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Fállegaedgi near Alta, one of many Sámi sieidis *in the landscape of northern Norway. These holy places have played an important role in the relation between indigenous religion, natural resources, territories and ancestral inheritance. Narratives connected to such sacrificial stones are some of the sources that communicate important understanding about how the relations between the different cultural and ethnic groups have changed over time in this multicultural area. The narratives in their changing contextualizations refer to encounters between people and supernatural powers. But the narratives can also be seen in relation to changing power relations and cultural politics, from the encounters between Christian missionaries and Sámi* noaidis*, to relations between different ethnic groups, and between Sámi* siidas*, families and individuals, up to present-day discourses on heritage politics, protection and aesthetics, ethnopolitics and questions of repatriation of* sieidis *collected by museums. Photo by Mette Skipperud, 2005.*

On Borders, in Centres and on Peripheries

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I recently heard a Western anthropologist remark disparagingly on the standards demanded in research in Nordic lands: up there on the periphery in the north they don't have the standards we, the representatives of the centre, do. The sentence was understandable, since the speaker's world, his collaborative network and area of field work were situated in the west and south. In his opinion the north is truly a periphery. At the same time it raises many questions. Where now are the centres of this globalised world, where the peripheries and the borders? How are they defined? The old state-organised borders no longer define the world as before. The rise of Indian and Chinese companies on the stock market show how new economic powers are rising beside the old. Moreover, multinational companies strive with imperialistic powers over the economic control of the world. Many state borders have opened to the migrations of goods and people, even though in some areas the borders are already being closed.

Political and economic power relationships give rise to widely influential social and cultural centres. However, they change over time. Centres and the borders between them are differently constituted in the minds of living people in their own villages and towns. This is particularly clear to field researchers in border districts of the political-economic world orders. Many cultural researchers, even folklorists, walk, as a Finnish song says, 'on the edges of the world, along narrow lanes, where good fortune'—but also deprivation—'is distributed'. Research into foreign cultures is in many senses an overcoming of boundaries: geographical and cultural, but also the researcher's own physical and mental boundaries. Boundaries not only separate, they also unite. Cultural boundaries are bridges, places where different cultural presences begin (Homi K. Bhabha 1994). So the 'edges of the world' are not edges of culture. Places experienced as otherwise peripheral are centres of their own life.

The Folklore Fellows' Summer School for 2007 is being arranged in a northern zone of the Russian Federation, in Viena (White Sea) Karelia. The region sits on the boundary of two states. Over the course of history it has suffered the curse of being a border land, and has often been a theatre of war. Apart from being on a state boundary, Viena is also situated at a meeting point between Eastern and Western European culture and religion. Seen from the capitals of Finland and Russia the area represents a northern periphery. For the people of Viena, however, their own villages have been the centre of the world, around which they have built their lives. The region's economy was based on fishing, hunting and agriculture, but also peddling. In economic history written from a Vienan perspective St Petersburg and Finland were peripheries. Goods for peddling were obtained from the former and sold in the latter. The centre of their own universe, the villages of Viena, was kept distinct from the things seen on their travels. *Kalevala*-type epic belonged to their culture. It was both the source and the product of their creative work. When the *Kalevala* became a world epic, the villages of Viena gained a new significance in the eyes of the outside world: they became the centre-region of epic poetry.

The way the world's centres, peripheries and borders fit together depends on our own view of the world, and the lenses we see it through. Our ability to see the world depends too on what we are talking of each time, and also our judgements and viewpoints. It is worth looking at the world from different angles. It appears different from Helsinki and from Salekhard, from New York and from Rarotonga, from Hamburg and from Tokio. Folklore Fellows' Network was founded so that we might widen our field of vision by learning from each other. Everyone need not think in the same way. Difference does not imply difference in worth – just the opposite. Different academic viewpoints foster creativity, inspire our work and are a valuable part of the discussions between one another.

Folklore in Northern Multicultural Contexts

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The understanding of folklore belonging to the cultural and ethnic groups of the High North in Europe is a result of more than a hundred years of documentation and collection. But the scholarly perspectives on the material have not developed greatly since the initial phase of documentation. In this connection I will take the Norwegian part of this area as my point of departure, despite the fact that any imposition of national borders seems to violate the real geographical limits of vernacular traditions. In that sense the area should be understood as a cultural border zone (Rosaldo 1989: 207), where different traditions, languages and discourses are in continuous and changing contact over ethnic, national and cultural borders. The narrative traditions of the northern area should be understood as heterogeneous and multicultural (see parallels in Paredes 1993), but have so far mostly been documented and studied with reference only to single and homogeneous ethnic groups, and analysed as a Sámi, Kven (Finnish) or Norwegian body of tradition respectively. From a historical perspective, this can be analysed as a result of research strategies that have been closely connected to official Norwegian political programmes for hegemonic control over the area and its resources. The maintenance of the multicultural traditions of the area have increased the importance of other vernacular and unofficial arenas of communication, not always given attention by folklore research.

Northern Fenno-Scandia as a Multicultural Area

The northern parts of Fenno-Scandia and the Kola Peninsula have long been a multicultural area. The Sámi people are considered to be the indigenous population of these regions. Traditionally their livelihood was based on hunting large herds of wild reindeer on the tundra, and fishing in the abundant rivers and lakes. The cold ocean of the north was filled with fish, whales and other sea mammals, all of which provided generous resources for good living. But the rich resources also attracted people from other areas: Finnish-speaking Kvens from the Finnish and Karelian area visited and immigrated, Russian-speaking Pomors from the White Sea and Archangelsk area came as fishermen and traders, and Norse immigrants came from Norway and Denmark, some of them settling permanently. The history of this multicultural area is of long standing, as are the inter-ethnic relations.

In a political and administrative sense, this was also a borderless area. National borders were not established before 1751, and for the most north-easterly part not until 1826 and 1944. But this did not mean that the area was without interest for the neighbouring kingdoms. The valuable fur trade of the Middle Ages and the rich natural resources of the area brought tradesmen and tax collectors. The north was considered an important area which represented great resources and wealth. But in many respects it was also considered marginal. Not only was it geographically situated in the northernmost margin of European civilisation; the indigenous ways of life and the cultures of the area were also described in a series of narratives, manuscripts and books as belonging to the very periphery of humanity itself. Most of this belongs to a field we would call folklore today, and the main content in these narratives is a description of the northern people as particularly capable in magic. With reference to Old Norse-Icelandic literature, John Lindow has characterised a Finno-Ugric people with magical powers as 'stock figures' in the sagas (Lindow 1995: 11). Later the witch hunts during the seventeenth century hit these northern areas hard, especially in the Danish/Norwegian controlled part. Written documents from the witch trials testify how government officials criminalised local belief and folklore, and the courtroom decontextualised folklore as testimonies of demonic activities. The same tendency can be seen in the eighteenth-century missionaries' reports on Sámi beliefs. The 'heathen' indigenous religion represented a threat to political rule over the area. It was considered a problem that this part of the world had not been made Christian in a proper way, because religious control was partly needed to control the area economically and politically. But the lack of ethnic and cultural homogeneity in the population did not yet represent a problem.

The Search for Authentic National Traditions in Northern Norway

The long history of ethnic and cultural encounters in the area led to distinct ethnic cultures, but also to inter-ethnic mixing and the dynamic formation of new cultural expressions. But it was only with the rise of national romantic ideas, and the formation of a nation state, that this mixture of cultures and ethnicities could be understood as representing a major problem in the north. In that sense, the thinking of the German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) indirectly influenced the way people were living together in the north. Herder's ideas implied that the world was populated by different 'Volk' (people), who populated a certain geographical landscape, and shared a common culture and spiritual background, and this combination represented the nation. This idea of a culturally unified people could admittedly not always be found in contemporary reality, but this national unity could be reconstructed on the basis of folklore and culture found among ordinary people and peasants. The reconstruction or recovery of the old 'Volksgeist' of a nation or a people could then serve as the foundation of a political nation state. And in the ideal world of Romantic nationalism, each nation state would also have its own national folklore that would be genuine and shared by all the people living in that geographical area.

With the idea of a politically unified nation, the ethnic and cultural mixture that one could experience in the north became a problem that had to be dealt with in some way or other. It was realised that the political establishment of national borders in the north had not actually secured a dominance of national culture on each side of the border. In the Norwegian geographical area in the north, Sámi and Kven culture and languages still had a dominating position. This was seen as a threat to the national unity of the area, and also as a security hazard, since the national loyalties of the ethnic and linguistic minorities in the case of a conflict with neighboring states were being questioned. This called for documentation, research and national politics in the northern area.

Jens Andreas Friis (1821–96) was the first Norwegian professor of Sámi and Kven (Finnish) languages. He published collections of Sámi belief (1871b) and folklore (1871c), but he was also concerned with the mixed ethnic composition of the northern population, and the relations between the different ethnic groups. With help from government officials and clergymen working in the area, he set out to produce ethnographic maps showing ethnic composition, language proficiency and housing conditions in the families populating the area. The first edition of these maps was published in 1861 (Friis 1861). The families were classified according to a rather detailed system: Norwegian families were given the symbol of a cross, while Kven/Finnish families were symbolised with a stick with a circle on top. The Sámi families, on the other hand, were symbolised according to their way of housing. If they were living in traditional turf huts (or *gamme*) they were symbolised with a triangle, if they were living in logged, wooden buildings, they were symbolised with a square. The symbols were in this way chosen with respect to both national and evolutionary thinking. These signs were then combined to show how the families could be composed of different competences in language, different standards in housing and different ethnic backgrounds. In this way, the possible combinations found on the map are more than twenty. Even if the maps do not provide detail down to the individual level, such as is found in the population censuses, which gives an impression of the inter-ethnic marriages, the mapping of the families in the geographical landscape still gives us a pretty good impression of the multiethnic composition of northern Norway at this time. Second editions of these maps were published in Friis 1887 and 1890.

Detail from J. A. Friis's ethnographic maps 1861 showing the ethnic composition of the Alta area.

The existence of at least three different national traditions and languages in northern Norway called for both documentation and research. But the motivations for this were founded precisely on the ideas developed in the course of Herderian understanding, even though the national and political perspective in these endeavours could be diverse. With this outset it is important to note that the groups of people living in the area were first defined linguistically, and then defined as belonging to different ethnic units. The folklore of these groups was then understood as collective representations of those groups.

In Friis's first book based on a travel through

Finnmark, North Karelia and Russia (Friis 1871a), he still had a positive view on the multi-ethnic situation in the area, and thought that the blending of the groups living there would be fruitful. But later this harmonic idea of cultural development was abandoned. In Friis's opinion the Sámi represented a unique cultural adaptation in this northern landscape. This was especially true for the reindeer-herding Sámi, who were the genuine image of the 'noble savage', man living in perfect harmony with nature. Friis was of the opinion that the multicultural situation represented a threat to this authentic, but relatively 'weaker', Sámi tradition. In the introduction to his collection of Sámi folktales and legends, he maintains that the majority of the material is not of genuine Sámi origin, but borrowed from Finns, Swedes or Norwegians (Friis 1871c: IX). Influences from Norwegian, and especially Finnish/Kven and coastal Sámi, culture would inevitably destroy the fragile reindeer-herding culture, unless it received special preservation.

The Finnish folklorist Samuli Paulaharju (1875–1944), on the other hand, visited the Finnish-speaking areas in northern Norway to collect Finnish folklore. Generally Paulaharju's main focus as a collector of folklore was to seek the oldest and most authentic roots of Finnish culture and language, and like many other folklore collectors, he was seeking this in the marginal areas. His first travels to northern Norway took place in the summers of 1925–7, leading to the publication of the book *Ruijan suomalaisia* (1928, Swedish edition *Finnmarkens folk*, 1973). His informants were very old people (Ryymin 2004: 330), which again shows the typical orientation towards the ancient and mythical past of the Finnish nation. But with the inevitable disappearance of the oldest people, the old traditions were doomed to vanish in this foreign soil. The last chapter of the book deals with the relations between the three ethnic groups living in northern Norway ('Kolmen kansan kosketus' [Three peoples in contact], Paulaharju 1928). It starts with Paulaharju's drawing of a Sámi *sieidi* (sacrificial stone), and ends with his drawing of a graveyard cross found in the Norwegian Kven area (Paulaharju 1973: 343). The drawings signal an ambivalence which can also be found in the text. The cross can be seen as a symbol of a dying Finnish heritage, but the implicit message is not quite as pessimistic. The folklore of the old people has been documented and saved for the future by the folklore collector. The old beliefs and narratives are after all rooted in the new landscape and in the culture, and will blend with the old ways of those people already living there. Later Paulaharju visited the coastal fishing villages of Finnmark in 1931 and 1934, leading to the book *Ruijan äärimmäisillä saarilla* (1935, Swedish edition *På Finnmarkens yttersta öar*, 1982). Again he was occupied with the value of the old Finnish narratives that had survived on the coasts of the Arctic Ocean. But as an ethnographer Paulaharju must be seen as a conscientious portrayer of the cultural reality he met in these villages. Therefore the multicultural composition of these villages is described in positive terms (see Paulaharju 1982: 88 f.).

Understandings of Cultural Borrowings and Relic Areas

The Finnish folklore collector Elias Lönnrot (1802–84) who shaped the structure of the Finnish national epos, the *Kalevala*, was also familiar with the multicultural elements in northern folklore. From his position as a doctor in Kajaani in northern Finland, and as a collector of folklore in Viena and Archangel Karelia, he had often experienced that his narrators possessed extensive knowledge of narratives from different cultural contexts and from different language areas. Elias Lönnrot raised the problem concerning 'multi-national' experiences, and referred to conversations with one of his Finnish-speaking narrators, who had met with Norwegians and Russians when taking part in the seasonal fishing hauls. Elias Lönnrot writes:

> When I once . . . asked a Finn where he had learned all his fairy tales, he answered: I have for years been with Russian and Norwegian fishermen at the Arctic Ocean, and when storms and bad weather forced us to stay on land, we passed the time telling tales. Occasionally there was a word or a place that I did not understand. But I always understood the content, and when I came home, I narrated what I had heard with my own supplements and changes. (Elias Lönnrot, cited in Meyer 1887; here translated from Moe 1887: X.)

The problem was that this mixing of national traditions in the collectors' view made it more difficult to determine which narratives belonged to which nation's heritage. This dilemma was also strongly stressed by the first Norwegian professor of folklore Moltke Moe (1859–1913) in his introduction to Qvigstad/Sandberg's first collection of Sámi folktales from 1887. It was seen as an important task for folkloristic research to sort out what should be considered as genuine and authentic Sámi, and what should be considered as belonging to other cultural heritages. Moe criticised a German edition of Sámi folklore (Poestion 1886) for including material from folklore collected in multicultural areas in northern Sweden (Lindholm 1884), and in this way contaminating the pure Sámi traditions (Moe 1887:

III). To the collectors of Sámi folklore, the multicultural context confused their idea of homogeneous national cultures, and the possibility of genuine and authentic cultural products. The story-telling traditions had in their eyes become contaminated by foreign materials, and part of their research was to clarify what parts of this material were authentic Sámi, and what parts were imported from other, neighbouring cultural contexts, and therefore should be considered inauthentic. Much of the Sámi folklore material was in fact borrowed from their neighbours. To this perspective Moltke Moe added an evolutionary view, implying that: 'the Sámi people have received a very rich supply of folktales from people that are superior to them in culture and culture contacts. The rule is, that it is the most advanced people who give, and the less developed, who receive.' (Translated from Moe 1887.) In this way, the history of Sámi folklore was adapted to the political development of that period when Norway was seeking cultural, religious and political control over some of the multicultural areas in the north.

Although Just Knud Qvigstad (1853–1957) figures as the main documenter and scholar of Sámi folklore, and published the largest collections from the Norwegian area (the main collections in Qvigstad 1927, 1928, 1929a and b), he repeatedly stressed that much of the folklore material could not be considered as purely Sámi. Clearly influenced by other Scandinavian and Finnish folklore scholars, Qvigstad maintained that apart from their reindeer-herding culture, the Sámi had borrowed their vocabulary, religion, folk medicine and superstitions (Qvigstad 1925: 64 and 1932: 227).

This meant that among the Scandinavianist scholars there was a special reason to be interested in Sámi folklore. The old material that had survived made it a relic area, where not only the old Sámi traditions could be found, but where also old and now forgotten Nordic traditions could be retrieved: 'and what they [the Sámi] have borrowed, they have preserved through stubborn conservatism, so that much of what their neighbours have long forgotten and put aside, is recovered among the Sámi borrowings' (translated from Qvigstad 1925: 64). This understanding of the north as a cultural relic area, and as a reservoir for ancient Nordic traditions, at the same time explains and legitimises the Norwegian political dominance and cultural hegemony in the area at that time. In this way folklore and cultural research could serve as a scholarly apology for the colonising politics that discriminated against the cultural and linguistic minorities in the north. The understanding of the narrators as passive 'tradition-bearers', and not as active social and cultural agents, supported this theoretical construction of vanishing, weak, borrowed and inauthentic minority cultures in decay.

Fisheries, Trading Posts and Marketplaces as Contact Zones

In the preface to the third volume of Sámi folktales and legends (Qvigstad 1929a), the first collection from the Lyngen area, Qvigstad describes how this originally Sámi coastal area had, by the time when most of the stories were collected, turned into a typical multi-ethnic area. With the marketplace in Skibotn as a point of departure, there was a lively connection to the east and to the multi-ethnic Tornedalen area in Sweden. This was also the route for Kven immigration from the 1700s. Swedish reindeer-herding Sámi had their summer pastures in this area, and some of them eventually settled permanently in Lyngen. To the west there was much interaction through the fisheries, where Sámi fishermen participated in the seasonal cod hauls along the Norwegian coast, and some Norwegians moved to the fjord and settled there (Qvigstad 1929a).

Qvigstad's short introductory comments about the multicultural context of the narratives in the collection are of course just that: contextual information that helps us to understand some of the circumstances that would produce narratives. But his introduction may also be readily understood in connection with Molkte Moe's commentaries in the introduction to the first Qvigstad/Sandberg collection of Sámi narratives from 1887. Qvigstad's own formulations almost echo Moe's reference to Lönnrot:

> Most of the adult men in Lyngen participate in the great seasonal fishing hauls in Lofoten and Finnmark, and make contact with fishermen from various parts of the north. When the fishermen were sitting in the fishermen's shacks in the evenings, or when they had to stay ashore because of bad weather, it was common to shorten the time by telling stories. . . . One of my most distinguished narrators, Efraim Pedersen, told me that he had heard the stories he narrated as a child from his grandmother and other old people in his home place, later from Sámi, Finns and Norwegians in his home village, and from old reindeer-herding Sámi from Karesuando. He had also heard much on his travels as a fisherman to Lofoten and Finnmark. It is therefore only natural that the traditional material I have written down in Lyngen shows a strong influence from Norwegian and Finnish tradition, and does not only belong to Lyngen, but is also taken from other places. (Translated from Qvigstad 1929a: n.p.)

Qvigstad's information is there as reservation; the scholarly readers should be aware that some of these narratives might not be 'genuine' or authentic Sámi. His attitude toward his Sámi master narrator Efraim Pedersen Oterodden is clearly ambivalent. On the one hand, he is his 'most distinguished narrator', and Qvigstad must have spent many hours and days in his company, being inspired and entertained by a wealth of narratives, told in a truly artistic and excellent manner (as the texts bear witness). On the other hand, and from the point of view of the scholarly tradition that Qvigstad himself was a part of, the wealth of narratives, although told in Sámi, was not seen as representing genuine Sámi tradition. It was narratives that the Sámi had borrowed from 'the culturally more developed neighbours'.

Besides the great fisheries along the coast, which followed the spawning cod on their seasonal migration and attracted fishermen from all over the northern area, other intercultural meeting grounds mentioned by the collectors are trading posts and market places. In his first volume of Sámi folktales and legends (Qvigstad 1927) from the Varanger area in the eastern part of Finnmark, bordering with Russia and Finland, Qvigstad gives a general outline of a complex inter-cultural, inter-ethnic, and international situation. This intense contact had been going on for centuries in the border zone between Russia, Finland and Norway, a geographical area where national, religious and administrative borders had been floating and unclear for a long time span:

> I would like to draw attention to the fact that in Varanger several nationalities have met since age-old times. The sedentary Sea Sámi have met with the Mountain Sámi who were on their annual migrations, and with Norwegians in the fishing villages during the great seasonal fishing hauls. The Skolt Sámi in Neiden and Pasvik have met with Norwegian Mountain Sámi and Sea Sámi. According to the narratives of the Sámi, there used to be a "Skolt Market" in the old days close to Reppen in Nesseby on the south side of the Varanger Fjord, where the Sámi of Varanger would meet with Skolt Sámi from Neiden, Pasvik and Suenjel. In the old days Sea Sámi from Varanger and Tana, River Sámi from the Tana Valley, Fishing Sámi from Enari, Finns from Enari and Utsjoki, Russians, Norwegians and Torne Valley citizens would come to the Karlebotn market in Varangerbotn. Norwegian, Finnish and Russian Sámi came for the Christmas market in Enari. Sámi, especially from Enari, but also from Utsjoki and the Tana Valley, have immigrated to Nesseby in the course of time. The immigration of Finns has not been heavy; but earlier many Finns came to the area to take part in the great seasonal fisheries. (Translated from Qvigstad 1927: n.p.)

'On Taxation', painting in the 'Speculum Boreale' manuscript by the governor of Finnmark Hans H. Lilienskiold (1650–1703).

Again it is important to understand that Qvigstad's contextualisation of the narratives is intended as a reservation: there is a good chance that not all of the narrative material collected in the Sámi language is actually of genuine Sámi cultural origin. These contexts are not understood as productive and constitutive in any sense, but as cultural contacts that might have destroyed and broken down the original and authentic Sámi narratives.

And yet it seems that these reservations were primarily meant to meet the critical comments from researchers who might question the authenticity of the collections. In reality, the material that was thought to have entered Sámi folklore through 'borrowing' was also conscientiously collected. All folklore was usually included in the collections, at least as long as it was narrated in the right language, and understood to fall into the category of 'traditional'. But although the multicultural contexts were referred to in many introductions to ethnic and national collections of folklore, they were never documented as story-telling events. These are the 'empty spaces' and 'zones of cultural invisibility' (Rosaldo 1989: 208) in earlier folklore research, even though it is quite obvious that these contexts must be seen, in Renato Rosaldo's words, 'not as analytically empty transitional zones but as sites of creative cultural

production that require investigation'. The documentation done by collectors covering three different linguistic expressions has shown that the area is exceptionally rich in folkloristic expressions. One might well think that the multicultural contexts have generated this creativity, rather than the other way around.

Ethnic Conflicts and Healing Processes

It has been possible to study the historical development of ethnic relations and conflicts on the political level in northern Norway, but information about how inter-ethnic relations developed on the everyday communicative level has seldom been documented. If one takes a closer look at Friis's ethnographic maps, they clearly show us that the marketplaces were not the only inter-ethnic meeting grounds in the north. Many of the villages in northern Norway can best be characterised as multi-ethnic, with close neighbourhoods of Norwegians, Finns and Sámi. Friis's detailed descriptions of the languages spoken in each household shows us that in the multi-ethnic areas it was not unusual for people to be fluent speakers of at least three different languages. It is not easy to imagine that people under such circumstances would only know the narratives told in one language, or that they would only communicate with members of one linguistic group. The multi-dimensionality of the contexts called for different narratives in changing linguistic versions. Life had to be adjusted to heterogeneous contexts, leading to a multi-vocality of cultural expressions. But this did not mean that these multicultural contexts were without conflicts.

One type of conflict originated in the political situation outside the multicultural villages. The Norwegian nation state was concerned with the political control of these areas, which took the form of cultural politics of Norwegianisation. This was aimed at making all the ethnic and national groups in the area more Norwegian in language and culture, and lasted for close to a century. It is significant that this development went hand in hand with the modernisation of northern Norway. Everything representing modernity, development and future prosperity was associated with Norwegian culture, while everything representing backwardness, poverty and illness was associated with the indigenous Sámi and 'foreign' Kven cultures. In the mid-war period, the Kven population was also accused of representing a national security hazard (Eriksen and Niemi 1981). This massive pressure on people's ethnic identity of course influenced everyday life in the multicultural areas, where it led to strategies of concealing ethnic background, as well as cultural resistance against the attempts at homogenisation. Norwegianisation became an important part of the education system, and it soon influenced both individual identities and relations between different cultural groups, and how their folklore was expressed.

As the politics of Norwegianisation gained influence over the vast majority of official institutions and arenas, other vernacular and unofficial arenas became more and more important in the formation of ethnic identities. One such field of communication was vernacular religion, another was folk medicine. Many of the wounds that were created in the identity conflicts could only be treated here. This is one of the arenas where people from different ethnic groups would meet, and where ambiguous categories of identity could be accepted. When, together with Finnish and Norwegian colleagues, I carried out fieldwork in the Norwegian Kven areas in 1984, we had the opportunity to transcribe a book with healing formulas that had been used by a healer in this multi-ethnic area. In that sense, this was a collection of folklore that had not been made by a professional collector, but by a person that wanted to use these formulas. What was interesting in this connection was that the formulas were written in any of the three languages, either Finnish, Norwegian or Sámi, and presented in a random sequence. Another healer of Sámi and Finnish ethnic background explained that she had translated the Finnish formulas she had inherited from her Finnish-speaking father (also a healer) into Norwegian, because she was more comfortable with using that language. The words did not seem to loose their power in this translation. A multicultural reality existed, but it did not receive the interest of folklore research.

Scholarly work and research on the folklore of these areas have been a part of a system of cultural hegemony, and have influenced the understanding of folklore and other vernacular traditions in multicultural areas. Recent years have seen a rejoinder to this, with indigenous and national ethno-political movements working to heal the wounds created by Norwegianisation and the majority's cultural dominance over the years. But at this stage in the ethno-political development it has been important to take care of the 'national' traditions belonging to each ethnic group, and in that way many of the classifications of authentic and genuine traditions made by earlier research have been continued. Both the indigenous Sámi and the national minority Kvens have been fighting to revitalise their culture, and to safeguard their homogeneous ethnic traditions. One has not yet seen the emergence of a political movement concerned with the culture of people who identify with a 'hybrid' ethnic identity, despite

the fact that this is the actual background of the majority of people living in this area.

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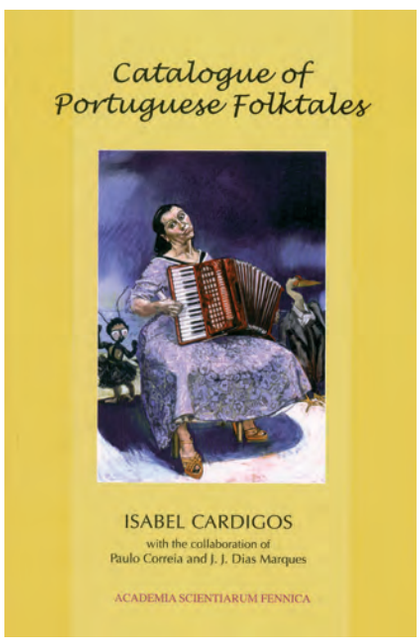
A New Volume in the FF Communications



FFC 291. *Isabel Cardigos with the collaboration of Paulo Correia and J. J. Dias Marques,*
Catalogue of Portuguese Folktales
Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 2007. 406 pp.
ISBN 951-41-0999-6 (hard), 951-41-1000-5 (soft)

Hard, 37 € *Soft, 32 €*

In the old Aarne/Thompson, Portugal was virtually non-existent, appearing in the bibliography of just three folktales. In 2003, the author of *The Types of International Folktales* (FFC 284–6) stretched his hand to the first manuscript of the *Catalogue of Portuguese Folktales* and included them in 700 types of his own manuscript. The *Catalogue of Portuguese Folktales* is now the first regional index that takes into account the classifications of the new 'ATU'. But it displays its difference by electing its own affinities with old 'AT' numbers, with regional catalogues, or even by offering new numbers. We can see a new face of the European folktale emerging, with a strong Mediterranean flavour.

A Mumming Skit from 1860: Its Context and Background

by *Carsten Bregenhøj,* Folklore Archivist
Kerava, Finland

> nobiliores fatui atro serico faciem obnuptam variato corporis vestitu, superadditis aureis zonis, & argenteis cingulis, voce mutata, amicis scrutandam ostendunt.
>
> The better-born idiots veil their countenances with black silk, clothe their bodies in motley dress, don golden girdles and silver belts, disguise their voices, and display themselves for their friends to gaze at. (Olaus Magnus 1555, book 13, chapter 42.)

Introduction

This year a new anthology on Nordic masks and mumming will see the light through the care of the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy for Swedish Folk Culture (Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur). After eight years of work the forthcoming book will be the largest study ever produced on the Nordic material past and present. The work puts literally thousands of records side by side in a large mosaic that shows the entire picture of a common and fascinating set of traditions. The editor of this opus, Terry Gunnell, has devoted an unprecedented amount of time, effort and patience to bringing this ambitious project into existence. *Masks and Mumming in the Nordic Area* is a heavy stela for one of the largest single Nordic folklore projects to date. But it should also mark a new beginning: opening a new awareness of both unity and diversity in our cultural heritage, it should point to many more research possibilities.[1]

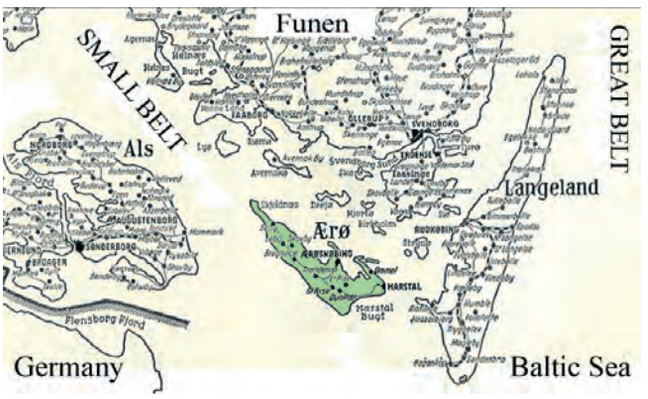
Denmark is in fact poor in mumming material. As such it has often been the practice to analyse the little we have at length. The forthcoming book includes a considerable survey on Danish mumming but still many detailed in-depth analyses had to be shortened or left out altogether. In the following I shall present one such case.

What is Mumming?

In modern English the word 'mumming' is regarded as a dialect word used mainly in eastern Canada. But one can still find the word 'mumm' (to mask, to sport or make diversion in a mask or disguise, Annandale 1915: 468) or 'mum, mummed, mumming' (to go about merrymaking in disguise during festivals, *Encyclopædia Britannica* 2007 Ultimate CD). The dictionaries are both right and wrong. To mum is no fun at all without an audience. The mumming traditions consist of two parties, people that at certain festivals disguise and mask themselves and go from house to house and people that open up their homes to these guising figures. The first try to stay anonymous, the second try to penetrate the camouflage and uncover the clues to a successful identification. Sometimes the mummers have a cheerful skit or sketch to perform, in most places they have not; in many regions the host groups keep up an entertaining conversation. In certain local societies adults and children go mumming at the same time, in others the two are segregated, and in yet another variation only children dress up and go. The ancient Nordic tradition was connected to Yule, often to the end of the Christmas period.

The tradition under consideration here is connected to Shrovetide. The so-called *Fastelavn* mumming in Denmark is known from the end of the fifteenth century, that is in the Catholic era (c. 1000–1536). However, the tradition continued undiminished into Protestant times. Both Christmas and Shrovetide mumming (along with other forms of entertainment), however, were from the early sixteenth century condemned by the church and judicial authorities. During the Evangelical period from the 1730s to the late eighteenth century a total ban on Christmas and Shrovetide fun was issued, including the masquerade that had become popular among town people in the late seventeenth century. The bourgeois masked balls were generally held between late December and the end of Shrovetide week. In spite of repeated condemnations and bans many country villages continued with their winter festival fun, especially in isolated areas of the country.

In the late eighteenth century the citizens of the capital, Copenhagen, were given the chance to arrange masquerades under certain conditions and from 1805 onwards they could be organised with the permission of the magistrate. Among others the University of Copenhagen had permission to put on such gatherings for its teachers and students — in those days only boys were allowed to attend the university. One of the famous descriptions of a masquerade is found in Hans Christian Andersen's novel *OT* from 1836, in which some of the university boys put on what would today be called a drag



Ærø in the south Funen archipelago. In the middle of the nineteenth century Æeøskøbing was a thrifty town with around a hundred sailing vessels undertaking Baltic Sea commerce.

show. Nevertheless, what inspired the capital slowly spread to the provincial towns.

The Context, Geography and Economy

The tradition under discussion here is from an island called Ærø in the southern archipelago south of one of the main parts of Denmark, the island of Funen. The carnivalesque incident that we shall look at happened in 1860 in the small town of Ærøskøbing, the administrative centre of the island, known in Denmark also for its seafarers and international commerce at the time of the sailing vessels. Tradition-wise the picture of this town's festivals is not quite clear. But noteworthy is that today both it and the neighbouring town of Marstal and the village of Ommel on the east coast maintain the Shrovetide mumming with house visits by maskers, locally called just *masker*, 'masks'. On the western part of the island, however, this tradition is not kept; instead the villages there observe Christmas mumming (Bregenhøj 1997; Fischer-Møller 2001; Fabricius 2007: 24). The two traditions are very similar in basic idea and structure but one is celebrated at Christmas, the other on Shrovetide Monday (Bregenhøj 2001).

At the time of the event there was a boom in the Danish economy, a result of the 'golden era of liberalism', and also the town of Ærøskøbing was at its height. On the island as a whole the population today is just two thirds of the population in the 1860s, 7000 now against 11,000 then (Trap 1957, vol. 13: 982; Jørgensen 2007: 2). In the first half of the nineteenth century the town population had steadily risen to about 1700 inhabitants (Trap 1957, vol. 13: 654). It was a homogeneous town of mainly single-storey, half-timbered houses, the bulk of which were erected in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century (Trap, vol. 13: 648–54). For around a hundred sailing vessels that traded goods in the Baltic area, in Schleswig-Holstein and Norway (Trap 1957, vol. 13: 655–6), it was the home harbour. We should imagine that during the winter of 1860 many sailors, mates and captains were home during the icy season, and ship-owners, shipyard managers and ship builders would be busy preparing for the coming journeys. Denmark's new democratic constitution of 1848 followed by subsequent new laws brought about a booming optimism in business and industry.

The Background for the Mumming Skit

To get to the core of the matter we should here —strange as it may sound—also premise a few remarks about marriage. Matrimony is the framework in this the first accounts that I have found concerning a skit in the carnival tradition of Ærø.

What is characteristic of a marriage ceremony in the mid-nineteenth century? Firstly the couple about to get married are dressed up in their best clothes. It is still the time of the black female dress. Especially the bride is marked out as someone special, perhaps not wearing an exceptional dress but rather with a special apron, ribbons and mounted hair decked with a wedding crown.[2] In the rural area of Denmark and the provincial towns the bridal fashion was not so elaborate and the folk costume was still worn or the bridal dress was black and could eventually also be used for other celebrations after the wedding. The bridegroom's dress was either folk costume or a black suit.

Secondly there needed to be an abundance of food and spirits, the more the better. The ideal was to have the entire family on both sides present, neighbours, close friends and as helpers the members of the youth groups, bachelors from his asso-

ciation and maids from hers. There were supposed to be many participants at a wedding, which could last for three days; the second day might be for the rest of the village, the third for all the helpers. The wedding guests would get to the village church in a procession either by foot, if the wedding house was close to the church, or else the guests would drive in carriages, if the wedding house was far from the village church. The procession would often include musicians to make the event more spectacular. The train to the bride's home was in a way a ritual for the acceptance by society at large of a new union (compare the royal weddings of modern times).

Thirdly the couple would be married by a clergyman in a church. The church would be decorated with branches or flowers and candles. The clergyman would be dressed in his ecclesiastical ceremonial outfit, and the ceremony would be quite elaborate and long. The congregation would be mentioned as the witnesses to the marriage.

Fourthly all the guests would provide food for the wedding and give the married couple gifts, things they would need in their future life together. It could be money but it could also be for instance a farm animal, farm implements or furniture (Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1983).

In this description I have tried to gather some of the wedding aspects that everybody knew belonged to a wedding—*these elements constituted the concept of wedding*—a marriage without these elements would be an unconventional wedding which would harm the unity of a village. Such weddings did exist, the so-called 'parlour weddings' in which the bride's father and the groom-to-be would calculate that it was more economical to pay for a homestead for the young couple than to spend the money on a big three-day wedding for the whole village. The name 'parlour wedding' referred to the fact that the wedding ceremony was performed at home, by a cleric, indeed, but not in church. Out of the question was of course a wedding procession.

The Legislative Context for the Skit

To understand the following skit we should also take into account the developments in Danish society at the time.[3] The French Revolution had repercussions in Denmark too, especially in the field of legislation. As a result of the Revolution the French National Assembly, among many other new things it inaugurated, including the concept of human rights, in 1789 divided societal life into a private sphere and a public sphere. Marriage was part of the private sphere, and in 1791 the law concerning civil marriage was passed. In Europe social unrest followed hard on the heels of the French uprising. After a number of rebellions throughout Europe in the late 1840s and alongside a successful Danish–Prussian war 1848–9 in which the upper middle class played a significant role, the Danish parliament passed a new constitution on 5 June 1848, based in principle on the French constitution. In consequence of the constitution and freedom of worship the marriage laws had to follow suit, that is, everybody was entitled to an acknowledged marriage ceremony. There was no eminent need for a law on civil marriage but in case two parties of different religious confessions or religious communities wanted to get married this was their right, which had to be accounted for in the constitution. So in 1851 Denmark got a law on marriage before a magistrate, or a civil marriage.

We do not have any statistics for the country as a whole but we know for instance that in 1864 the civil marriages in Copenhagen were as few as 10. During the period 1870–80 the average was 18 civil marriages a year.

In the law of 13 April 1851 it is stated that the civil marriage can be carried out by a local judge (a recorder, judge of limited civil jurisdiction) in the presence of two witnesses. The judge reminds the parties of the importance of marriage, accepts their pronouncement of marrying each other and then declares them to be lawfully wed. Their data are entered in the civil marriage register and they sign it.

In contrast to the church wedding none of the parties had to be dressed up; the judge would often wear his insignia as judge, but that is all. There was no music, not necessarily any gifts or celebrations, no families and relatives involved, and no procession.

The Source Material

We now turn to the source of the comment on a carnival celebration in Ærøskøbing on Sunday 26 February 1860. The source is a newly started newspaper called *Ærø Avis* (a product, so to speak, of the trade act of 1857). It had been started two years earlier but had some difficulties in reaching enough subscribers. By 1860, however, the paper was up and running and appearing twice or three times a week, on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays under normal circumstances.

In the weeks around Shrovetide three businesses had taken substantial advertisements in the newspaper. They were J. P. Bonsack, the owner of one of the local inns (13, 17, 22, 24 February), for his masquerade, T. C. Creutz, book and stationery shop owner (13, 17, 22, 24 February), and Jens Petersen, owner of the Ærø lace, ribbon and fancy-goods shop (15, 17, 22, 24 February).

Under the headline *Advertissementer*, 'advertisements', Johan Phillip Bonsack writes: 'Maskerade.

Med det kongelige Amtshuses Tilladelse afholder Undertegnede en Maskerade Søndagen den 26 dennes, om Aftenen Kl. 7, hvortil indbydes. Billetter a 4 Mk faas hos J. P. Bonsack' ('Masquerade. With the permission of the Inland Revenue district office the undersigned is giving a masquerade on Sunday the 26th instant, in the evening at 7 o'clock [p.m.], to which [the public] is invited. Tickets at 4 marks are to be got from J. P. Bonsack'). On 24 February he adds to his advertisement: 'Demaskeringen finder Sted Klokken 11' ('The unmasking will take place at 11 o'clock [p.m.]')

In his announcement T. C. Creutz calls attention to his: 'Masker. Til forestaaende Maskerade anbefales Vox- og Papmasker, samt Guld- og Sølvbaand, Snorre & Palietter, af T. C. Creutz' ('Masks. For the coming masquerade wax and cardboard masks, as well as gold and silver ribbons, cords and spangles are recommended by T. C. Creutz').

By contrast Jens Petersen just points out that: 'Masker ere arriverede og anbefales af Jens Petersen' ('Masks have arrived and are recommended by Jens Petersen'). However, on both 15 and 17 February Jens Petersen in fact has two advertisements, the other one reading: 'Baand. Et Parti Baand i alla Farver udsælges til og under Indkjøbspriis hos Jens Petersen' ('Ribbons. A lot of ribbons in all colours on sale at or below cost at Jens Petersen's').

'A Procession of a Civil Wedding'

In the newspaper on Monday, 27 February, there is no mention of the carnival celebration—the printing technique did not leave the editor with the possibility of reporting what went on in the evening of the 26th. So instead the report is given in the following number of the paper on Wednesday, 29 February. The local news items are organised according to the places in which they have taken place, so also in this case:

> Ærøskøbing. I Søndags Aftes var der et ualmindeligt Liv på vore Gader, da der den Aften skulle afholdes en Maskerade. Efter hvad vi erfarer har der også hersket en meget munter Stemning, og flere smukke og curieuse Masker saaes; et borgerligt Bryllups-Optog vakte især megen Munterhed. Efterat Maskerne vare tagne af dandsede man i glad Forening til den lyse Morgen.
>
> Ærøskøbing. On Sunday evening there was an unusual vivacity in our streets as that night a masquerade was to be arranged. We learn that a very cheerful spirit ruled and a number of beautiful and remarkable masks (= mummers?) were seen; especial hilarity was caused by a procession of a civil wedding. After the masks had been removed the dance went on in happy union until the break of day.

Text Analysis

We should here note the difficulty in discerning whether the journalist uses standard Danish or weaves in the local dialect. In the Ærøskøbing vocabulary the singular form *en maske*, 'a mask', plural form *masker*, 'masks', means both a cover or partial cover of the face for disguise as well as a person wearing a mask. Here at the first mention of the word it could mean both masks and maskers or mummers, probably the last, as the writer goes on to identify a particular group of mummers according to their costumes. Also, the use of the word *curieuse*, which in a modern translation means 'curious', is in fact used in the sense of peculiar or remarkable or fantastic—not masks but ensembles.

We can also point to another difficulty: we could easily combine the present-day tradition and the 1860 description and deduce that mummers in 1860 went from house to house. With the term 'unusual vivacity' the journalist could either be comparing everyday evening traffic with the specially populous and picturesque streets of this Shrovetide evening or he could refer to an innovation in the tradition, the carnival at Bonsack's, which had turned out particularly many mummers visiting friends and tantalizing them with their hidden identity before going to the masquerade. From a mummer's perspective there would be no reason to turn up at the public house at 7 p.m. wearing a mask through which it would be impossible or at best difficult to enjoy drink and food. Socializing, dancing and staying anonymous for four hours (as presumed by Bonsack in his advertisement of 24 February) is indeed a condition that many masked participants would no doubt try to avoid by arriving late. The fact that the masquerade is on the last day in the Shrovetide week (and not six days earlier on the Shrovetide Monday) could perhaps indicate the last alternative.

Understanding Shrovetide Skits

In present-day Ærøskøbing the butt of the Shrovetide skits or jokes is local events, municipal politicians, media events or political or economical mishaps. If something on the local arena has gone wrong it is bound to come up during carnival—some national events may be ventilated as well but they are less evident and less frequent. In 2001, for instance, a trio of bacon merchants presented live piglets to their audiences taking orders for later delivery—alive or ready frozen. Is it funny? The background was that a municipal civil servant had

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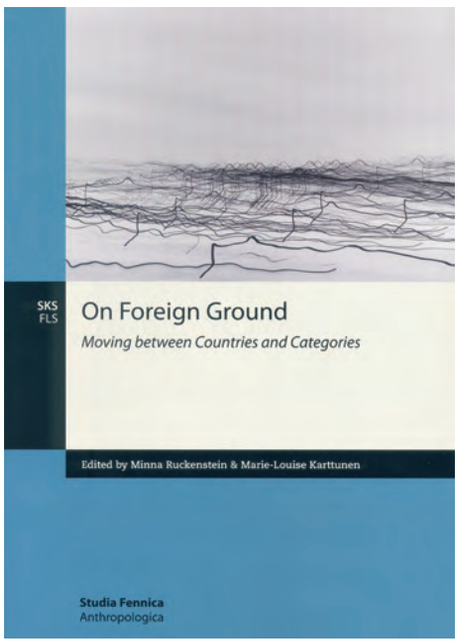
Recent Publications of the Finnish Literature Society



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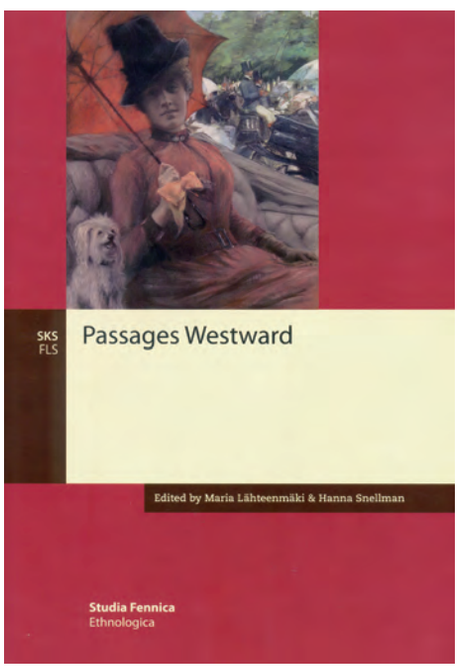
On Foreign Ground: Moving between Countries and Categories
Edited by Minna Ruckenstein & Marie-Louise Karttunen.
Studia Fennica Anthropologica 1. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2007. 209 pp. ISBN 978-951-746-914-2. 29 €

The essays in this collection explore classical anthropological questions in modern sites, from Ghana to Karelia, from India to Italy, from Kuala Lumpur to St. Petersburg. They examine change and continuity through the lens of memory and sense of place, religious practice, migration and diaspora, social and politico-economical structures. Together these themes illustrate the resilience of culture in creating meaningful orders in people's lives and underline the importance of analysis of cultural difference in today's world. Scholarly approaches that are foundational to anthropological knowledge are here applied to the exploration of the particularities and rationales behind various kinds of cultural orders. Thus the essays contained in this collection are rewarding both for empirical and theoretical content and can be recommended for teachers, students and researchers of anthropology.



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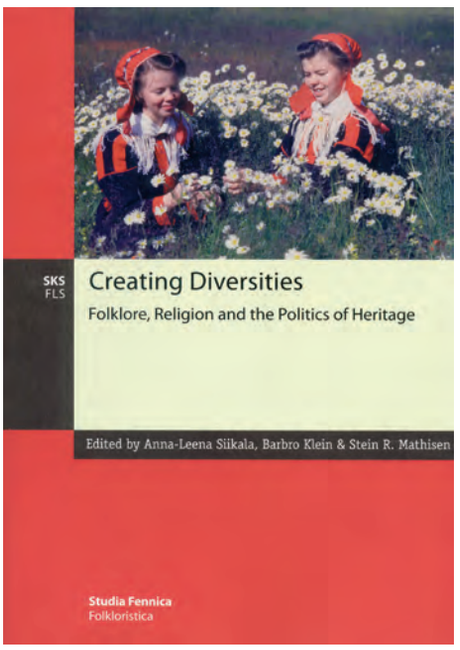
Passages Westward
Edited by Maria Lähteenmäki & Hanna Snellman.
Studia Fennica Ethnologica 9. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2006. 247 pp. ISBN 951-746-894-6. 29 €

The West has always been a resource for the Finns. Scholars, artists and other professionals have sought contacts from Europe throughout the centuries. The Finnish experience in Western Europe and the New World is a story of migrant laborers, expatriates and specialists working abroad. But you don't have to be born in Finland to be a Finn. The experiences of second-generation Finnish immigrants and their descendants open up new possibilities for understanding the relationship between Finland and the West.

The Finnish passage westward has not always crossed national borders. Karelian evacuees headed west, as did young people from the Finnish countryside when opportunities to make a living in agriculture and forestry diminished in the post-war era. The legacy of these migrants is still visible in the suburbs of Finnish cities today.

This book is a joint effort of the Department of Ethnology and the Department of History at the University of Helsinki. It was written by PhD students supervised by Academy Research Fellows Maria Lähteenmäki and Hanna Snellman, in collaboration with colleagues abroad interested in current research in ethnology and history.

Creating Diversities: Folklore, Religion and the Politics of Heritage
Edited by Anna-Leena Siikala, Barbro Klein & Stein R. Mathisen.
Studia Fennica Folkloristica 14. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2004. 307 pp. ISBN 951-746-631-5. 31 €



The effects of globalization and the momentous changes to the political map of Europe have led to a world in which multiculturalism and ethnic differences have become issues of increasing importance. In Nordic countries, relationships between new immigrants, local ethnic groups and majorities are created in ongoing and sometimes heated discussions. In transforming multicultural societies, folklore has taken on new manifestations and meanings. How can folklore studies illuminate the present cultural, political and historical changes?

This book seeks answers to this question. It emphasizes two important factors in the cultural and political exchanges among historial minorities, recent immigrants, and the majority groups dictating the conditions of these exchanges. The first factor is religion, which is powerful tool in the construction of ethnic selves and in the establishment of boundaries between groups. The second factor is the role of national and regional folklore archives and ethnographic and cultural historical museums which create ideas and images of minorities. These representations, created in different political climates, affect the general understanding of the people depicted.

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Modernisation in Russia since 1900
Edited by Markku Kangaspuro & Jeremy Smith.
Studia Fennica Historica 12. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2006. 331 pp. ISBN 951-746-854-7. 31 €

Modernisation has been a constant theme in Russian history at least since Peter the Great launched a series of initiatives aimed at closing the economic, technical and cultural gap between Russia and the more 'advanced' countries of Europe. All of the leaders of the Soviet Union and post-Soviet Russia have been intensely aware of this gap, and have pursued a number of strategies, some more successful than others, in order to modernise the country. But it would be wrong to view modernisation as a unilinear process which was the exclusive preserve of the state. Modernisation has had profound effects on Russian society, and the attitudes of different social groups have been crucial to the success and failure of modernisation.

This volume examines the broad theme of modernisation in late imperial, Soviet, and post-Soviet Russia both through general overviews of particular topics, and specific case studies of modernisation projects and their impact. Modernisation is seen not just as an economic policy, but as a cultural and social phenomenon reflected through such diverse themes as ideology, welfare, education, gender relations, transport, political reform, and the Internet. The result is the most up to date and comprehensive survey of modernisation in Russia available, which highlights both one of the perennial problems and the challenges and prospects for contemporary Russia.

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bought what was known as a 'black pig', which means it was purchased directly at the stable door without paying VAT. Unfortunately this turned into a rumour that ran around the community and when it reached the press it had become a chain of bribes for which the authorities were bending the rules concerning a prospective enterprise. The civil servant confessed and everybody laughed (Bregenhøj 2001).

So we do not know exactly how and through what means the procession of a civil wedding was funny but we do know why. A civil wedding would have been against all norms of the inhabitants of the little provincial town, and a procession of a civil wedding would be a paradox.

When we speculate into the matter we may apply binary oppositions. We can say that the bride and groom were not dressed as a normal bride and groom, yet somehow it must have been clear that they were a couple about to be wed. One of the obvious distortions would be if two male maskers portrayed the happy couple, not least if 'the girl' was in the family way; or if the couple appeared in reversed roles. If symbols were used the opposite of a plentiful wedding table would be a dead herring and an empty schnapps glass or bottle. We do not know how many were taking part in the performance but we can assume that the minimum would be five persons: the couple, the judge and the two witnesses. The two could of course be sworn in *ad hoc* after the trio had made their entrance in the homes. We do not know if it was fully understood that the civil wedding was at that time exclusively for couples from two different religious communities. If it was, how were these people then portrayed, a Jew and a Christian, a Protestant and a Catholic, a sailor and a Negro girl? The large contingent of sailors in the town population would no doubt know more about cultural differences than people in the purely farming areas. We are also free to guess about the disguise of the judge. At the time judges and barristers would as part of their official robes wear a coat of red velvet or black silk; that could easily be imitated, with a suitable hat to go with it as well, maybe with a little trimming in gold or silver ribbons from either of the elegancy suppliers, Creutz or Petersen, either exaggerated or underscored depending on the style of the performance. Much of the fun and merriment would, as today, have depended on the verbal humour that the mummers could muster. In fact the group might just have mentioned that they depicted a civil wedding before the judge joined the two in matrimony. In those days parodies of wedding speeches formed a genre in itself at youth gatherings where farm boys and girls were paired for the coming working season. The 'judge' would have had raw models to follow. With terrific volubility or gibberish the official may have mocked the liturgy, used the wrong words and innuendo, and ridiculed the whole idea of the new marriage institution.

From the short summary of the carnival celebration the mood can clearly be inferred. The words *munter* and *munterhed* ('cheerful' and 'cheerfulness') are used, there is a bustling activity in the streets and a *happy union* among former mummers and guests at the inn. Some researchers have suggested that the mumming traditions of the Nordic countries may be a form of begging but this is not unambiguously supported either by this description or by the intensive fieldwork that I and others have carried out. On the contrary, this short note seems to fall well into place as a form of practical joke and entertainment that one sees even today (Bregenhøj 1996).

The Masquerade—a Party for the Well-to-do

From the journalistic description in *Ærø Avis* 1860 we can infer another aspect of the mumming tradition. We can ask ourselves: Which age group would most likely be interested in following the legislation of the country, know both the form of the traditional wedding and the rules for a civil marriage and be able to make a parody of this? At that time in Denmark young men came of age when they reached 25 (after 1869 this age of majority applied to women as well), so in 1860 the independent decision to get married could be taken by a man when he reached 25 years of age. We could suppose that concern for the marriage legislation would hardly be interesting to a citizen of Ærøskøbing before the age of 20. Comparing the events in present-day Ærøskøbing we can see that hardly anybody in the society would start his or her mumming career before the age of 20. When reading the advertisements we may assume that a costume, a mask and the entrance fee would run up a sum of money that not everybody could afford to pay. Finally we should remember that the new constitution was mainly brought about by the rising middle classes; in the spirit of the time they formed a brotherhood of societal success and had cause to congratulate themselves. So we may conclude that the 'procession of a civil wedding' consisted of well-to-do, well-versed and informed adults.

Here we could also ask ourselves why publican Bonsack did not connect his event to an existing mumming evening. Re-reading one of the advertisements we are also faced with an apparently uncommercial phenomenon: 'Masker. Til forestaaende

A halfmask modified with a piece of stocking and lace, airy and easy to wear. Finland, around 1950–60, private collection.

Maskerade anbefales Vox- og Papmasker, samt Guld- og Sølvbaand, Snorre & Palietter, af T. C. Creutz' ('Masks. For the coming masquerade wax and cardboard masks, as well as gold and silver ribbons, cords and spangles are recommended by T. C. Creutz'). This first appears on Monday, 13 February, a week before Shrovetide Monday, supposed to be the high season for Shrovetide mumming. It could have been 'Masker. Til forestaaende Fastelavn og Maskerade . . .' ('Masks. For the coming Shrovetide and Masquerade . . .'), but it is not. Are we to believe that there was no Shrovetide mumming in Ærøskøbing in 1860? Would it not be logical to sell to everyone that would want to buy? Comparing other records of the Danish mumming traditions we are confronted with several ecclesiastical and administrative sources that talk about the nuisance caused by poor people or boys dressing up and performing for money. We Europeans are so used to thinking of public events as part of an egalitarian society that we find it hard to imagine a society in which there are class divisions. Going over the facts once more we may come to the conclusion that Creutz and Petersen were owners of luxury shops or boutiques for the bourgeoisie—people that considered themselves the pillars of society, that socialized between themselves and met at the right functions, that followed the vogue, shopped at the right places and enjoyed the newly won civil rights. One plausible solution why the party was not on Shrovetide Monday and no mention of Shrovetide is made comes to mind: Shrovetide Monday was a mundane holiday for the lower classes, and they may have gone about merrymaking in cheap disguise during the festival begging for alms. But the masquerade: that was something completely different, an investment for the stabilisation of social connections among the prosperous.

As always when we talk about festivities before the time of the record player and radio we should take into account that all entertainment was welcomed. The businessman Bonsack utilized the possibilities of the day to the maximum. In 1857 Denmark had got a so-called Trade Act or law on free trade and free choice of one's occupation. Hereby privileged occupations were abolished and forms of entertainment that earlier were restricted to the upper class or the capital bourgeoisie were now within reach of entrepreneurs and thereby normal citizens. The law also did away with privileged town musicians and everywhere dance music flourished. Bonsack must have seen the niche and hired an able music group. From the mid-nineteenth century dancing became one of the fashions of the time, among other things due to the waltzes and polkas, for instance by Johann Strauss the elder (1804–49), and Johann Strauss the younger (1825–99). The journalist notes the enthusiasm, and the dances certainly influenced the spirit of the ensuing party, celebrated to the break of day.

Conclusion

From an Ærøskøbing perspective the 1860 masquerade was an upper-class event. However, there is good reason to believe that it also included an element of mumming, visiting friends and relatives in masks and costumes before continuing to the masked ball. For the understanding of the mumming skit—A Procession of a Civil Wedding—we have had to go into a number of social and political elements of the time to find out about context and background. The humorous sketch was a satire of the law on civil weddings and the consequent elimination of all 'normal' wedding symbols. The story of the Ærøskøbing masquerade continued after 1860. The advertisements in the newspaper can be found each year until 1864. Maybe the elaborate preparations in today's Shrovetide Monday mumming constitute a reminiscence of this brief masquerade period. The short but catastrophic war with Prussia from January to July 1864 had a damaging effect on trade that hit Ærøskøbing badly. The famine of 1867–8 turned bad to worse. The advertisements that now characterized the content of *Ærø Avis* were for the prospects of emigration.

In the forthcoming book there are seven surveys concerning the masks and mumming of national states or geographic areas. In addition to these large overviews of traditions past and present there are eighteen special studies of different aspects of the mumming phenomenon. It is a piece of our cultural heritage that is nevertheless so multifaceted that only scrutiny reveals the true character of each

facet. As the reading above demonstrates it takes an effort to come close to the content and meaning of each tradition, especially when for instance the source is distant from our own time. Most of the old sources are moreover so agonizingly lapidary that nothing about them opens easily. When twenty-five specialized scholars have cooperated to reveal what it means to mum and wear a false face their effort and experience are bound to produce new results of lasting value.

Notes

1 Terry Gunnell (ed.): *Masks and Mumming in the Nordic Area*. Around 840 pages, ills, index, bibliography. Uppsala: The Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy for Swedish Folk Culture, 2007. Distributed by Swedish Science Press, Box 118, SE 751 04 Uppsala. Price approximately 400 SEK, 44 euros. Material used in this study is from the chapter by Carsten Bregenhøj and Hanne Pico Larsen: 'Masks and Mumming Traditions in Denmark', pp. 185–270.

2 'Brudekronen som kun den brud burde bære, som ikke tidligere havde været gift, eller som ikke tidligere havde været indført i kirkebogen som moder, var i ældre tid at få til leje på Amtsstuen. Den var en meget kostbar med gyldne bævrenåle og glasperler prydet hue, der anbragtes på baghovedet. Forhåret blev redt tilbage til den og blev bundet så stramt at alle ansigtstrækkene fik en opadgående retning. Den øvrige dragt var en sort klædestrøje og ditto skørt, kant'et overalt med sorte atlask silkebånd. Halsen og brystet var dækket med flere kulørte i sirlige folder lagte små silketørklæder. Et silkeforklæde endte denne ærbare dragt.' ('The bridal crown, which was only to be worn by a bride who had never previously been married, or who had not earlier been noted in the church books as the mother of a child, was in former times rented from the county authorities. It was a very precious crown with golden dangles and a cap embellished with glass beads that was placed on the crown of the head. The bride's front hair was combed back to it and fastened so tightly that all her facial features had an upwards slant. The rest of her dress was a black stuff waist and skirt, edged everywhere with a black satin ribbon. The neckline and bodice were covered with several small brightly coloured silk scarves in elaborate folds. A silk apron finished this venerable costume.') This Ærø description is from a wedding in Bregninge vicarage, 27 September 1829, when the groom was Christen Jensen, born in 1797, and the bride was Johanne Pedersdatter (Holgersen). Recorded by Ib Christensen. See www.home13.inet.tele.dk/ibcung/aeroslaegt/smags3bondebryllup.htm.

3 The present study is a thoroughly revised version of an article in Danish that appeared in 2001: Carsten Bregenhøj: 'Et bryllupsoptog og et svinegodt skælmstykke. Iagttagelser fra Ærøskøbings fastelavn' (see Bregenhøj 2001). See also the references in that work.

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Folklorists Gather at the Seventh Summer School

by *Pauliina Latvala*, Dr, General Secretary of the FF Summer School
University of Helsinki

The seventh international Folklore Fellows' Summer School 'Oral Poetry and Fieldwork' is about to begin. The organising committee received almost a hundred applications from nearly thirty different countries. The course will be held in Archangel Karelia in the Republic of Karelia within the Russian Federation on 11–20 June. The registration and first lectures will be held in the township of Kuhmo, situated in north-eastern Finland. The participants will spend two nights (11–13 June) in Kuhmo and the lectures will be held there in the Information Center for the Kalevala and Karelian Culture, the so-called 'Juminkeko'. The course will first concentrate on the political uses of tradition and the landscape of the Finnish national epic, the *Kalevala*. The audience will have the chance to listen to professors Terry Gunnell, John Foley and John Shaw already in Kuhmo, as well as Finnish folklorists Satu Apo, Pertti Anttonen, Seppo Knuuttila, Irma-Riitta Järvinen and Lotte Tarkka, whose dissertation concentrated on Kalevalaic poetry in Vuokkiniemi. We will also have a programme for the first evening, including the films *Weddings in Poetic Karelia* and *The Birth of the Kalevala*.

FFSS 2007 in Viena Karelia will be a kind of fieldwork itself, since the participants will make short field trips in idyllic restored villages like Paanajärvi, Venehjärvi and Vuonninen. Also the accommodation is organised with local families. Juminkeko has excellent pages in English that reveal the past, present and future of the Viena folklore villages. See: http://www.juminkeko.fi/viena/en/.

Programme

11 June

Arrival in Kajaani. Accommodation in Kuhmo.
Registration and get-together in Juminkeko, The Information Center for the Kalevala and Karelian Culture.

12 June

The Kalevala and Political Uses of Tradition
(Chair: Lauri Harvilahti)
Opening: Chair of the Organizing Committee of the FFSS, Prof. Anna-Leena Siikala
Terry Gunnell: 'The Politics of Folk-Tale Collection: Jón Árnason, Asbjörnsen and Moe and Dasent'
Satu Apo: 'Folkloristic Criticism of the Kalevala: A Short History from Lönnrot's Era to the 21st Century'
Pertti Anttonen: 'The Kalevala in Finnish History Politics'
The Kalevala Landscape
Seppo Knuuttila: 'The End of the Field'
Lotte Tarkka: 'The Vuokkiniemi Corpus—Genre, Authority and Tradition in Kalevalaic Poetry'
Irma-Riitta Järvinen: 'Aspects of Orthodox Folk Religion and Folk Belief in Russian Karelia'
Films: *Weddings in Poetic Karelia*, *The Birth of the Kalevala*

13 June

Oral Poetry and the Interpretation of Genres
(Chair: Anna-Leena Siikala)
John Miles Foley: 'Genres of Oral Poetry'
John Shaw: 'Gaelic Oral Poetry in Scotland: Its Nature, Collection and Dissemination'

Departure for Vuokkiniemi, Viena Karelia.

14 June

The Re-creating and Reviving of Culture
(Chair: Terry Gunnell)
Pekka Hakamies: 'Modernization of Folk Life and Culture in the Soviet Karelia'
Stein R. Mathisen: 'The Uses of Folklore in Multicultural Contexts'
Aleksandra Stepanova: 'Studying Laments in Karelia'

Excursion to Venehjärvi.

15 June

Performance and the Voices of Oral Tradition
(Chair: Stein R. Mathisen)
Terry Gunnell: 'The Performance of the Old Icelandic Eddic Poems: Voices, Rhythms and Space'
John Shaw: 'Recording Gaelic Singers in Modern Cape Breton: How Fieldwork Speaks to Us'

Presentations by participants and discussion
Joonas Ahola: 'The Outcast in Icelandic Saga and Kalevalaic Epic. Discussing Comparative Study'
Frog: 'Poetry in the Oral Traditions of Medieval Iceland'
Eldar Heide: 'Folklore in Reconstruction of Early Scandinavian Cultural History'
Kati Heinonen: 'Overlaps of Genre in Ingrian Poetry'
Venla Sykäri: 'Rhyming Couplets in Crete: A Rhyming Language in Performance and Composition'

16 June
Methodology of Oral Tradition
(Chair: Pekka Hakamies)
John Miles Foley: 'Methodologies of Research on Oral Poetry'
Lauri Harvilahti: 'From the Field to the Archive'

Excursion to Paanajärvi and overnight stay.

17 June
The excursion to Paanajärvi continues.

Presentation by participants and discussion
Eila Stepanova: '"I drown my sorrows in weeping": The Laments of Seesjärvi Karelians'
Galina Misharina: 'Komi Laments'
Pihla Siim: 'Fieldwork in a Transnational Setting: Collecting Family Narratives in Estonia, Finland and Russia'
Jūratė Šlekonytė: 'Regarding the Peculiarities of Storytelling: On Lithuanian Material'
Yin Hubin: 'Precious Volumes and Their Ritual Context: A Case Study of Houtu Cult and Oral Tradition in North China'

Return by bus to Vuokkiniemi.

18 June
Authenticity and Interpretations of Tradition
(Chair: John Shaw)
John Miles Foley: 'The Orality–Literacy Debate'
Stein R. Mathisen: 'Conservation and Consumption of Traditional Culture in Tourism'

Presentation by participants and discussion
Leah Lowthorp: 'The Cultural Politics of UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage in India: Kutiyattam Sanskrit Theatre'
Hanne Pico Larsen: 'Introducting the "Third Gaze": A Reflection on Painting, Performativity, and the Dialectics of Tourism'
Csaba Mészáros: 'Discourse-Types and Meta-folklore: The Problem of Identifying and Recognising Texts during Fieldwork'
Maria Vlasova: 'The Conception of the World's Creation in Karelian Epic Rune Songs'
Jelena Dubrovskaya: 'The Karelian Borderland in the Historical Memory of the Native Population in Sources of the Early 20th Century'
Elo-Hanna Seljamaa: 'Some General Comments about Folklore: Walter Anderson's Law of Self-Correction'

19 June
Departure from Viena Karelia. Arrival in Kuhmo.

Folklore Fellows' Dinner Party at Juminkeko.

20 June
Departure from Kuhmo and Finland.

Presentations of the FFSS 2007 Lecturers

Pertti Anttonen

Pertti Anttonen received his doctorate from the University of Pennsylvania, USA. He is a docent in folkloristics at both Helsinki and Turku Universities, as well as docent in ethnology at the University of Jyväskylä. During 1991–5 he worked as a research secretary of the Nordic Institute of Folklore, and in 1996–7 as an acting assistant professor of folkloristics at Helsinki University. Thereafter he was appointed a researcher fellow in the project Folklore, Heritage Politics and Ethnic Diversity. Later he worked for four years as a researcher at the Academy of Finland. Anttonen worked as a professor at the department of folkloristics in Turku University from 2004 to 2006, and then as a professor in the department of ethnology in the University of Jyväskylä. This coming autumn he will start working as an acting professor of folklore studies at the University of Helsinki. He has recently published a monograph entitled *Tradition through Modernity: Postmodernism and the Nation-State in Folklore Scholarship*. *Perinne ja argumentaatio* ('Tradition and Argumentation') is a consideration of the same subject matter. Both of these studies consider the production of modernity and view folklore as social and political discourse. His forthcoming book deals with the historical and political significance of St Henry, the man assumed to have been the first bishop of Finland. Anttonen has also drawn upon ethnopoetic analysis in his studies of Ingrian wedding rituals.

Satu Apo

Satu Apo is professor of Folklore Studies at Helsinki University, Finland. Her doctoral dissertation (*The Narrative World of Finnish Fairy Tales*, 1995; Finnish edition 1986) deals with tales of magic. Her study of traditional alcohol culture in Finland (*Viinan voima, Mighty Spirits*) was published in 2001. She has edited the anthologies *Gender and Folklore* (1998, together with Aili Nenola and Laura Stark-Arola) and *Topelius elää – Topelius lever* (2005, together with Märtha Norrback). She has published several articles on Elias Lönnrot and the *Kalevala*, for example 'Lönnrot's Voice in the *Kalevala*' (2003) and 'A Singing Scribe or a Nationalist Author: The Making of the *Kalevala* as Described by Lönnrot' (2003). Her article 'The Relationship between Oral and Literary Tradition as a Challenge in Fairy-Tale Research' will be published in *Marvels and Tales: Journal of Fairy-Tale Studies* (2007).

John Miles Foley

Professor John Miles Foley is a specialist in the world's oral traditions, with particular emphasis on the ancient Greek, medieval English and contemporary South Slavic traditions. He serves as W. H. Byler Distinguished Chair in the Humanities, as Curators' Professor of Clas-

sical Studies and English, and as the founding director of the Center for Studies in Oral Tradition (www.oraltradition.org, 1986–) at the University of Missouri-Columbia, where he edits the journal *Oral Tradition* and two series of books. He is also founding director of the Center for eResearch (www.e-researchcenter.org, 2004–), which fosters cross-disciplinary internet-related research, at the same institution. His major publications include *The Theory of Oral Composition* (1988), *Traditional Oral Epic* (1990), *Immanent Art* (1991), *The Singer of Tales in Performance* (1995), *Teaching Oral Traditions* (1998), *Homer's Traditional Art* (1999), *How To Read an Oral Poem* (2002), with an eCompanion at www.oraltradition.org/hrop, *A Companion to Ancient Epic* (2005), an edition-translation, *The Wedding of Mustajbey's Son Bećirbey as Performed by Halil Bajgorić* (2004), with an eEdition at www.oraltradition.org/zbm, as well as approximately 160 scholarly articles. He can be reached at FoleyJ@missouri.edu.

Terry Gunnell

Terry Gunnell was born in England. He received his doctorate in Icelandic Studies from the University of Leeds in 1991. His current position is Senior Lecturer in Folkloristics at the University of Iceland. His major areas of interest are performance and the transformation of space in folk drama, festivals and story-telling traditions, Old Norse religion, folk drama, folk legends and folk belief, school traditions, heritage and identity. At present, he is running a new national survey into Icelandic spiritual worldview and belief. He is the editor of the new Icelandic database of folk legends (Sagnagrunnur). His major publications include *The Origins of Drama in Scandinavia* (Cambridge, 1995), on the performance of Old Icelandic Eddic poetry (based on his doctoral thesis), 'Hof, Halls, *Goðar* and Dwarves: An Examination of the Ritual Space in the Pagan Icelandic Hall', *Cosmos* 17 (2001): 3–36, and various other articles on Eddic poetry and Old Norse religion. He is also a working member of the Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademie, Uppsala.

Pekka Hakamies

Professor Pekka Hakamies studied folkloristics and Russian language in the University of Helsinki and took his MA degree in 1981 and PhD in 1987. The theme of his doctoral thesis was 'The Influence of Russian Proverbs in Karelian and Finnish Proverbial Tradition'. He has worked periodically at the Folklore Archive of the Finnish Literature Society, 1975–81, and as an acting assistant in the Department of Folklore in the University of Helsinki, 1981–3. In 1984 he took up a permanent position in the Karelian Institute of the University of Joensuu in Finnish North Karelia, where he stayed 22 years. His research was mainly focused on the Karelian folk tradition, its symbolic role as an indicator of ethnic identity on the Finnish-Karelian border area, and on the modernisation of the Karelian folk culture. Prof. Hakamies has carried out fieldwork in Russian Karelia during the 1990s, and in the beginning of the 2000s in former Finnish Karelia (now in Russia). He also has some experience in fieldwork among the Finno-Ugric Udmurts in the Volga area in inner Russia. He has worked as an acting professor in the universities of Joensuu and Helsinki. Since August 2006 he has worked as the professor of folkloristics of the University of Turku. Currently his research interests are focused mainly on the oral narratives of the Soviet inhabitants of the former Finnish Karelia.

Lauri Harvilahti

The vice-chair of the FFSS Organising Committee, docent Lauri Harvilahti is a director at the Folklore Archive of the Finnish Literature Society. He received his doctorate in 1992 from Turku University and later also received a doctorate of philology in Moscow. He has lectured to several universities and research centres around the world, such as Columbia (Missouri), Ohio State University, Harvard, Pennsylvania, Edinburgh, Kenyatta University, Vishva Bharati University, Bangla Academy, Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Altaistics, Folk Culture Centre of Lithuania, University of Tartu, Reykjavík University and others. At present he is a vice-president for Europe of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research (ISFNR). His research interests include the collections of epics and other items of folklore, and management of cultural archives. His theoretical interests lie with the ethno-cultural processes of various peoples, systems for archiving folklore materials, computer folkloristics and questions of ethnic and national identity. As a result of fieldwork carried out over the past twenty years (1985–2005) he has become familiar with many traditional cultures. The leading ethical questions have to do with reciprocity and the foregrounding of the culture as valued by the culture-bearers themselves, so that the research may benefit these people, too (by developing their archive system, for example).

Irma-Riitta Järvinen

Irma-Riitta Järvinen works as a researcher at the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society. She published her doctoral dissertation, *Karelian Sacred Narratives – A Study of Orthodox Religious Legends and Changes in Folk Belief in the Livvian-Speaking Area of Karelia*, in 2004. She has carried out fieldwork in the 1990s among the Karelian-speaking inhabitants of Olonets Karelia in Russia, stydying the religious conceptions and rituals of women. Järvinen has edited an anthology of Finnish and Karelian sacred legends, and a collection of articles on narrative folklore together with Seppo Knuuttila. She has published more than a hundred articles and writings mainly in Finnish and English on various folklore genres. Järvinen is working in the indexing

project of *Kalevala*-metre folk songs and charms. She is an editor of *Elore*, a Finnish folklore journal published on the internet.

Seppo Knuuttila

Seppo Knuuttila is professor of research into tradition at Joensuu University. The central topics in which he is interested are interpretations of localness, as well as mentalities and ethnic world views, contemporary and popular culture and cultural theories. He directs the Research School in Cultural Interpretations (2007–11), funded by the Ministry of Education and Finnish Academy. He is the chairman of the Kalevala Society. Some works since 2000: '"If the One I Know Came to Me Now". Modal Contexts and Bodily Feelings in a Folk Poem', together with Senni Timonen, in Anna-Leena Siikala (ed.), *Myth and Mentality*. SKS, Helsinki, 2002; 'Mythscape', in Lotte Tarkka (ed.), *Dynamics of Tradition. Perspectives on Oral Poetry and Folk Belief*. Studia Fennica Folkloristica 13. SKS, Helsinki, 2003; 'The Problem of Everyday Culture in the Information Society', in Päivi Hovi-Wasastjerna (ed.), *Media Culture Research Programme*. Academy of Finland / Ilmari design publication series of the of Art and Design Helsinki A 38, Helsinki, 2004; 'DIY Aesthetics and Contemporary Visual Folk Art', in Seppo Knuuttila, Erkki Sevänen, Risto Turunen (eds.), *Aesthetic Culture*. Maahenki, 2005; 'Getting Lost', *FF Network* 28, June 2005.

Stein R. Mathisen

Stein R. Mathisen is Associate professor of Culture Studies at Finnmark University College, Alta, Norway. He has taught at the University of Bergen, Norway, and was in 2005 visiting professor at the University of Turku, Finland. He is currently leading the research project 'Multicultural Meeting Grounds: Ethnic Border Zones and Everyday Life in Northern Norway'. Major research interests include folk medicine and folk belief, the role of folk narratives in the constitution of identity and ethnicity, questions of heritage politics and ethnopolitics, and the history of cultural research in the northern areas. He has carried out fieldwork in various locations in Kven, Sámi and Norwegian locations in northern Norway concerning identity, ethnicity, folk medicine and folk belief, and in the Finn Forest area (Norway and Sweden) concerning festivals and revitalisation of ethnic culture. He has recently published the following articles in English: (2006): 'Sámi', in William M. Clements (ed.), *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of World Folklore and Folklife I–IV*, vol. III, 134–44, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2006; 'Hegemonic Representations of Sámi Culture. From Narratives of Noble Savages to Discourses on Ecological Sámi', in Anna-Leena Siikala, Barbro Klein and Stein R. Mathisen (eds), *Creating Diversities. Folklore, Religion and the Politics of Heritage*, 17–30, Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2006; 'Travels and Narratives: Itinerant Constructions of a Homogeneous Sami Heritage', in Pertti Anttonen *et al*. (eds), *Folklore, Heritage Politics and Ethnic Diversity. A Festschrift for Barbro Klein*, Botkyrka: Multicultural Centre, 2000; and 'Changing Narratives about Sámi Folklore – A Review of Research on Sámi Folklore in the Norwegian Area', in Juha Pentikäinen *et al*. (eds), *Sami Folkloristics*, NNF Publications 6, 2000.

John Shaw

John Shaw is Senior Lecturer in Scottish Ethnology at the School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh. He has studied at Harvard, the University of Paris, and the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, and was awarded a doctorate in Celtic Languages and Literatures (Harvard) in 1982. Before coming to Edinburgh he worked as a Gaelic language development officer in the Scottish Highlands and as lecturer in Celtic at the University of Aberdeen. He spent many years as a folklore fieldworker in the rural Gaelic-speaking communities of Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia, recording materials for an extensive archive of the area's oral traditions. Fieldwork resulted in a book-length study on the tradition of the Gaelic storyteller Joe Neil MacNeil, *Sgeul gu Latha / Tales until Dawn*, which appeared in 1987. A subsequent book, *Brìgh an Òrain / A Story in Every Song* (2000), is devoted to the songs and tales of singer, carpenter and woodsworker Lauchie MacLellan. In addition to song and historical aspects of traditional narrative, further publications deal with traditional music, social contexts of folklore, verbal taxonomies, collectors of Gaelic oral traditions, comparative mythology, and the roles of folklore in cultural maintenance. He is currently engaged in producing a searchable, standards-based catalogue of the Calum Maclean Collection of Gaelic Oral Narrative, as well as a major national initiative to make the principal sound archives of Scottish folklore accessible online.

Anna-Leena Siikala

Anna-Leena Siikala is Professor of Folklore Studies at the University of Helsinki. Her studies have been concerned with shamanic rituals, oral narrating and interpretation of legends, mythic poetry and metaphors, globalisation and the renewal of tradition. She has conducted fieldwork in Finland, in the Cook Islands of Pacific and among the Finno-Ugrian peoples of Russia, especially the Udmurts, Komi and Siberian Khanty. She has given invited lectures in 17 countries, has been visiting professor in Hamburg University in 1999 and researcher in the Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, in 1989, 1993–4. Her major works include *The Rite Technique of the Siberian Shaman* (FF Communications 220, 1978 and 1989), *Interpreting Oral Narrative* (FF Communications 245, 1990), *Studies in Shamanism* (with Mihály Hoppál, Ethnologica Uralica 1992 and 1998, Budapest), *Mythic Images and Shamanism. A Perspective on Kalevala Poetry* (FF Communica-

tions 280, 2002) and *Return to Culture. Oral Tradition and Society in the Southern Cook Islands* (with Jukka Siikala, FF Communications 287, 2005). Siikala is the chair of Folklore Fellows' Network and the connected international research course Folklore Fellows' Summer School (www.folklorefellows.fi). She is the editor-in-chief of Folklore Fellows' Communications, published by the Finnish Academy of Sciences and Letters (www.acadsci.fi or www.folklorefellows.fi), and Studia Fennica Folkloristica published by the Finnish Literature Society (www.finlit.fi/english/). With Prof. Vlaldimir Napolskikh and Dr Mihály Hoppál she edits the book series Encyclopaedia of Uralic Mythologies on aboriginal Finno-Ugrian mythic traditions. Her homepage is http://www.helsinki.fi/folkloristiikka/siikala_english/siikala_3.htm.

Lotte Tarkka

Dr Lotte Tarkka currently acts as deputy for Prof. Siikala at Helsinki University, in the Institute for Cultural Research, Department of Folklore Studies. She wrote her dissertation *Rajarahvaan laulu* (including an English summary, 'Songs of the Border People', Finnish Literature Society, 2005) on the *Kalevala*-metre poetry of Vuokkiniemi parish, Archangel Karelia. Her publications in English include several articles on the methodology and theory of folklore studies, especially oral poetry. She is an editor of a Festschrift, *Dynamics of Tradition. Perspectives on Oral Poetry and Folk Belief* (2003, FLS, Studia Fennica Folkloristica 13), dedicated to Prof. Anna-Leena Siikala. Central topics in the dissertation were intertextuality, generic dialogue and contextualising strategies in oral poetry. Tarkka argued that even if *Kalevala*-metre poetry was a form of discourse set apart for special, culturally valued messages and interpreted as traditional wisdom, it was in constant dialogue with colloquial speech culture, in which utterances were authorised by alluding to shared poetic expressions. Currently Tarkka is editing her dissertation to be published in English, in the series Studia Fennica Folkloristica (FLS, 2008). Her main research interests include the notion of genre and generic dialogue, reflexive tradition, i.e. metafolklore and micro-historical contextualisation of oral poetry. Tarkka holds several positions of trust in the institutions on her field. In the nineties she studied social anthropology at the University of Cambridge, and worked at the folklore archives of the Finnish Literature Society and in the project Oral Epics along the Silk Roads, led by the late Prof. Lauri Honko, as well as being the course secretary of the Folklore Fellows' Summer School (1993).

Aleksandra Stepanova

In addition to the above-mentioned teachers the summer school is honoured to invite C.Sc. Aleksandra Stepanova to Viena Karelia. She is a specialist in the research of Karelian laments. Over the decades, she has collected huge numbers of laments from different singers. Her lifetime work was recently awarded the Finnish Literary Society's first reward.

Let's keep in mind the credo of Prof. Anna-Leena Siikala:

When we get together, we learn a lot!

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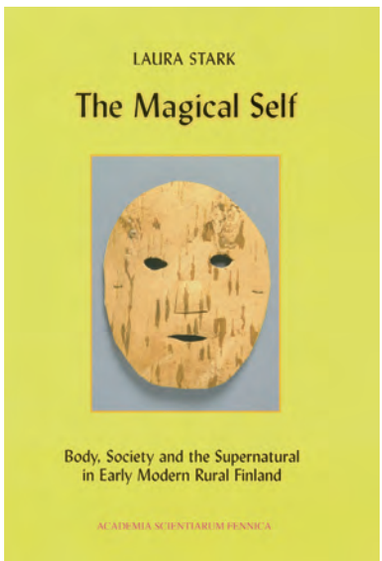
Reviews

A Fascinating Exploration into Early Modern Selfhood and Magic

Laura Stark, *The Magical Self. Body and the Supernatural in Early Modern Rural Finland*. FF Communications 290. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 2006. ISBN 951-41-0997-X (hard), 051-41-0998-8 (soft).



During the past decades, the focus in Nordic research in folk beliefs has in a mounting degree shifted from the study of old archive materials to the study of present-day folk beliefs, based on materials collected by the scholars themselves. This shift, of course, is quite understandable for a variety of reasons. Materials collected from flesh-and-blood informants are naturally much more gratifying to work with than the fragmentary, 'dead' archive materials, which often lack the contextual information necessary for their interpretation. Folklorist Laura Stark's wide-ranging work with the archived Finnish and Karelian folk-belief materials, however, can serve as an intriguing example of how a skilful scholar, well versed in modern anthropological theories, can make the fragmentary, incoherent and often confusing archive materials speak to a present-day reader.

The Magical Self is intended to make a contribution to the historical studies of early modern witchcraft, which, as the author quite correctly observes, have often been based on sparse, fragmentary sources lacking information about the cultural context and the belief system underlying these practices. Stark sees the notion of self as the key concept for the deeper understanding of the phenomenon of witchcraft, but the contrary is also true: magical ideas and practices serve as a pathway into the study of early modern selfhood, since magic as 'strategic, goal-orientated activity' can be seen as promoting an individual's agency, which is vital for an individual's sense of self.

Since modernisation took place relatively late in Finland, Stark finds the Finnish folkloristic materials to be an excellent source for a study of early modern conceptions of self. Magic was practised in Finland until relatively late—up to the 1940s in some remote parts of the country. Stark finds this quite extraordinary, but seen in the wider European context, it is hardly unique. The use of magic and counter-magic could still be studied live in many parts of Europe as, for instance, Jeanne Favret-Saada's study from 1970s Brittany shows.

For Stark the weaknesses of the archived folklore materials—their fragmentary nature and poor contextual embedding—are compensated by their large quantity, which offers her a panoramic view of Finnish and Karelian magical ideas and practices. The materials of the study that were collected largely between 1880 and 1961 consist of 1,750 narratives and descriptions of use of magic, housed at the Folklore Archive of the Finnish Literature Society, and of 5,000 Kalevala-metre incantations, of which she has subjected 450 to a closer analysis. The materials cover entire Finland and those parts of Karelia that up to the Second World War belonged to Finland. Stark motivates the broad geographical scope of her study—the disadvantage of which is that the cultural differences between eastern and western Finland and between Orthodox and Lutheran areas get blurred—with the explanation that the collections do not allow an in-depth study within a single village or district, whereas her overall study facilitates the uncovering of recurrent patterns in magic ideas and practices. Granted that the collections of magic from eastern Finland and Karelia are rich, I am not wholly convinced that regional studies would not have been fruitful, but at the same time agree with Stark that a large corpus may in this case give certain methodological advantages.

The Narrative Construction of Self

The use of narratives of magic as source materials for a historical inquiry poses a number of source-critical problems. A question that arises is what source value do, for instance, first-person narratives or stereotypical belief legends that quite often contain unrealistic motifs or describe highly unlikely events have for a study which is aimed at the reconstruction the early modern historical self. Genre analysis has traditionally served as a source-critical instrument for evaluating the truth value of folklore materials. Seen from a genre-analytical point of view, the bulk of Stark's materials are memorates and belief legends. Since memorates are commonly seen as describing events experienced by the narrator her/himself or by somebody in her/his proximity, they have therefore been ascribed a relatively high degree of authenticity as a source for an individual experience. Belief legends, on the other hand, have been viewed as crystallised, stereotypical memorates, far from an individual's factual experiences and therefore of lesser interest for a scholar who is looking for descriptions of authentic experiences. Seen from a traditional genre-analytical point of view, the distinction between memorates and legends would seem vital for a study that seeks to distil historical conceptions of selfhood from narratives. Stark, however, calls into question—and quite rightly—the possibility of and even the need for distinguishing between types of narratives on the basis of their truth value. She asserts that the fact that narratives—whether memorates or belief legends told in the first person—do not reflect real life in a straightforward manner does not disqualify them as sources for her reconstruction project. Quite the contrary; since selfhood to a certain degree is a narrative construction, she posits that narratives make an excellent gateway to an analysis of early modern selfhood. Even though it is apparent that the characters in the narratives are not real, historical persons, but 'narrative agents' whose actions are typecast and the events of the stories shaped after cultural masterplots, we will be able to decode the historical self from narratives, once we acquire knowledge of the rhetorical conventions of the community. The narrative conventions, that is to say, vary both historically and culturally.

Stark points out that our fixation on truth value in the classification of narratives arises from our modern conceptions of self-narration, where the ideal is a realistic autobiographical account which leaves no room for fantasy and imagination. Contrary to this, the early modern mode of narration made use what she calls 'allegory' and 'epic', which allowed a person to describe her/his experiences in a more figurative manner. The aim of narration was not to produce 'unique memories', as it was in the autobiographical tradition, but the narrator was expressing her/his experiences through conventional narrative templates. Various kinds of oral traditions, such as Kalevala-metre poetry, lyric, folktales and so forth, provided the early modern Finnish narrator with formulaic expressions, motifs and plots which could be used in the narration of individual experiences. An account that made use of these rhetorical devices was not perceived to be fiction by the early modern narrators or their audiences. In spite of the fantastic or bizarre elements in their tales, which a modern reader finds disturbing since they violate the conventional truth commitment, the authors who sent their texts to the folklore archives did not see the tales as fictive. Quite the contrary, they insisted that the magical and supranormal incidents in their accounts were factual. They described the supernatural experiences in a matter-of-fact tone, without any explanations or excuses, which according to Stark indicates that the narrators did not feel that their experiences of the supernatural were called into question. Unlike present-day narrators who in their narration have to convince their sceptical listeners of the truthfulness of their experiences (having seen a UFO for instance), the primary concern of the early modern Finnish narrators was not the ontological status of their supranormal experiences, but how the supranormal broke into their lives and what consequences it had on them. Since it was the distinction between ordinary and non-ordinary dimensions of the world, which was vital for the maintenance of symbolic order, and not that between fiction and fact, that stood in the centre of the tales, Stark calls into question the relevance of the belief-centred distinction between memorate and belief legends. Instead of focusing on the facticity of the experience as the distinguishing mark, Stark proposes a view of a memorate as an attempt 'to discursively negotiate the ways in which the supernatural, non-ordinary world entered into the everyday experience of personal and/or social life', whereas she sees belief legends as a commentary or a meta-commentary 'upon the nature of this non-ordinary dimension itself' (p. 111).

The Construction of Self through Magical Action

Stark sees fitness as the key notion to understanding people's resorting to magic in a 'high-risk' society, such as early modern Finland and Karelia, where social institutions could not guarantee people's physical safety or their economical or social security. Survival was more or less dependent on one's bodily fitness which was constantly threatened by illnesses, unaccommodating environment and hunger. By the use of magic a person established oneself as an agent who sought to bring the forces of the material world, as well as threatening human agents who competed over the same limited goods under his/her control.

Stark emphasises the importance of seeing the

early modern self not only as a narrative construction but also as an embodied entity—a fact that often has been forgotten in prior research. She introduces two notions that she finds crucial for our understanding of the constitution of embodied selfhood. The first is the notion of body schema, which means the 'unconscious organisation or style of bodily performance' and, the second, the notion of body image, which stands for 'the conscious conceptual construct of the body, informed by both experience and mythic or scientific understanding'. The body image and schema were internalised in childhood and, in a high-risk environment such as the one sketched above, gave rise to the habitus of the open body. The 'open body' schema implies that the boundaries of the embodied self were perceived to be fluid and porous, allowing the intrusion of external forces, which would cause illness. In Finnish ethnomedical thinking sickness was assumed to originate from outside the body. Moreover, fluidness of the boundaries implied also that the human body was assumed to exert influence upon other bodies and the physical world, by means of its internal energies, which had quite material effects, but also through bodily substances. The fluid boundaries and the awareness of being constantly under attack called for a constant safe-guarding of the bodily boundaries.

Stark, who has studied these bodily processes also in her earlier work, elaborates here upon these ideas in a more systematic and comprehensive manner. What I find regrettable though is that she has chosen to de-emphasise the gender aspect in her present work, treating the human body as a more or less gender-neutral entity. This is of course motivated by the fact that the male body, especially the body of the (male) *tietäjä* (the specialist in magic), which Stark devotes particular attention to in her present study, formed the cultural ideal. The *tietäjä*'s extraordinary bodily constitution makes it, or course, an excellent object for a closer study of what Stark calls embodied agency, which includes the notion that agency—motivation and intention—was ascribed not only to the human mind but also to the physical body. This is a fresh approach which gives us new intriguing insights into the dynamics of the *tietäjä*'s 'wilful body' and its interactions with other bodies and supernatural entities. A human body possessed 'energies' and 'dynamic forces', in emic terms, *luonto* and *väki* (cf. *mana, orenda*). *Luonto* according to Stark referred to the dynamistic force residing in the embodied self and was closely connected to agency, both etymologically ('to create, make') and more concretely, being associated with the ability to influence one's physical environment. The quality of *luonto* varied individually. A person, a *tietäjä* for instance, who had hard *luonto* or who 'raised' his luonto for ritual purposes had 'heightened agency', i.e. increased ability to influence his surroundings. A person whose *luonto* was 'soft' had a weakened internal body boundary, and was particularly susceptible to the influence of external forces. Stark also argues that anger, which was sometimes seen as the precondition for the efficacy of *tietäjä*'s magic, could directly cause an effect in other bodies.

Stark has studied dynamic forces and their effects in her previous studies from different angles, and submits some of the illnesses, e.g. *vihat* or *nenät*, to a deeper analysis in this context too. These were caused by *väki* forces that were located in the physical surroundings, which intruded either through wounds or cracks in the skin, or through the weakening of the *luonto* boundary. A shock and a frightening were also a cause of illness, resulting from a person temporarily lowering one's guard, and letting the illness agent into the body.

Stark's interesting analysis of the phenomenon of 'forest cover' (*metsänpeitto*), by which is meant a person's or an animal's getting enchanted by the forest, provides us with further knowledge of the constitution of the early modern self in Finland. Since personhood was intersubjectively constituted—the early modern self was embedded in a collective 'self'—getting lost in a forest, which was seen as the 'other world', an opposite of the 'human world', was experienced as dissolution of the personhood. This led to the person's losing her/his agency, which was described in tales as the person's disability to communicate by talking and loss of the capacity to move and to orient oneself in the environment.

It is important to note that Stark moves on two levels of analysis throughout her book. She is not content with analysing the contents of the narratives, i.e. magic and its uses, but explores also the meaning and function of the narratives themselves to the narrators and the community. Not only were people healed by healing rites, where the disequilibrium between the self and environment was restored, but also the accounts of illness and healing, as well as of the experiences of getting lost, were a medium for processing traumatic experiences and rendering them meaningful. But, according to Stark, narration about these experiences accomplished even more: they also affected the person's view of his/her body, self and its place in the world.

The Social Dynamics of Magic and Sorcery

Besides the study of the role of magic in the construction of embodied selfhood, Stark's study offers us intriguing insights into the social dynamics of magic and sorcery. The author has examined magic and its social effects in her earlier works, but elaborates these ideas here from a new angle and in a more systematic and comprehensive manner. She stresses that it was not only the actual or alleged practice of magic that affect-

ed the social life within the community, but also the narratives about magic and its use. Narratives that circulated in the community reminded people constantly of the potential risk of magic and its consequences and functioned thereby as an effective instrument of social control. Stark views magical knowledge and magic, but also the narratives of magic, as a form of social currency or symbolic cultural capital, which people could use to gain prestige, power and recognition, but also material benefits.

Stark's analysis of the Finnish narratives shows that magical practice brought to the light disputes and tensions between different social groups, but contributed also to resolving of problems. First, however, it is important to note that harmful magic in Finland and Karelia was not generally directed against the household members but mostly between households. This, of course, does not mean that there were no conflicts within a family; they were just not expressed through means of magic. The conflicts that stand to the fore in the magic narratives were those between the landowning and landless farmers. Secondly, the texts narrate conflicts between farms that were on a socioeconomic par but which competed over the limited goods and therefore sought to feather their own nest at the neighbour's expense.

The effects of magic and sorcery upon society may at a first glance appear negative and disruptive, but Stark's analysis shows that it actually had effects that at the end of the day could further social justice and even cohesion, which was important in a society where no official institutions could guarantee an individual's physical, economic or social security. Five themes regarding social effects of the use of magic stand out from the narratives. First, the poor who could not count on a welfare system to feed them could improve their dire situation by trading their knowledge in magic for livelihood. They could also gain negative respect as powerful sorcerers and through intimidation coerce material benefits from the members of the privileged groups. Narratives about maltreated beggars who took revenge for a lack of hospitability reminded the well-to-do of the virtue of charity. The second popular theme in magic narratives was tales of counter-sorcery—generally called 'sending back the dog'—by which the evil-doer was punished by having his/her magic turned back on him/her. Stark makes an interesting point when arguing that since Finns relied either on their own or a *tietäjä*'s ability to counteract sorcery and punish the perpetrator, there was no need for a desperate hunt for alleged witches. Counter-sorcery which was assumed to harm only a guilty person, preventing stigmatisation of the suspect, but even more importantly, it made the use of physical violence unnecessary. The author stresses—on the basis of the narratives—that corporal punishment, which could be the fate of suspected witches elsewhere in Europe, occurred in Finland only when the perpetrator was caught red-handed.

Furthermore, sorcery was the only means for a disadvantaged and dependent person to enforce relationships of reciprocity that were in danger. Finally, a popular theme in magic narratives that enhanced the sense of justice in a society was the wise person's assumed ability to identify a thief and force him/her to return stolen goods. This shows that the wise person had a clear crime-preventing function in the community.

Thus, the narratives were preoccupied with ethical aspects of the use of magic and sorcery. According to Stark magical harm is presented in the tales either as socially justifiable or unjustifiable and falls into the following categories: retributive sorcery, counter-sorcery and pre-emptive sorcery. Retributive sorcery was held socially justified when performed against people who had insulted or refused aid or whose acts violated the individual and his/her property or threatened the harmony and order of the community. People resorted to socially justified counter-sorcery when seeking to punish and/or identify the perpetrator of witchcraft. Pre-emptive sorcery, never presented as justifiable in Stark's source materials, was largely performed by those who were temporarily disempowered. Women's use of magic to further their cattle-luck at the expense of their neighbours can be mentioned as an example of this type of sorcery.

Finally, there were further situations where a subordinate person could seek to improve his/her situation by a use of magic. In the last part of the book Stark analyses various social testing situations, i.e. situations where a person was under test and his/her possibilities of influencing the outcome of the test were limited. Such testing situations were catechism examinations, court trials, dances and weddings, in which the person tested ran a risk of public humiliation and shaming. Since the agency of a person in a testing situation was at risk, the only way to empower oneself was by means of magic aimed at incapacitating the agency of those who were experienced as a threat, the social authorities. Magic was used as a medium for resisting subordination and empowering the individual by attaining a control of fear.

All in all I find Laura Stark's book *The Magical Self* an impressive and ground-breaking exploration into the constitution of the early modern self and the various kinds of magic measures this self could employ in order to safeguard its fitness in a world full of dangers.

Marja-Liisa Keinänen
University of Stockholm

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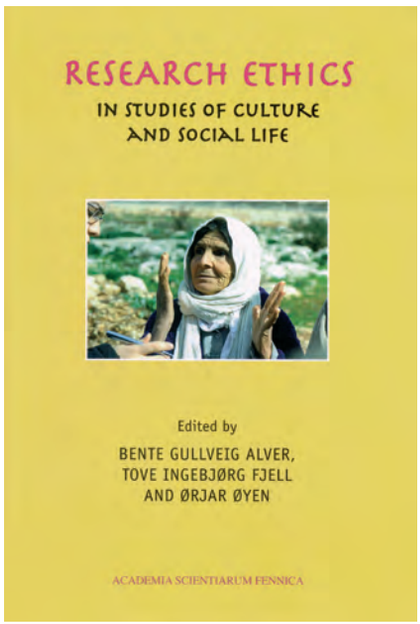

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Questions of research ethics are matters of concern in all fields of scientific endeavour. This collection of essays explores issues that often come into view in humanistic and social science research. A general introductory article discusses major challenges of practical research ethics appearing along the entire time span on a research undertaking. In the articles that follow, analyses departing from a variety of vantage points address key issues—such as protecting individual integrity, obtaining informed consent, exploring private and intimate arenas, doing research on weak groups, being caught between conflicting socio-political forces, seeking truth and validity of texts, studying crossroads of cultures, and assessing value structures underlying concerns of research ethics. The publication is a result of a special programme initially termed 'Folklore Fellows Code of Ethics' set up by Lauri Honko in 1998.

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