.

Changing Codified Symbols of Identity

by *Kristin Kuutma,* Associate Professor, Department of Estonian and Comparative Folkloristics and Senior Research Fellow, Department of Ethnology, University of Tartu

The verbal and musical performance called singing, an important element of expressive culture, has powerful social functions both on a personal and a communal level besides the observable aesthetic ones. It is a mobilising mechanism at targeted social gatherings but also a means to manifest codified symbols, and to construct or express identities. A strategic maintenance and performance of particular repertoires situates individuals in a cultural and political context.

The resurgence of the celebration of the Seto and Sámi identities in recent decades has played a significant role as a cultural and political strategy of self-definition and self-maintenance; it is perceived as a value-laden alternative to mainstream hegemonies that reflect socio-political condition. One observable scene of Seto and Sámi identity negotiation is provided by songs, simultaneously manifesting difference and integrating a community. They reflect the agenda of the creation of cultural selfhood in small marginal communities, which find themselves embedded in larger national or transnational entities. In this contribution, I propose to take a brief look at the Seto *leelo* and Sámi *joik* as codified symbols which are performed at larger public venues or disseminated via contemporary technical mediation and reproduction. My observation of the emergent interplay of communal tradition and subjective creativity in cultural performance highlighting identity manifestation includes the perspective of the performer in discussing the symbolic significance of *leelo* and *joik*—representative elements of respective cultural heritage—both on personal and communal level.

Identities and Cultural Heritage

Identities are constructed and negotiated in the discursive context of interrelations or oppositions; it is in fact a relative and dialogical process with 'the other', a process of constitution of self for others. The internal self-definition reflects the community's self-representational ideals; it mediates a narrative of genesis by which people situate and establish themselves in a wider global context. Experienced periods of turbulent and unsettling social change usually create in a community a need for unifying symbols to boost the sense of connectedness with an overall goal of establishing the difference between 'us' and 'them'. The created common cultural framework and its expressive language are based on the representation of cultural heritage as a common national symbol.

The awareness of cultural heritage and its significance in identity construction has coincided with the modern process of documenting and promoting past repertoires and practices. Objects and elements of previous cultural experience are transformed into heritage as fragments that are decontextualised, in order to recontextualise them in a novel situation of representation that transforms them into national or ethnic symbols.[1] The production and management of ethnic identities are negotiated in the discursive context of interrelations or oppositions, and they reflect power play developments in the region. In the process of identity construction, people implement the sequence of reflections of yet other reflections where they define themselves socially, politically or culturally in relation to others or to the outside world. These versatile mirrors are situated in space and time, through which people construct for themselves a history and a future that represents and manifests them for the others (Friedman 1992: 853). On the other hand, the cultural strategies of self-definition and self-maintenance reflect interplay between the present local and global processes. 'Cultural identities, whether local, regional, national or state-related, are constructed on the basis of various loyalties and allegiances, economic and political interests and historically specific relations, which are always locally experienced, albeit at the same time in many ways translocally, even globally, constituted' (Anttonen 2005: 123). Cultural identities are produced in a wider discourse of political rights; they manifest a reaction to political and administrative authority of homogenisation (cf. Friedman 1994). The discursive process of heritage identification, the negotiation and constitution of past and present selfhood for insider and outsider purposes, appears intently under the conditions of cultural and political marginalisation when a community feels

endangered from without and sets out to define its cultural boundaries as a strategy of self-defence.

Under the pressure of dynamic modernisation and globalisation, the role and significance of traditional cultural expressions acquire particular poignancy. People turn to their cultural heritage to find means of expression that carry the values of tradition and reflect current concerns, both social and political. Tradition comes to serve as a reservoir to which one resorts in search of artistic elements and aesthetic features that address the cultural and ethnic identities in question. In this framework, singing traditions—though generically associated with the past—render a response to the present day. Tradition as a symbolic representation is constructed on the interpretation of the past in the present moment, to further particular social and ideological concerns; a tradition acquires salient significance as an interpretation of the past that is intended to render meaning to the current moment (cf. Handler and Linnekin 1984). In a similar vein, the concept of authenticity—underscored or contested in connection with such recontextualised performances of expressive culture—is fundamentally temporal whereas the moment of authenticity is defined in the present. That is, the essence of tradition, its endorsing category of authenticity is created and determined in the present. The construction of tradition, or its invention, is essentially a process of formalisation and ritualisation—it is generally a reaction to an alteration of circumstance, and occurs often in a situation when the swift social transition weakens or destroys previously established social patterns (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). And it is geared towards creating a unified cultural expression, with an eventual goal of establishing representative cultural symbols.

The modern *leelo* and *joik* performers employ different means of mediation to interact with an audience and to communicate their message. They appear in public arenas and resort to technologies of reproduction; private or public concerts have been complemented by or paralleled with CDs and books. The Seto and Sámi performers live in the conditions of postmodern reality, in the contemporary technological environment and under the influence of the overwhelming tendencies of the northern European common cultural mainstream. In such a context, certain established traditional modes of communication no longer prevail, and it becomes irrelevant to draw a distinct line between oral or literary transmission, oral or literary means of expression. From the perspective of an analysis of identity negotiation and signification in cultural performance oral and literary means submerge on the performative arena. In the discussion below, I have codified such representative performers respectively as 'the Seto singer' and 'the Sámi poet' (while the poet is also a singer and the singer a poet), to retain their status in this discourse as creative individuals who consciously represent a community.[2] Those symbolic representatives are deeply rooted and simultaneously distanced from their communities, combining the insider and outsider perspective in their predominant involvement in the mainstream culture. The latter detachment has obliged them to seek powerful artistic means in order to address and interact with their community of heritage and to express their personal experience of cultural identity. Although their means of expression deviate, they implement traditional poetic framework in order to communicate their unique experience of Seto-ness or Sámi-ness, and to celebrate the artistic potential of their traditional heritage.

The Seto Leelo on the Festival Arena

The Seto identity construction emanates from a combination of versatile liminalities, rising from their geographical placement in the border zone between south-eastern Estonia and Russia. A complex interplay of continuous social and political marginalisation on the one hand and an active idolisation of Seto cultural heritage on the other define their cultural expression (see Kuutma 1996). Those powerful external constraints have produced significant internal response, revealed in the sentient traditionalisation of Seto culture, which empowers particular groups, rhetorics and interests. The Seto are distinguished from other Estonians by language, lifestyle and religious practices. Though their language is linguistically affiliated to Estonian, their historical cultural practices are defined by the Russian Orthodox Church, which contrasts with the predominant Protestant Lutheranism in Estonia proper. On the socio-political level the Seto seem to be integrated into the general prevailing Estonian framework (into which they were adopted territorially and socio-politically only in the 1920s), but particularly during the last decade when a significant part of the Seto district has been officially annexed to Russia—which leaves the historical center of the region inaccessible behind the Russian border—the painful constraints of the mainstream *realpolitik* have made the Seto increasingly conscious of their regional, historical and cultural identity, which to-

The Seto singer communicates on festival stage. Photo by Kristin Kuutma.

The singing woman's voice continues to express Seto subjectivity, and the Seto Kingdom Day event provides a significant arena for a Seto singer in the presence of a competent audience that appreciates poetic talent and understands the message articulated through artistic expression. In this context, the singer creates for herself a subjectivity which she expects will assimilate with those listening to her. Her songs function in this setting as a collective identity marker where subjective identity merges with the images of traditional cultural expression and everyday experience, which consequently unfold into a representation of collective experience. Songs rendering personal histories simultaneously express collective

day is manifested as a distinctive ethnic political identity (cf. Jääts 1998, Sarv 1997, Raun 1991).

The Seto celebrate various community festivals where the mobilising mechanism or permeating component of the occasion is singing. Seto traditional songlore *leelo*, performed in a particular call-response style with the lead singer and a chorus group, has become an explicit identity marker at any communal gathering of that ethnic group. The major community celebration of today that embraces the Seto all over the region, and where the versatility of Seto expressive culture and handicraft skills are featured at its best, is the *Seto Kuningriigi päiv* (Kingdom Day). This annual event, including a singing contest, conceptualises and contextualises Seto identity and cultural heritage for the Seto on both personal and communal levels. Although men are relatively active in various capacities, the greatest numbers of performers are women; they are the singers participating in the song contest. During the contest, singers who are exceptionally skilled at composing songs in the traditional ancient Baltic-Finnish verse pattern perform their (usually impromptu) compositions with their *leelo* chorus which is familiar with their style and traditional melodies. The lyrics are customarily composed by the lead singer. All the contestants in the singing category are women. Only occasionally do one or two men appear in the chorus group. Singing is undoubtedly part of Seto women's culture today. This showcasing of a folklore genre has an enormous empowering effect: a Seto woman who demonstrates her talent as a traditional *leelo* singer is greatly honoured by the whole community (cf. Sarv 1995).

memory. The socio-political issues addressed in the songs relate to current burning issues affecting the everyday reality of the Seto. At the same time, the communal stage is not the only arena where the modern Seto singer appears. She has entered into mainstream Estonian culture as a representative of a redeemed marginality in new, transforming postmodern cultural spaces where the focus has turned to the recovery of 'authenticity' in cultural experience. The Seto *leelo* groups are invited to cultural festivals all over Estonia and often represent Estonian culture on the national level at various venues abroad. The Seto singer with her impressive visual appearance in traditional costume and style of performance that echoes an inheritance of age-old textual and musical expression embellished with ancient mythological beliefs has shifted from quaint marginality to the reconstructed centre of transformed cultural imaginaries. The Seto singer performs today before audiences of outsiders where she emerges as a marker of identity and cultural representation.

The Sámi Joik Mediated in Publication

The socio-political history of the Sámi, living today dispersed on the northernmost territories of four countries—Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia—has been defined by the negotiation of their subjectivity and identity with hegemonic dominant cultures expanding towards the north. The Sámi have declared themselves to be united as a people by language, livelihood, culture and history. But those identity markers do not appear as clearly outlined,

connecting entities. On ecological, economic, regional, linguistic and social grounds the Sámi may be divided into a number of component cultures with their own history, identity and symbol system. Their cultural self-representation in the context of a multitude of Sámi dialects, of different communal units of coastal, mountain or forest Sámi—or of urban Sámi, for that matter—and of deviating livelihood practices in nomadic or sedentary communities, nevertheless appears radically unified to the outside world. Despite their immediate historical and personal identity constraints, the public arena of cultural and social performance constructs a unified Sámi identity. A Sámi artist consciously promoting the Sámi culture has to succeed in managing and prevailing over arrays of identities, languages and cultural competence (see Gaski 1997a).

Instrumental culture-building projects combine processes of integration and standardisation and aspire to consolidate arenas of communication and interaction with the goal of producing a cohesive community. For the Sámi, this has meant the collectivisation of conceptions and images to forge a unified ethnic identity. The Sámi have had to learn to recognise and identify with a synthesis of different Sámi livelihoods, languages and folkways. Their history, culture and distinctiveness were recodified into a 'common cultural estate' (Eidheim 1997). At the same time, such conscious construction of cultural identity is a task that requires both internal and external communication. In order to create a symbolic community, identity markers have to be created for the 'insiders' of the community, and this identity also has to be marketed to the outside world as a distinctive kind of 'otherness' as well (Löfgren 1989, DuBois 2000). The emerging Sámi cultural elite have set themselves the task of establishing recognisable cultural markers which purport to subvert certain internalised stigmatisations. An essential objective appears to be promoting vernacular languages and providing a 'positive image' by celebrating the specific features of Sámi languages specially developed for rendering the Sámi experience in Arctic conditions, for instance (cf. Gaski 1996, 1997a: 13). At the same time, folksongs have become sacralised as a time-honoured repository of folk wisdom, folktales are esteemed as 'fictionalised versions of real life', and the once stigmatised traditional Sámi clothing has become a symbolic national dress. Today, Sámi public culture is marked by a bicultural competence in the majority culture and Sámi culture (Gaski 1997a: 19). This bicultural competence also applies inside Sámi communities

in which speakers of various dialects have to adjust to the hegemonic emergence of Northern Sámi as the most strongly advocated language of print. This is analogous to the process of adjusting to the most widely disseminated image of Sámi identity—the reindeer pastoralist.

Sámi culture-building has two distinctive aspects. Sámi-ness in its cultural and social idioms is perceived in opposition to Scandinavian-ness. At the same time, recent Sámi self-definitions rely upon the concept of indigenisation. Sámi activists and intellectuals have energetically joined the Fourth World Movement, adopting its cultural and especially its political agendas. (See Lehtola 1997.) This latter development is an attempt to place the Sámi community in a wider global context where modern Sámi-ness is empowered in juxtaposition to Native American cultures, for example. The primeval unity with nature and indigenous cultural expression have been transformed into representations of authenticity and indigenousness, coveted by those who search for an 'authentic' experience in a globalised world.

This is the discursive context of the Sámi *joik* today. The uniqueness of the Sámi experience—the close adhesion of humans, animals and nature in the harsh Arctic terrain, their historical marginalisation and oppression, the once stigmatised but now admired mythology and rituals—become epitomised in the modern *joik*. The *joik* is a particular combination of textual and musical expression that has been restored into a symbolic metaphor of the Sámi aesthetic identity. On the other hand, the *joik* is perceived as capturing the inner spirit of Sámi-ness through an expression that does not necessarily require the form of words. It derives from an ancient sense of belonging to a place, a family and a people, while a *joik* theme communicates between times, persons and landscapes (Gaski 1997b: 215). *Joik* is considered to be a way of remembering, both personal and collective. The Sámi claim to *joik* someone or something, not 'about' someone or something (see Gaski 2000: 204).

Joik is an individual artistic means of expression, as opposed to the Seto *leelo*, for example, where the individual lead-singer needs the backup of chorus-group in the prevailing contemporary performance style. Therefore *joik* has a much stronger inclination to individual experimentation and adaptations in recent technological mediations. This quality of *joik* has provided it with a dynamically different audience situation. The collective performance aesthetic with a strong conservative tendency is missing in

The Sami performer publishes books and CDs. Photo by Kristin Kuutma.

modern *joik* interpretations, which is even more enhanced by the possibility of purely musical expression without any textual constraints. Hence the *joik* of today is quite often aimed at the large 'outsider' audience (usually international, in fact). In the latter case the symbolic qualities get blurred, and revert into a different system of signification. Such an outsider audience has even invented the term *joik*, which does not exist in the vernacular (see Gaski 2000). The insider–outsider interaction has likewise initiated the *joik*-derived poems of the ultimate *joik* persona of the Sámi today, who has also found official recognition as a poet.

The Sámi poet and *joik*-singer has similarly expanded his audience. His approach to and his communication with the Sámi community are multifaceted. He no longer relies singly on a concert performance or an organised community event. Today he publishes a book and issues a CD. Although a printed book seems to be a completely different medium, the ultimate aim of the poet is to capture the essence and aesthetics of the traditional *joik*. In an actual performance situation the *joik* is a syncretic unity of text and music, where a theme recurs in different forms and remains ringing in the ears long afterwards. In his book, the Sámi poet omits page numbers and headings, fusing poems into each other, or into drawings and ethnographic photos, creating a visual and spatial experience corroborated by an intricate play of sounds, tones, linguistic derivations and musicality. The book of printed *joiks* may be accompanied by recorded *joiks* performed by the poet, intended to be listened to while reading the poems, as they render the same themes. His combination of visual art and music support the *joik* text in an attempt to recreate the

immediate impression of interaction instrumental in folklore (cf. Valkeapää 1989). This is undoubtedly a project of collective remembering, both verbal, visual and acoustic. The Sámi poet presents an individual artistic expression, which is addressed to a particular community—the modern unified Sámi who are literate in Northern Sámi. By publishing his *joiks*, rooted deeply in the traditional, he creates a new Sámi audience, the reading Sámi, not simply alphabet-literate but, through his multidimensional artistic experience, literate in a Sámi cultural competence.

This brief discussion of identity representation through creative performance, where the manifestation of the Seto and Sámi cultural tradition becomes instrumental, has focused on symbolic Seto and Sámi singers and performers who are similarly engaged in a project of expressive culture to articulate their concerns on individual and communal level. In their respective performance the Seto *leelo* and the Sámi *joik* function as symbols, as signifiers of a cultural heritage, and yet they are performed to express subjectivity at the same time. Today the *leelo* and the *joik* are performed to both insider and outsider audiences, while more often than not the insider context prevails. The Seto singer and the Sámi poet speak primarily to the audience who share their heritage and experience, and the empowering effect of their creative performance.

From the perspective of communal involvement, the Seto *leelo* and the Sámi *joik* appear to function on different levels of interaction, respectively on the collective (Seto) as opposed to the individual (Sámi) performance. Seto and Sámi singers implement songs in internal self-definition as well as in creating a dialogue with the others. A conscious culture-building is a project of integration and standardisation; in this process arenas of interaction and consolidating communication are created with a goal of producing a coalescent community (see Jones-Bamman 1993: 45). The established ethnic collective identity forms a common cultural estate on which individual performers base their artistic interpretation. The individual singer attempts to create the setting of an inclusive performance where the performer and the audience form a specific interpretive community. The songs performed in such a representational framework function as versatile means of expressing Seto or Sámi identity, with *leelo* and *joik* serving as cogent symbols of Seto or Sámi ethnicity.

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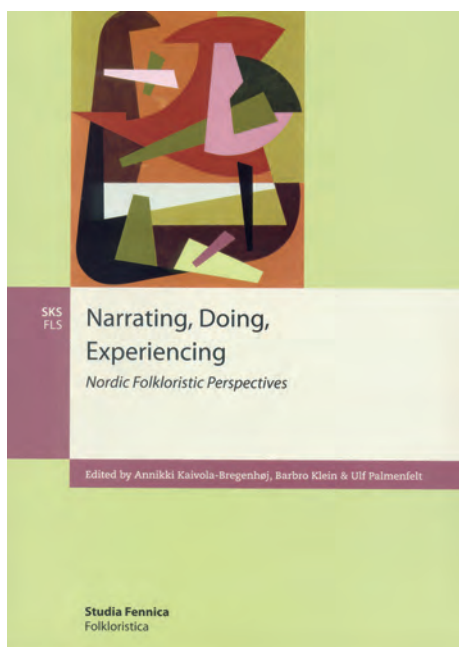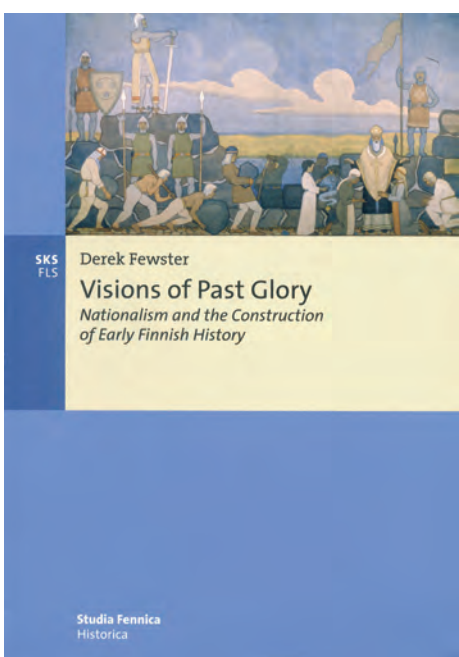
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**Narrating, Doing, Experiencing –
Nordic Folkloristic Experiences**
Edited by Annikki Kaivola-Bregenhøj, Barbro Klein
and Ulf Palmenfelt.
Studia Fennica Folkloristica 16. Helsinki: Finnish Literature
Society, 2006. 186 pp. ISBN 951-746-726-5. 29 €

How are experiences and stories linked to one another? How is
story-telling a kind of doing? In this volume eight Nordic folklorists
attempt to address these difficult questions in their examinations of
orally communicated stories and other forms of verbal art in which
people give life to unforgettable or unbearable memories. All the
articles are based on interviews in which narrators and researchers
collaborate closely and the stories tell us about birth, sickness, war,
miraculous cures, the long dead, intergenerational relations and
matters that are so difficult to express that they are nearly kept in
silence. The articles were preceded by a series of workshops and the
analyses complement one another.

This anthology ought to interest anybody who is fascinated by
how we as human beings shape the worlds in which we live with
the help of stories and story-telling. The book may also be used in
university courses.

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Derek Fewster,
**Visions of Past Glory – Nationalism and the Construction
of Early Finnish History**
Studia Fennica Historica 11. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society,
2006. 555 pp. ISBN 951-746-787-7. 34 €

Finland, during both prehistoric and medieval times, has been the
subject of numerous studies, but none of these have previously con-
sidered the nationalist essence of the integral, underlying 'history
culture' or 'public archaeology' of the nation. Even quite obvious
political interpretations, visions, and imageries of an ancient Gold
Age have all too easily been dismissed as the consequences of mere
patriotism, '*Kalevala* enthusiasm', or Karelianism.

This study presents the case for how the conceptions of a distant,
glorious past have been advanced and actively developed within
the national project of construcing a modern ethnicity of Finnish-
ness. Accordingly, a conception of an original ancient greatness was
paramount for the nationalist movements in both the Grand Duchy
and the early Republic of Finland, especially so when the perceived
nation was considered in need of intellectually unifying defences
against the many conceived threats of Russianness after ca 1890.

The author traces the construction of a Finnish Great Myth of
National Origins from the 16th century until the end of the Second
World War, and provides richly illustrated examples of how the pro-
cess of nation-building influenced and amplified the deep historical
core of the emerging Finnish national consciousness.

Vladislav M. Kulemzin, Nadezhda V. Lukina,
Timofeĭ A. Moldanov and Tat'yana A. Moldanova,
Khanty Mythology
Encyclopaedia of Uralic Mythologies.
Edited by Anna-Leena Siikala, Mihály Hoppál and Vladimir
Napolskikh.
Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó & Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2006. 241 pp. ISBN 963-05-8284-8. 50 €

The Encyclopaedia of Uralic Mythologies offes a comparative base for the study of the roots and present forms of Finno-Ugrian and Samoyedic mythologies and ethnic religions. The peoples speaking the Uralic languages are indigenous peoples of Northern Eurasia in the territory extending from Fennoscandia to the Taimyr Peninsula. Along with their complicated histories and cultural differences, the Uralic groups have maintained and created original religious and mythological traditions, where traces of archaic religious systems, e.g. shamanism, animal ceremonialism and astral mythology, merged with ancient foreign influences and more recent religions.

Mythology is understood in a broad sense, including not only myths but also information about religious beliefs, connected rituals, the sphere of magic and its specialists.

The volumes offer basic information about the people in question and an overview of the history of the research. The central part of each volume is an explanatory and etymological dictionary of mythological terms for the tradition concerned. A list of literature, and index of mythical concepts and names are included in each volume.

Delivery: books@finlit.fi

Moving in the USSR – Western anomalies and Northern Wilderness
Edited by Pekka Hakamies.
Studia Fennica Historica 10. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2005. 161 pp. ISBN 951-746-695-1. 29 €

This book deals with 20th century resettlements in the western areas of the former USSR, in particular with the territory of Karelia that was ceded by Finland in the WWII, Podolia in the Ukraine, and the North-West periphery of Russia in the Kola peninsula. Finns from Karelia emigrated to Finland, most of the Jews of Podolia were exterminated by Nazi Germany but the survivors later emigrated to Israel, and the sparsely populated territory beyond the Polar circle received the Soviet conquerors of nature which they began to exploit. The empty areas were usually settled by planned state recruitment of relocated Soviet citizens, but in some cases also by spontaneous movement. Thus, a Ukranian took over a Jewish house, a Chuvash kolkhos was dispersed along Finnish khutor houses, and youth in the town of Apatity began to prefer their home town in relation to the cities of Russia.

Everywhere the settlers met new and strange surroundings, and they had to construct places and meanings for themselves in their new home and restructure their local identity in relation to their places of origin and current abodes. They also had to create images of the former inhabitants and explanations for various strange details they perceived around themselves.

All articles within this volume are based on extensive field or archive work. This research project was funded by the Academy of Finland.

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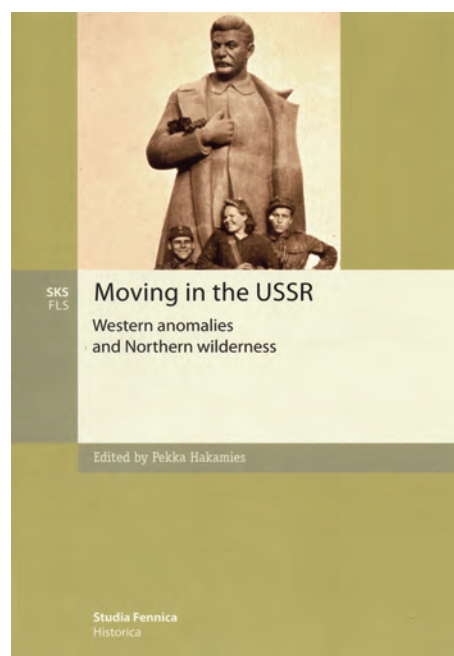
Notes

1 For reference, see the discourse on heritage construction in Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998.
2 There are several prototypes who have been merged into symbolic representatives here (e.g., Maria Kukka, Õie Sarv, Anne Sepamägi from the Seto; Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, Mari Boine, Krister Stoor from the Sámi).

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ORAL TRADITION Available Electronically

On September 15, 2006, the academic journal ORAL TRADITION, founded in 1986 by the Center for Studies in Oral Tradition at the University of Missouri, entered a new chapter in its existence as an international and interdisciplinary forum for the study of worldwide oral traditions and related forms.

As of this date the journal became available electronically and free of charge at http://journal.oraltradition.org as a series of pdf (Adobe Acrobat) files, with key-word searching of all on-line texts and with embedded multimedia. In addition to the current issue (volume 21, number 1), four years of back issues have already been posted, and plans are underway to include the entire twenty-two years of ORAL TRADITION by the end of 2007.

We ask that you help us publicize eOT by forwarding this message to at least five colleagues in your field, and asking them to do the same. Also, please alert your students and your reference librarian. We are trying to use all possible strategies to inform everyone of this new resource—to reach as many people and institutions as possible, and thereby to make the discussions that occur in eOT as broadly based and diverse as possible.

Thank you for your assistance and we hope you enjoy this enhanced, more readily accessible version of ORAL TRADITION.

Facing the Future: Folklore Studies at Sweden's Youngest University

by *Ulf Palmenfelt and Owe Ronström*
Department of Ethnology, Gotland University

Between the Baltic Sea shore and the medieval city wall lie the quarters of Gotland University. A nineteenth-century malt factory, one harbour storehouse and two naval barracks have been renovated and modernised to house Sweden's youngest autonomous university in one of the country's oldest cities, Visby. A conference centre, which it is planned to open in January 2007, is now being built inside the campus area.

The Baltic Sea is ever present in education programmes and scholarly symposiums. For instance, marine environments around the island of Gotland constitute the focus of the advanced ecology programme, as does wind energy as part of a sustainable societal development. Medieval trade routes are studied within the Viking Heritage programme, a joint venture by human geographers and archaeologists. The permanent Baltic seminar provides a meeting arena for advanced international cross-disciplinary seminars. Since the autumn of 2005, a new program in tourism science has been under construction.

The world-heritage city of Visby with its medieval merchants' houses, narrow alleys and impressive church ruins provides a convenient backdrop to courses in history, art history and medieval archaeology. The future orientation of the young university can be exemplified by the programmes of GAME, Gotland Art and Media Education. Its courses offer a combination of computer sciences and fine arts, aimed at developing new interactive media, unique in the world.

In this creative, mobile, border-stretching environment, an important coordinating role is indeed being played by the discipline of ethnology. Our subject's emphasis on viewing man as a cultural being makes it understandable and defensible that we actively encourage unexpected combinations of fields, which might previously have been regarded as incompatible. Just one example: we teach folkloristic interview technique to students of economics—and they find it useful!

So far, we are two lecturers, both professors, teaching ethnology on A-, B-, C- and D-levels, comprising one semester each. During the academic year 2005–6 there are 20 students in the basic course and nine at the advanced level. Shorter five-week courses address subjects like Oral Narrative, Contemporary Folk Culture, Health and Healers, Conflict and Culture, and Cultural Heritage Politics. In autumn 2006, we will be starting up a one-semester course in folkloristics. We are also involved as teachers in many of the other educational programmes at our university.

Professor Owe Ronström in his doctoral dissertation 'Giving Form to an Origin' (*Att gestalta ett ursprung*, Stockholm 1992) combined his main interests, music and dance, with the complicated questions of migration and ethnic origin. Being an active musician himself, Owe plays an important role in promoting the musical life of Visby and Gotland. His voice is well known to a broad Swedish public not least through the popular programme 'Mimer', now transmitted by one of the national public-service channels.

Members of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research know Professor Ulf Palmenfelt as their treasurer and some may remember his name from his one-year sojourn in 1995–6 as the research secretary of the Nordic Institute of Folklore in Turku. Since then Ulf has been teaching folkloristics for three years at the University of Bergen, and for one semester at the University of California at Berkeley. In folkloristics, Ulf's main interests have been in narrative analysis, children's folklore and contemporary genres.

Both of us were born in Visby, got our academic training and exams from Stockholm University, and wrote our doctoral theses under the auspices of Barbro Klein! Back in our native city, we have hade the privilege to be free to create an ethnological line of education from the start.

Within the Swedish university system, folkloristics is considered part of the discipline of ethnology. We naturally have to accept this convention, and we readily acknowledge its advantages, but, identifying ourselves as folklorists, in our teaching we normally choose to emphasise folkloristic fields of interest and when convenient use folklore to exemplify general theories.

Although geographically peripheral, we are eager to occupy a central position within Swedish ethnology. We try to accomplish this ambition in two ways; one is to enable our students to visit museums and archives on the Swedish mainland, especially in Stockholm. Another is to invite a substantial number of distinguished colleagues to visit us and give guest lectures. An example is our hosting in 2003 of the interim conference of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research with the main theme 'Islands and Narratives'. (For documentation and pictures, see http://mainweb.hgo.se/Conf/ISFNR2003.nsf.)

On the basic level of education, we aim to offer our students the best introduction available to today's Swedish ethnology. From the first day the stu-

Professors Ulf Palmenfelt (left) and Owe Ronström (right) flanking guest teachers Dr Gry Heggli, Bergen, and Dr Jan Garnert, Stockholm, in front of the medieval city wall. Photo by Tony Oscarsson.

dents are trained to take a reflective stance, to observe themselves and the authors of the course literature as much as the empirical material. Our pedagogical motto is 'learning by doing', meaning that we keep traditional lecturing at a minimum level. Instead we provide the students with assignments where they are trained in the practical handicraft of making ethnology. They may be sent out to observe the distribution of espresso machines among Visby coffee shops, the language of local restaurants' menus, festive or ritual activities like Halloween, Lucia's Day or Easter. They are expected to document their observations by using normal archiving techniques, and they are supposed to apply different methods of analysis (symbolic interactionism, cultural analysis, phenomenology, discourse analysis, gender theory or narratology) to them. In this way the students acquire a first-hand experience of what types of knowledge can be produced by what combinations of fieldwork techniques and analytical tools.

On the advanced levels of study, half the semester is dedicated to text seminars. Having comparably few students on these levels, we have been able almost to tailor individual programmes adjusted to each student's field of interest. Lately many text seminars have circled around narrative analysis, the concepts of culture, tradition and identity, form and aesthetics. Students' papers within the field of narrativity have attempted to combine text analysis and performance aspects by developing the theories of Katharine Young, Dennis Tedlock and Sandra

Dolby Stahl. Others have analysed new media and genres, like internet discussion groups, cell-phone lore, and reality series on television.

A substantial part of our teaching takes place in virtual net-based classrooms with students living all over the world. In this pedagogical situation all communication between teacher and student, as well as among students, necessarily must take the form of written text, which has many advantages. The distance student produces more written text than the typical campus student. Although we have no idea of the students' looks, style of clothing, body language or dialect, we gain a deep intellectual contact with each and every one of them. In the virtual classroom, it is impossible to spend the semester sitting silently in the back row, as well as stealing a lot of classroom time with verbal show-offs. And the written word can be saved for the future. It is always possible to return to the seminar discussion and re-read what the teacher and the students actually 'said'. Furthermore, distance students produce their texts whenever it suits them during the day, and they can do it at their own rhythm and speed. This makes university studies possible for full-time employees, parents with small children and people living in thinly populated areas, or at a distance from university cities. Since net-based distance studies demand a lot of personal discipline from the student, we normally find the most dedicated students in this category.

Our ambition is to involve students at all levels in research projects from the very first day of their

studies. One such project is called Heritage Politics. Its point of departure is the widespread notion that for the last decade in most Western societies the interest in history has been rapidly growing. 'Heritage is everywhere—we have become obsessed with the past', David Lowenthal wrote in his influential book *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (1997). In our project we regard heritage not as something objectively existing, but as a concept produced by certain people, in certain contexts, for certain reasons. Thus, heritage is politics in the word's literal meaning: 'the process to take and execute power in the public sphere'. What is focused on is not origin, age, conservation, protection, but how and by whom the past can be used and reused.

An excellent playground for such studies is of course the recent remaking of Visby from a modern, but old-style, city to a post-modern medieval city. This was a carefully staged transformation, which made it possible for Visby to qualify as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, taking its place among the world's most prestigious sites and destinations. Our students have followed the process in detail, also describing the use of the past in image production, city planning and restoration. Among the results of this combined education and research project are numerous student essays, articles, a forthcoming book by Owe Ronström and a doctoral dissertation in progress by Carina Johansson. These and more results are continuously published on our home page, where you can also find an extensive annotated bibliography on heritage and heritage production (http://mainweb.hgo.se/Forskning/kulturarv2001.nsf). Closely related to this project a number of scholars from Finland, Sweden, Estonia and Lithuania have met in Visby twice a year for a period of three years to discuss memory production. The resulting book, *Memories and Visions*, has just appeared in print.

The countryside of Gotland abounds with small museums documenting many aspects of local folk life. We use them as introductions to studies of material culture, but also as a starting point for discussing how memories and visions are constructed and materialised in these kind of arranged and frozen representations of reality.

To create a meeting-place between our students and people interested in ethnology outside the university world (not least former students of ethnology), we have started the Gotland Ethnological Society. The Society has been meeting a couple of times each semester, listening to lectures and enjoying ethnological discussions over a glass of beer or wine.

Many people today look upon islands as being peripheral. Nonetheless, our vision is to make Gotland University a central meeting place for ethnologists and folklorists. We have already successfully arranged an ISNFR conference and two national conferences for Swedish ethnologists. Many folklorists and ethnologists have already visited our university, as guests, lecturers or conference delegates. In the near future we hope to be able to greet many more. Welcome to Visby and Gotland University!

Reviews

Creating a Typology
of English Verbal Charms

Jonathan Roper, *English Verbal Charms*. FF Communications 288. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 2005. ISBN 951-41-0967-8 (hard), 951-41-0968-6 (soft)

Jonathan Roper's book remedies a grave shortcoming in European folklore research by offereing a complex and comprehensive analysis of the complete wealth of available data on English verbal charms. However, even by referring to a 'complete wealth' of data we are not talking about a particularly great body of text: as we know, the kind of intense folklore collection which was carried out in almost all the countries of Europe in the modern age did not take place in England. The author knew that he would have to write his work on the basis of 500-odd charms, which is a very low number compared to the data contained in the rich archives and published collections of other European nations (Italian, German, Russian, Finnish, Estonian etc.). Yet he has undertaken the almost impossible, collecting the accessible texts of English charms and, after registering the shortcomings, created a typology, and even ventured to carry out textual analyses as far as he was allowed by the limitations of his material, which lacks folklore data and twentieth-century field work (and probably also lacks folk charms, which were never recorded in writing, together with the healing rituals that went along with them) and which relies instead on old written records. It is not possible for anyone to provide a fully relevant analysis of this genre, rich in features which occur all over Europe, without a relatively complete overview of the European scene. Roper's book has eradicated a significant white spot from this map. In this way it offers help to researchers in all those disciplines where it is necessary to overview the totality of the European wealth of charms for analyses in folklore, textual philology or comparative, historical research. In one of his introductory chapters the author himself analyses the pan-European character of this genre, which goes back mainly to its shared clerical and monastic roots. As the chapter on the history of research in England reveals, the attempt to create a comprehensive scholarly effort overarching ten centuries had previously been unsuccessful, even though a number of Old English,
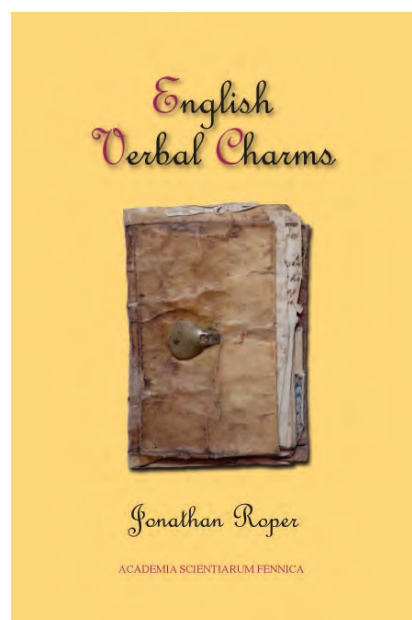
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Middle English and modern texts were published and analysed in detail. Even less had it proved possible to make these texts accessible in such a way as to present and analyse folklore as well as historical data, invoking the help of historians, mediaevalists and folklore researchers. Roper's book is a symbolic scene for such exemplary co-operation.

In defining his charms, Roper relies on the functional definition that has been used since Jakob Grimm. He considers a text a charm if it is uttered in the traditional form for the sake of its magical effect; in other words if it presents a certain means of verbal magic while also carrying certain formal characteristics. On the basis of this definition he excludes certain groups of texts (or textual genres) which are related to the former in certain elements of content or form but show a different function and have no magical 'effect' (e.g. prayers or curses). Perhaps the remaining, relatively small body of text, which mainly consists of historical data, does not allow the reader to see something that could be clearer from collections containing more latter-day folklore data; namely that by excluding prayers, which are used in a magical function, mixed or contaminated with charms, the researcher makes a rather artificial separation. Instead I would propose a definition whereby all texts used in a charm function, i.e. as a means of verbal magic, should be called a charm.

This should be so even if the text does not express an 'effect' in the literal sense. After all, even a meaningless text or one with a different content could have an 'effect'.

In the chapter entitled 'The evidence of the database' the author describes the main statistical characteristics of the 532 texts in the database that serves as the ground for his typology (such as time, place, function, subject, data about the collector, written or oral character etc.). He is fully aware that the relevance of the statistical data varies. For instance, it is rather difficult to talk about a time peak in the case of Old English texts on the basis of only 14 data, or to talk of the increasing dominance of poetry over prose in the case of modern texts. If, however, we remain fully aware, along with the author, that we are not talking about the biology of English charms but the characteristics of texts within this textual corpus which can only infrequently represent regularities valid for English charms in general, we will be able to gain some extremely important information for further research of any kind. In some cases we can even start thinking about why it is exactly these texts that survived in a written form from the centuries of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period, or which groups of orally transmitted folklore texts are hiding behind the gaps in the statistics.

The central part and main message of the book is the typology of the third chapter, which actually presents the textual material. Roper distinguishes Christian and non-Christian (popular) types within charms. He hopes that this necessarily incomplete typology may be supplemented after some handwritten books of spells and charms crop up. We hope so, too, but until then the present typology is acceptable and usable despite its shortcomings. We are compensated for the lack of knowledge about the text, context and use of contemporary charms by the great number of Old English and Middle English texts which survived in historical sources.

Let us look at the options available among the above described circumstances for creating a typology of English charms; in other words, let us see how we appraise Roper's attempt. The textual corpus of the charms is not made cohesive by genetic or organic connections. Thus it is not possible to present a textual typology with a fully immanent system. Roper lists his types in alphabetical order, foregoing the attempt to explore the organic connections or organising principles of the texts themselves, or imposing on them an external categorisation based on formal criteria for research purposes. He refers to his groups as an 'initial typology', admitting the experimental nature of his work. Instead of a finalised system we are given a kind of map which helps make the textual corpus more transparent and navi-

gable. The group of Christian texts is far richer than that of the non-Christian or popular (mainly orally transmitted) charms. This goes back to the fact that the mediaeval written tradition clearly favoured the survival of texts which were clerical in nature or were in contact with priestly benedictions, often functioning in the hands of priests and monks who offered healing services. Roper tells us all that can be known of each textual type, but often this is no more than the year when the text was recorded. If, however, the text has a few variants, the author offers some brief textual analyses, too (using whatever offers itself for analysis, the structure or the poetic devices). In the case of the *Flum Jordan* charm against bleeding, which is available in the highest number of variants (42), he has even carried out a cluster analysis. These analyses sometimes appear self-seeking as they do not form part of a coherent and comprehensive survey. Nevertheless I still find it laudable that in the service of future research Roper writes down all he can on the basis of the quality and quantity of his data about the texts in question. It is revealed that the highest number of variants is attached to those English texts which belong to the famous 'European' textual types: *Longinus, Tres virgines, Flum Jordan, Bone to bone*, etc. Roper's hitherto unknown English data (e.g. in the case of the so-called *Jobsegen*) complement excellently our knowledge about the occurrence of these texts in Europe (which were mainly established on the basis of Ferdinand Ohrt's research). It was not the aim of the present author (nor did he have the chance) to carry out a pan-European comparative survey. Still, the claim he makes when presenting the *St George Charm*, according to which these three English texts have no equivalents in other countries, provokes me to note that the St George charm has an extremely rich wealth of parallel material in south-east Europe (and in the Near East) in the so-called *Lilith-charm* (see Winkler's work: *Salomo und die Karina* or Gaster's relevant publication in the *Folklore*).

The love divination text associated with St Thomas's day points to another problem which occurs with a heightened significance among non-Christian charms, and this is the question whether divination texts should or should not be categorised as a type of charm. The texts of divination are very different from those of charms in terms of historical roots, function and connections alike—there is far less in common between a charm and a divination verse than between a charm and a prayer. I would definitely treat divination texts separately as a functional group equal in rank to charms. A similar problem occurs in the case of some nursery rhymes which also appear primarily in a non-Christian context. Although these texts do express a mag-

ical effect, they are not used in a charm function. I consider it doubtful whether divination rhymes should be categorised as charms and the same is true of nursery rhymes which impersonate natural phenomena, address animals, but are never used as magical texts 'in earnest' (flying the ladybird, calling snails etc.) Although Roper suggests the possibility that in the past they may have been used as 'real' charms, in the light of the European analogies I do not consider this very likely. There has always existed an independent duality of real magic and playful quasi-magical texts. Verses used for husband divination have been particularly sharply separated from the textual system of charms. Despite this reservation, it is extremely instructive to see that the group Roper calls popular and non-Christian consists almost entirely of texts of the above kind, i.e. not 'proper' members of their category. Where are the non-religious, popular, 'purely magical' texts known and circulated largely in an oral tradition all over Europe (greatest in number in eastern Europe)? Perhaps we shall never know whether these were truly absent from the repertoire of English healers or simply fell prey to the shortcomings of English folklore field collection which presented us with a distorted picture.

The large central chapter of Roper's book, devoted to typology, ends with a sub-chapter called 'Transmission in the European context'. In this, the author writes in rough outline about the shared European, i.e. Christian, Latin tradition that is found in the background of these charms. (I would be tempted to supplement these by at least referring to the Oriental, Greek and Byzantine traditions as well. A great part of the textual stock also shares this tradition with the Western Christian tradition and goes back to the same roots!) Naturally, he does not offer specific comparative analyses here, either, but contents himself with marking out certain general directions and offering examples of the kind of semantic and lexical parallels that may be quoted in the context of, for example, *Flum Jordan* (a text with a considerable number of English textual variants). Elsewhere, Roper partly contradicts Richard Kieckhefer when, talking of the modern variants of English translations from Mediaeval Latin texts, he refers to the possibility of the contrary process, i.e. to texts being transferred from English into Latin, from popular into clerical. I think we can agree with the possibility of such reversal. Talking of certain north European textual types (5 'North Sea type'), Roper talks about the fascinating question of North Sea communication, on the basis of research by Oscar Ebermann, R. Th. Christiansen, Ferdinand Ohrt and T. M. Smallwood. However, I would propose a higher degree of caution in this respect. I believe that in view of the 'international' nature of the European wealth of charms the questions of origins or connections between peoples (e.g. the German–English connections or the charms of the 'North Sea World') cannot be examined outside the European context. It is important to bear in mind that several types of European charms were spread both by the Oriental and the Occidental church, and identical textual types developed eastern and western subtypes.

In the chapter 'Towards the study of variation' Roper attempts the almost impossible by carrying out examinations of various aspects of variation, which actually requires a thick corpus. He chooses three works based on a strong textual background, including Anna-Leena Siikala's paper on Karelia, to demonstrate what would be worth examining if the English thick corpus did exist. The idea is a success: although aware of the contingency of his findings, Roper subjected his material to a number of possible analyses. The relevance of the results of his various investigations depends on how much material he had for each, but they are always instructive. He carries out a repertoire analysis examining the signs that indicate that the texts of certain spell books may have been passed down through oral transmission. In the context of variation within one person's performance, examining questions of improvisation and recollection on Siikala's basis, he points out 'that the constant element may be a partly pre-verbal "arc" or "scheme" that the charmer follows in realising the charm verbally'. To quote his own words, in this chapter 'it was possible to begin a discussion of real, or organic, variation in the English charm corpus, and to suggest that the corpus may be amenable to the insights of oral theory', but research into the questions of variation is essentially left for the future. We hope he will soon find a way to continue his work. At the same time, however, I would like to take this opportunity to stress yet again that using nursery rhymes, which do not properly qualify as charms, as examples for examining questions of variation (as he sometimes does in the present work) does not lead to fully relevant results. These texts show different regularities in variation from those of real charms.

Despite such minor reservation we consider Jonathan Roper's book a valuable contribution. His chief merit is that, after presenting an expertly typology and analysis, he is able to connect his material with the mainstream of European research. His work makes up for a felt absence and offers a tool which cannot be bypassed by the researcher of charms nor by scholars of folklore, magic or popular religion.

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How Works of Folklore are Created through Collaboration

Questions of relations between cultural representations, nations and ethnic groups have long occupied folklorists and other cultural researchers. In folkloristics, the creation of national heritages on the basis of oral communication among the 'common folk' has been problematised and widely debated, leading to discussions over the 'constructed-ness' of some of these national traditions. These discussions also concern the epistemological status of the folklore material in national archives and other folklore collections: whether it should be understood as essentialised cultural products rooted in ancient times, or as examples of oral communication in given historical contexts, that in turn are re-presented to the public by outside collectors with a specific agenda for their work.

Similar discussions have taken place within the field of anthropology concerning the creation of written ethnography. The whole process of establishing 'ethnographic authority' through the production of texts within an academic context implies disempowering effects for the peoples and cultures that are described. The literary involvement in another cultural context could be seen as problematic and even as constitutive for power relations between cultures and people.

This book, however, brings the discussion to a new level precisely by focusing principally on the construction of cultural representations through the collaborative interaction between cultural researchers and the 'culture bearers' (as they have generally been termed in folklore literature). Traditional forms of ethnographic and folkloristic representation generally have tended to suppress the dialogical realities that have generated ethnographic and folkloristic 'facts' in the first place. Kristin Kuutma's detailed investigation of two such cases of collaboration certainly gives new perspectives on understanding the constitution of folklore and ethnography, but also brings new insights about the relationship between individual agencies and collective and political identity projects. In both contexts it can be documented that both the collectors and the informants have had individual and subjective motives for the creation of folkloristic texts, and that both sides have certain projects they want to realise in their careers and lives.

The first case that Kristin Kuutma investigates takes the readers to northern Scandinavia and the Sámi people. In 1904, the Danish artist Emilie Demant (1873–1958) went on a journey to northern Scandinavia to experience the Sámi culture, because she had been fascinated by this nomadic culture and its people ever since she was a little girl. Here she met with the reindeer herder and wolf hunter Johan Turi (1854–1936) on a railway trip in northern Sweden. As Emilie later described it, he became for her the key to Sámi culture, and opened an opportunity for her to live with a Sámi *siida* for one year, and experience the Sámi culture from within. For him, she became a door to the world outside, and a possibility to realise his idea of writing a book about the Sámi and their culture. Thus the meeting on the train resulted in a lifelong friendship and collaboration, but it also opened a dialogue across cultural borders, leading to conflicts as well as compromises.

The eventual publication of Johan Turi's book on the Sámi needed the cooperation of yet another person, Hjalmar Lundbohm (1855–1926). He stands out as a very contradictory person in this context. He was the first managing director of the LKAB iron-ore mining company, that started extensive mining activities in the heart of the Sámi area in northern Sweden, and in that capacity destroyed reindeer-herding possibilities over large areas. At the same time he idealised the reindeer-herding Sámi and their traditional way of life, and spoke ardently for its conservation. The Sámi were forbidden to take any work in connection with the mining activities, as he felt that this would destroy them as a nature people. He also strongly supported the segregation policy that was practised in Sweden at that time, from the conviction that the Sámi's only hope was to be saved from civilisation, so that they could continue their traditional free life in nature. This Rousseauian idealisation of the nature people on the other hand led him to support the Sámi in many practical matters, and also to start and finance a publication series about 'The Sámi and their country', where Johan Turi's book about the Sámi was eventually the first publication.

The book *Muitalus sámiid birra* (1910) was not exactly based only on Turi's written manuscript. It was the result of a long cooperative effort between Johan Turi and Emilie Demant Hatt (her name after she married the ethnographer Gudmund Hatt in 1911), where she had suggested themes that he should cover, and supported and advised him during the writing process. To complete the manuscript, they even lived together for some time in a small cottage that Lundbohm had supplied them with. At last Emilie Demant Hatt also edited the final manuscript and translated it into Danish. The first edition of the book appeared with parallel Sámi and Danish text.

Kristin Kuutma is able to see past the former eroticised (male) versions of a woman travelling on her own in the wilderness and making contact with single men, to give a gendered understanding of the relations that were established across ethnic, class and gender boundaries, by focusing on the individual projects and motivations of the people involved. But the author can also supply documentation making the reader able to understand why Turi's book was met with some ambivalence especially among the Sámi. This ambivalence corresponds to the contradictory sides that the character of Hjalmar Lundbohm carries with him, as both a destroyer and conserver of Sámi culture, as a representative of colonialism and as an admirer of indigenous culture.

Kristin Kuutma's next example is taken from the Seto area, which is now located on both sides of the border between Russia and Estonia. The area and its people became renowned among scholars of folklore for its rich singing traditions. Finnish folklorists like Julius and his son Kaarle Krohn hoped that investigations in this 'relict' area could extend the reservoir of ancient Finno-Ugric poetry. They inspired the Estonian folklorist Jakob Hurt to collect traditional poetry in the area, and this resulted in three volumes of poetic songs. But it was especially through the later collections by the Finnish ethnomusicologist Armas Otto Väisänen (1890–1969) in the 1920s that attention was directed specifically to the *lauluimä*, 'mothers of song', as the best and most talented female singers were called among the Seto. This directed Väisänen's recording activities towards what he also considered to be the most competent singers, who would typically be an elderly woman; and towards the most interesting singing material, which preferably would be songs of extensive length. Since there also was some pecuniary compensation involved in the documentation process, the interests of the collector in turn had some effect on the local composition and popularity of certain parts of the singing tradition. The interest from the outside world also established some of the female singers as star performers, and supplied them with fame locally, nationally and internationally. This simultaneously changed the importance of traditional Seto singing contexts from funerals and weddings, to performances for recording folklorists, or stage performances during song festivals.

One such 'mother of song' identified by Väisänen who emerged to attain international fame during this process was Anna Vabarna (1877–1964). Her poetic talent brought folklore collectors an abundance of material, and recently folklorists have estimated her creative output at about 100,000 verse lines. In Kuutma's book the genesis of an extensive epic poem about the Seto national king and hero *Peko* composed by Anna Vabarna is considered in detail. And here Kuutma brings another actor into this creational process, the Estonian folklore collector Paulopriit Voolaine (1899–1985). The heroic epic poem represented an ideal for national tradition in the legacy following the Finnish *Kalevala* epic. In Estonia, there was an *eepose-igatsus* (a desire for an epic), as the Estonian folklorist Ruth Mirov has termed it. Voolaine suggested that Vabarna should compose an epic poem, singing about a legendary god / king of the Seto people, called Peko. In a letter he even proposed thematic guidelines that she could follow to be able to get a full epic story, and Kuutma speculates that Voolaine might also have supplied her with knowledge of traditional narratives related to the Seto king, as well as relating his own epic poem *Kuningas Seto* to her.

Voolaine's initiative was, however, only a part of the process that started the whole project, and it was Anna Vabarna's creative and poetic skills that were eventually able to turn his outline into a long poetic epic. And she was also able to put her own mark on the project, using elements from everyday life and local religion and worldview, and integrating traditional material that she knew from her activities as a singer at funerals and weddings. In this way the Seto epic became quite different from the traditional heroic epics, as they were known from other countries. In Kristin Kuutma's understanding, the Seto epic *Peko* is composed from a female point of view. It is a woman's glimpse of everyday life, a woman's interpretation of the society's culture, history and worldview, expressed in a traditional poetic form. Eventually this content probably also contributed to the fact that the long and impressive poetic epic was not published in Anna Varbana's lifetime. It did not quite fill the requirements that prevailed in the 1930s of what a typical epic poem should look like. The epic was not published in its totality until 1995.

This study of the collaborative processes that resulted in published representations of Sámi and Seto traditional culture is of great interest for anyone who might be interested in either (or both) of the cultural contexts that these works emerged from. But the scope of the analysis reaches beyond that. It is an innovative discussion of representational agencies, in showing that the process from the informant to the collector is not unilinear, and in documenting the many factors that are involved in these two examples of constituting a folklore text. The examples also demonstrate that the collector and editor might be in a favourable position to form the text according to the demands of the academic society, but seldom in full control of this process.

But what Kristin Kuutma further wants to show the reader, is that the problem of representation is not simply tied to the personal relations that are

established in the field. In the final chapter of the book, she investigates the reception of the work by Johan Turi and Anna Vabarna (and their collaborators) among communities of insiders and outsiders. Understanding these metadiscursive practices in their full scope is of course a very ambitious enterprise, but parts of the discussion bring the understanding of the uses of folklore texts and ethnography many steps further. Although it cannot be analysed in its full totality, some glimpses of the reception of the works through time also documents dynamic developments in the interpretation of the texts, where they can serve new ends in new ethnopolitical contexts.

This kind of analysis is dependent on a great deal of contextual background material in order to understand the interplay between actors, texts and politics. In Chapter 2, Kristin Kuutma gives a thorough presentation of the historical, economic and social background of the Sámi and Seto areas and their population. The great thematic and geographical divide between the cultures studied can be seen as a problem with this book, especially as Kristin Kuutma with her analytic angle wants to understand the reception of these works, in their own time and afterwards. This demands a rather thorough and broad description of the contextual background of each location, and there is a danger in these lengthy introductory explanations of the book falling apart before the 'real' discussion has started. But in spite of the great differences in the two ethnographic contexts, it turns out that there are also some similarities. Both the Sámi and the Seto are cultural groups that have been marginalised and considered backwards by their neighbours, while certain elements of their 'ancient' or 'rich' culture at the same time have been celebrated by the urban and academic elite of those same neighbours. In the same way, both the Sámi and the Seto share the experience of being a people and a culture that has been divided by the borders of nation states. Thirdly, both cultural contexts can be seen in relation to a greater Finno-Ugric cultural-political project, even if they have attained quite different statuses in that respect.

On the whole, the question of representational agencies has attained a more prominent position in folkloristics with the discussion presented in this book. When folklore and ethnography is collected from politically marginalised areas and cultures (which is usually the case), the constitution of texts must also be understood in relation to questions of power and influence among the actors involved. The force of the book's argument is that it is possible to move past initial questions related to the 'construction' of folklore, and the inevitable question of the 'authenticity' of the work, and move towards a real documentation of how a work of folklore is actually constituted in complex cultural contexts, within political and social limitations. This actual constitution involves persons who in the book emerge as subjective individuals with an agenda, and not as mere carriers of folklore and ancient traditional knowledge. It seems that the investigation of these kind of sources can tell us something about informants, who in many cases have remained anonymous in folklore research and in ethnography. This is a kind of knowledge that can prove very rewarding for further research, because it makes it possible to re-contextualise elements of cultural representation. Understanding some cultural representations as works of auto-ethnography rather than as the results of colonial forces they were not able to escape, can also serve to empower peoples and cultures that have earlier been seen as passive victims of outside forces they were unable to control.

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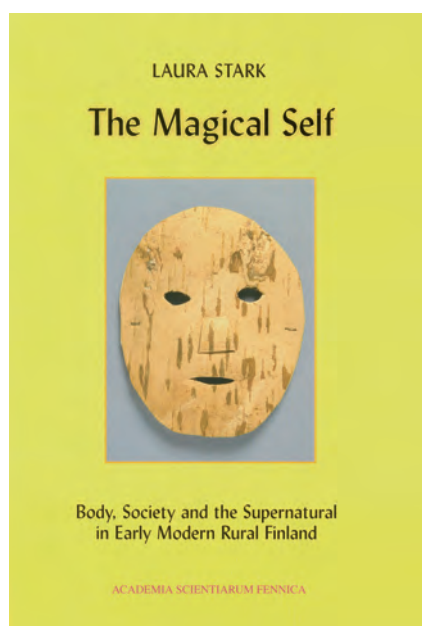
Just over a century ago, sorcery and witchcraft were still part of the social dynamics of rural Finnish communities. In some parts of the countryside, people used magic rites to attempt to bring harm to their enemies as late as the 1950s. Tens of thousands of descriptions of magic and sorcery provide 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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