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*In Viena (White Sea) Karelia, both the living and the departed belong to the family. The cemetery is a sacred place where nature must not be damaged. The scene in the illustration of the cemetery of Tollonjoki near Vuokkiniemi shows the integration of the two worlds. An Orthodox cross rises from the roof of the grobnitsa, the house of the departed, representing an age-old tradition. People gather around the grobnitsa on commemoration days to remember the dead and take them food to share in a common meal. Photo by Stein R. Mathisen.*

# *The Long Road of Folkloristics*

by *Anna-Leena Siikala*, Professor  
Folklore Fellows Network, Chair

An interviewer asked me recently: 'What is going to happen in folkloristics? What is the future of the subject?' In answering one might of course delve into the situation of Western university faculties or examine the economic-technical development peculiar to the modern world. The existence and continuance of the field of study depend, however, not just on external forces but also on its internal strength. We see into the future best only when we know our past.

Research into folklore and oral tradition in Europe was a practical force in the construction of national cultures and the creation of national powers in the nineteenth century. Johannes Bolte in Germany, Kaarle Krohn in Finland, Axel Olrik in Denmark and Carl Wilhelm von Sydow in Sweden were in synch with their times when in 1907 they decided to pool their resources in furthering their foundational work in comparative folkloristic studies. Kaarle Krohn was among the giants of the Finnish Academy and he had the opportunities for the effective realisation of the plans. At his suggestion the Finnish Academy began to publish an international folkloristic series entitled 'Folklore Fellows' Communications'. Following Krohn's concept, the international aspect made possible both comparative research and the development of purposeful theory through common discussion. At the beginning of the twentieth century the roots of every culture were being sought, its history and interchanges with other cultures. The research perspectives of the FFC publications were usually historical-genetic and strove to understand the phenomena and types of tradition.

Globalisation following the Second World War and the theoretical currents of the 1960s divorced folkloristics inalienably from nationalist projects. Attention was focused not on tradition but on the

individuals and small groups that produced it. The so-called 'new folkloristics' which arose in the United States in the 1960s brought in a behavioural science perspective alongside the former text-based research. Researchers based their work increasingly on materials gathered through field work.

This progression appears clearly in the development of the FFC. The purely text-based research perspective established by Kaarle Krohn and Antti Aarne was already shattered by Krohn's successor, Uno Harva (Holmberg), an internationally known scholar of comparative religion and ethnography. The direction of FFC in the area of research fields has been very clear. It has emphasised, apart from folkloristics based on textual and presentational research, also anthropological, especially religious-anthropological, research. A strong emphasis on field research has meant that the series has also been ethnographically oriented. Since the 1960s the FFC's publication ambit has widened to include Asia, Africa and the Pacific. The development of globalisation in the 1990s has been seen both in the topics of research and in the writers increasingly coming from outside the Western world.

Although the main line of the series' research topics has remained surprisingly consistent, the process of paradigmatic change from the 1960s has widened its theoretical field. The trail-blazer of the new paradigm in the Nordic world was Lauri Honko, whose views are examined in this issue by Pertti Anttonen. At present FFC is wide-reaching both in its research topics and in its theoretical perspectives. The Folklore Fellows' Summer School held in Viena Karelia in 2007 brought out a fresh and abundant research field. The talks heard there represent a secure future for folkloristics. I thank all the folklorists present at the summer school, as well as my Karelian friends.

# *Gaelic Oral Poetry in Scotland: Its Nature, Collection and Dissemination*

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

In embarking on a general survey of the oral poetry of Gaelic Scotland and its relationship to fieldwork and dissemination, we must first of all remind ourselves that we are dealing with a tradition—indeed an entire culture—that for historical reasons has remained largely remote and obscure for outside researchers; not only ethnologists, but a good number of Celticists as well. An evident factor, of course, is accessibility to the materials through the language, not only in its written forms providing first-hand access to manuscript or printed sources, but also in its colloquial or ‘heightened’ spoken forms encountered as an integral part of the experience of direct contact with traditions in the field. This assertion should not be understood as attempting to promote an impression of the unique nature or complexity of Gaelic tradition—it is merely intended to identify some of the causes of the marginalisation whose main result for our discipline is that the tradition is not widely known outside of the British Isles.

For these reasons I have chosen to undertake a general survey of Scotland’s Gaelic oral poetry within a general—and, I admit, varyingly focussed—framework of field collection, providing whatever basic information will be necessary as to its nature and content during the course of this presentation. Our discussion will be from an ethnological rather than a literary perspective. Throughout I intend to deal as much as possible with materials that we would term ‘oral’, consisting largely of anonymous verse with the occasional composition from a known bard. From the outset it should be mentioned that with very few exceptions the oral poetry of the Gaels, at present and for a number of centuries, has been conveyed and transmitted *through song*, and the two remain inseparably linked in the consciousness of contemporary Gaels.

In addition to the oral poetry–song affinity, I would like to identify a small number of further themes that recur throughout our discussion and may serve to integrate what is in any case a wide-ranging approach. The first is the constant *interaction between oral and written sources* in Gaelic poetry, which has been closely paralleled—and doubtless reinforced—by the same interplay in the history of Gaelic traditional narrative. It is useful to remember here that printed versions have been known to

inform variants of oral poetry recorded from the most respectable of oral sources—versions or fragments thereof sometimes strikingly retained whose provenance is unknown to the reciters. The other major theme to be aware of for oral poetry is that of *continuity*, not only of texts, but also of form and indeed folk belief around composition, transmission, powers and associations. Many items recorded in the field can be traced back to late medieval times, and possibly earlier. This applies not only to the obvious materials such as the ballads from the Finn Cycle, whose ascendancy as the chief epic of Gael-dom began sometime around the twelfth century, but to religious oral poetry as well, not to mention the famous song *Am Bròn Binn* ‘The Sweet Sorrow’, and its associations with the medieval Arthurian Cycle.

## *Some Early Accounts*

Given the importance of the diachronic dimension to the notion of ‘continuity’, an orthodox Celticist might wish to choose—and rightly so—the formal, complex verse of the medieval Irish professional poets to the aristocracy—settled members of the learned orders, and well remunerated—as a point of departure. Indeed, of some interest to us in understanding the elements that have shaped oral poetry is a description from the end of the seventeenth century by Martin Martin, a native of Skye, based on a tour of the Outer Hebrides:

The orators by the force of their eloquence had a powerful ascendant over the greatest men in their time; for if any orator did but ask the habit, arms, horse, or any other thing belonging to the greatest man in these island, it was readily granted them, sometimes out of respect, and sometimes for fear of being exclaimed against by a satire, which in those days was reckoned a great dishonour: but these gentlemen becoming insolent lost ever since both the profit and esteem which was formerly due to their character; for neither their panegyrics nor satires are regarded to what they have been, and they are now allowed but a small salary. I must not omit to relate their way of study, which is very singular: they shut their doors and windows for a day’s time, and lie on their backs, with a stone upon their belly, and plaids about



A late 16th century Irish bardic performance.

their heads, and their eyes being covered, they pump their brains for rhetorical encomium or panegyric; and indeed they furnish such a style from this dark cell, as is understood by very few; and if they purchase a couple of horses as the reward of their meditation, they think they have done a great matter (Martin Martin 1994: 176–7.)

An account from an eighteenth century collector, Donald MacNicol of Glenorchy, has come down to us of the kind of exercises professional poets in Scotland were required to carry out during their training. Students were expected to compose a verse with the words *biadh* 'food', *sgian* 'knife', *muc* 'pig', *sgiath* 'shield'. Interestingly, the resulting verse as given in the account (which may only be a burlesque) was not the kind that could be translated into polite conversation (Thomson 1983: 259).

In any case such a disciplined and economically regulated world is only part of the story. Equally worthy of our attention is a lower order of poets from the late middle ages, the *Cliar Sheanchain*, consisting of itinerant bands of accomplished poets and satirists along with other entertainers, who left behind notorious and colourful accounts of themselves throughout the Highlands and, I suspect, made a major contribution to the poetry of the common people that surfaced in the poetry of our modern community bards. As the surviving accounts demonstrate, these wandering bands contained common, often versatile entertainers—buffoons and musicians—who like many of their counter-

parts throughout Western Europe, were not adverse to an earthy presentation of themselves. An idea of the sort of entertainment provided may be gained from a depiction of their Irish counterparts from the late 1500s (see the illustration above).

An important Scottish account of the itinerant bards and other performers from the seventeenth century is contained in a letter from Professor James Garden of King's College, Old Aberdeen, in reply to queries received in 1692 from the antiquarian John Aubrey regarding various topics relating to Highland Scotland. Garden obtained an account from a divinity student, the son of a gentleman from Strathspey, describing bards in the region 'such as they are at present in these parts, & such as they were within the memory of my informers father (who is an aged man of ninetie seven years)'. It is the most important ethnographic description of itinerant bards to survive in Scotland (Gordon 1958: 22–3; Shaw 1992: 142–3):

These bards in former times used to travel in companies, sometimes 40, 50, 60 persons between men, wives & childrene and they were thus ranked, the first were termed philies, i.e. poets, & they were divided thus—some made panagyrics onlie, others made onlie satyrs... The whole caball was called Chlearheanachi. . . & dureing there abod (which would sometimes be 2 or 3 moneths) one or two of them came in each night to the famalie to make-good companie by telling stories makeing rhymes and such drolleries. . . .

There were likewise 9 or 10 sometimes 11 or 12 women to travel together, who as they came to anie house two & two together sang one of the songs these philies had made, they had ordinarie a violer with them who played on his fiddle as they sang, when they had done singing, then they danced, these were named avranich, i.e., singers.

### *The Ballads of the Finn Cycle*

The most famous of Gaelic epics, and one that had a central role in providing the very groundwork for folklore collecting in Scotland, is the Finn Cycle. It is a cycle in the usual sense that it forms a continuous circle of linked narratives centred around the exploits of Fionn Mac Cumhail and his warrior band the *Féinn of Fianna*. Its influence is powerful enough that I have chosen to treat it here apart from all other genres, examining its antecedents, its wide cultural importance, and the impetus it has provided to collecting and dissemination of oral poetry.

The origins of the cycle are in Ireland, where it gained in importance, as we have seen, from around the twelfth century, and rapidly became pan-Gaelic to the extent that it would be right to say that at one time or another it was known and revered in every Gaelic-speaking area of Scotland. Part of its value was tied to its undoubted emblematic status—what we nowadays like to interpret in terms of concepts of ‘identity’ (see below). Interspersed in the lengthy, often ornate narratives, are chanted poems (*duain*). The poems, usually referred to as ‘ballads’, are combined with the prose narratives in a literary device (*prosimetrum*) inherited from the Early Irish herotales, and on comparative evidence ultimately from remote Indo-European times. The ballads are in syllabic metre, distinct from the usual modern Gaelic stressed metres, and are chanted to airs that differ from those of any other genre of poetry. The earliest sources of these preserved in Scotland are from the Book of the Dean of Lismore which was compiled in Perthshire in the southern Highlands around 1500. Despite the positions taken by literary and historical detractors, not all of the Scottish material is derivative: there are items here and in more recent oral sources that indicate innovations arising in Scotland and appear nowhere in Ireland.

### *The Beginnings of Fieldwork and Macpherson’s Ossian*

The initial fieldwork collections of Gaelic heroic ballads and other materials were compiled from the beginning in the eighteenth century. Collectors active from this time (and indeed from as late as the twentieth century) were often Highland clergymen.



*James Macpherson 1736–96.*

The Rev James McLagan’s (1728–1805) large collection survives in manuscript; Rev Donald MacNicol (1735–1802) also amassed large amounts of heroic ballad material (some now lost) in addition to transcribing and publishing the works of his contemporary, the poet Duncan Ban MacIntyre; and the extensive song collections by Ranald MacDonald of Eigg (1776) and of John Gillies of Perth (fl. 1780) appeared in print. Printed collections served as an effective complement to the vast store of anonymous poetic tradition passed down and circulated among the common people during this time, as well as to the output of their contemporary bards.

Foremost of his generation in drawing attention to Highland oral traditions was the Badenoch man James Macpherson (1736–96), who toured the Highlands collecting epic ballads. The results, beginning with *Fingal* (1761) and *Fragments* (1760), produced under the guidance of one of Edinburgh’s leading literati, were to become a long-term literary sensation throughout Europe. Macpherson had set his sights high, attempting to present his public with a major, newly discovered epic, and did not avail himself to what we would regard today as due concern for scholarly accuracy. The resulting controversy continued well into the following century, drawing in such luminaries as David Hume and Samuel Johnson, together with a number of Highland field collectors.

The fruits of a far-ranging, and for its time balanced investigation of the authenticity of Macpherson’s works were made public in the Highland Society’s *Report on the Poems of Ossian* of 1805. From

our vantage point some two centuries later, the information it contains concerning social contexts, transmission, repertoire, etc. of oral poetry from this period are at least of equal interest to what it reveals regarding Macpherson himself. In a letter to dated 1763 and printed in the *Report*, the Rev Alexander Pope, minister of Reay in the northern mainland district of Caithness and an early gatherer of heroic ballads in the Highlands, makes clear his stance regarding James Macpherson and the Ossian controversy: that evidence of the ballads from oral sources in Caithness and further west is so abundant as 'to convince people of candour: so that, if the literati in England will not be persuaded, they must wait till they see Ossian and his heroes in another world'. Pope then describes how, twenty-four years previously in 1739, he along with another gentleman who lived on Lord Reay's estate, 'entered into a project of collecting these old poems. We admired the purity of their style . . . and some of the sentiments were noble and sublime: to this end we informed ourselves as to those old people that could repeat parts of them, and got their name, but we could not, from the best information, learn that there was any manuscript of them in this part of the kingdom.' Although work of James Macpherson had certainly reached Pope earlier and aroused his curiosity, he was not able to examine the works until the summer of 1763. He names three of Macpherson's poems that correspond to those collected or heard by him, and goes on to urge that Hugh Blair, Macpherson's literary mentor in Edinburgh, use his contacts, presumably among the literati, to contribute a sum of £10 toward a collecting project to ensure that 'these venerable productions would be preserved'. Pope continues that much as he would have liked to carry out such a project, his gout prevented him from doing so, but that the traditions still locally extant 'would make a larger volume than the *Temora*'. That the state of oral tradition is an issue of concern for Pope is clear from what follows, where he ascribes it in part to the antipathy of some of the clergy toward the materials and the adverse effect they (the clergy) were having on the process of transmission between generations. Pope's reply to sceptics, echoed by other Highland collectors, was that Ossianic ballads were demonstrably current among reciters in perfectly ordinary Highland locales before Macpherson's publications appeared, or indeed before he was born.

Pope's letter provides useful ethnographic information. He notes that heroic ballads were associated with particular airs, distinct from those attached to other song genres, which he surmises were an important factor in their oral retention as well as providing pleasure to the listener. He notes the lo-

cal Gaelic term for them—*duan* (a term still in use in some Gaelic-speaking districts) and places them on an artistic par with classical poetry. Following is an account, both amusing and revealing, of an incident where an elderly and dignified parishioner with the surname of Campbell, when asked to recite the *Duan Dearmot* 'The Lay of Diarmaid', a ballad historically (or pseudo-historically) associated with his clan, reverently removed his bonnet whenever he did so. Pope, having first presented the reciter with a bottle of ale, replaced the old man's bonnet, which the old man promptly removed again. 'At last he was like to swear most horribly that he would sing none, unless I allowed him to be uncovered; I gave him his freedom and he sung with great spirit. I asked him the reason; he told me it was out of regard for the memory of that hero . . . (and) he thought it well became them who descended from him to honour his memory.' (MacKenzie 1805: 52–5.)

Macpherson's *Fingal* and the works that followed, for all the excitement and controversy they caused, can hardly be said to have emerged into a cultural vacuum, and it is worth taking a step back from the collectors and the materials in order to take a brief look at the larger contexts of social, cultural, intellectual and political history and how they applied to the collecting of Gaelic oral tradition in Scotland. The interest that appeared in England of the seventeenth century in the regional past, embracing archaeology, early history, linguistic history and literature, soon began to be felt in neighbouring regions of the British Isles. As early as the last decade of the that century questions of ethnology are already beginning to play a part in this process; John Aubrey's letter of 1692 to Professor James Garden inquired not only after stone circles, a major interest of his, but also, judging from Garden's replies, Highland funeral customs and the bardic orders described above (Gordon 1958: *passim*). Two years later Aubrey conversed with the Irish-born philosopher John Toland seeking information on druids as well as stone circles. Needless to say, the works of the Welsh polymath Edward Lhuyd in his *Archaeologia Britannica* with its pioneering comparisons of indigenous languages, as well as his scientific expeditions throughout Britain, were also an expression in a burgeoning general scholarly interest. The political arena was there as well. As Derick Thomson notes, the Union of 1707 had its cultural effects, leading, in his words, to 'a tendency to justify the ways of Scotland to England, and perhaps, south of the border, a tendency to repress, and put in his place, the smaller, more barbaric partner' (Thomson 1958: 172). If we accept this dialogue between cultures as a framework for what occurred in the course of the Ossian controversy and long after, it

serves to explain much of the orientation that lies behind written statements by Highland collectors of the late eighteenth–early nineteenth centuries and their presentation of the gathered materials. Remaining with politics for the moment, for our present purposes we can regard the aftermath of Jacobitism and the unsuccessful Scottish uprising of 1745 as two-pronged. The first was the direct military and cultural suppression through the often cited proscription in the Highlands of weapons and Highland dress outside of the army. The second and subsequent part, once the political and military threats were safely dealt with, had to do with cultural politics: the rehabilitation of Highland cultural symbols, beginning with dress and extending ultimately to literature and the performing arts. Establishing a pattern that was to be replicated in its own way later on in North America, and still continues (albeit in increasingly bizarre forms), the new, safer environment permitted and encouraged the sentimentalisation of Jacobitism, and by extension, gave rise to a romantic view of the Highlands replete with heroes and emotionally moving landscapes. Linked closely with such emerging perceptions were literary concepts current in Europe from the first half of the eighteenth century—most obviously the concept and pursuit of the *sublime*—that were introduced into Scotland by resident intellectuals such as Macpherson’s Edinburgh mentor Hugh Blair. Such ideas took little time in reaching students in other Scottish universities such as Aberdeen, and soon appeared in their writings on Gaelic ballads. Intellectual history also cannot be ignored. Ideas concerning the evolution of society led to an interest in ‘primitive’ cultures at a time when the opening up of contact with exotic cultures was about to lay the groundwork for the nineteenth century disciplines of anthropology and comparative philology. ‘Primitive’ cultures were conceived of as being possessed of positive attributes that have been lost among their more highly evolved counterparts, and in a time of massive social transformation attempting to recover these through study, or even contact, was deemed desirable. In this changing society the ‘Highlander’, read Gael, was no longer the potential ‘space invader’ of previous centuries; he was transformed, in one scholar’s words, into a far more user-friendly ‘contemporary ancestor’, linked to an earlier, better age graced by natural, more attractive virtues—a kind of alternative, northern Arcadia. We should add to this the concept of nationalism: that of a distinct Scottish identity realised and expressed in terms of romanticism and posing no substantial threat to England or the Union. Given this framework, the Highlands were, I think, uniquely placed, being exotic but in part, at least,

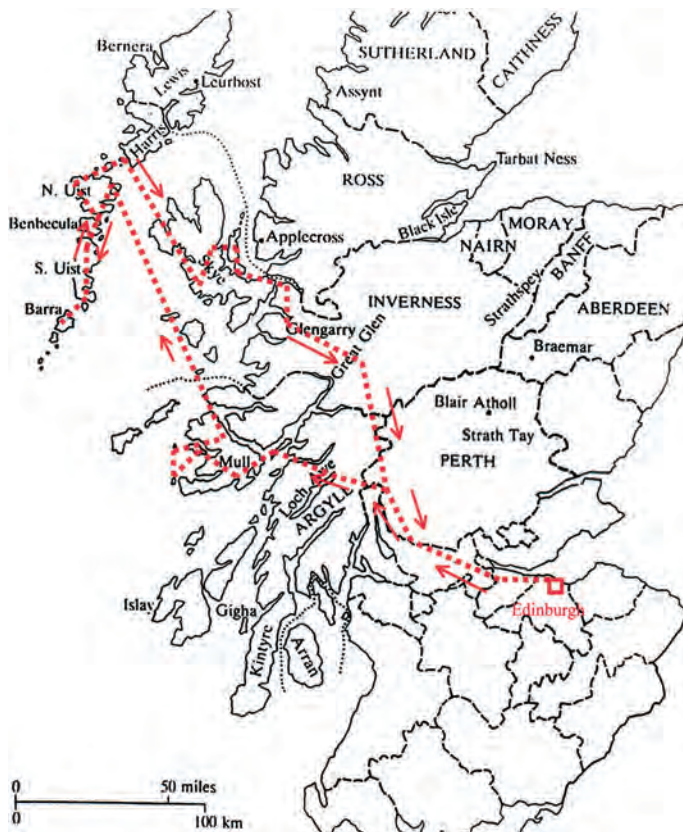
accessible to travellers and investigators of the time (Devine 1999: Ch. 11).

What can we conclude about the influence of Macpherson’s *Ossian* on the collecting of Gaelic oral folklore in the Highlands? Without doubt it gave rise to a greater concern with good practice in the field, for example the careful noting of oral sources, and provided valuable ethnographic descriptions of performing events that would otherwise have been lost. Furthermore, it gave voice to a concern among learned Gaels at the time regarding the rapid decline of the Gaelic world and the disappearance of the oral traditions central to the culture. In this connection it has been noted that collectors were active mainly on the peripheries of the Gàidhealtachd (initially Perthshire, Argyll, Caithness), following the retreat of the language and allied traditions to the Western Isles a century later (see Thomson 1983: 294). Beyond this, it seems to me that the most obvious assertion we can make is that the *Ossian* controversy did provide some stimulus to collecting by adding an international literary dimension that served to focus and intensify issues that were already part of the eighteenth century Highland scene.

#### *An Active Legacy: Building on the Foundations*

Fieldwork and the publishing of collections continued into the nineteenth century, and one of the most interesting collectors from the beginning of this period was a musician of relatively humble origins by the name of Alexander Campbell (1764–1824). Campbell was born in the southern Highlands, and while a music teacher in Edinburgh became acquainted with Sir Walter Scott. Despite recurring and unfulfilled literary ambitions that time and again proved to be a distraction, he was a born ethnologist; in 1815 with the sponsorship of the Royal Highland Society of Scotland he undertook an ambitious collecting journey throughout the Highlands for the purpose of raising the profile of Scotland’s ‘national music’. The results were a song collection, *Albyn’s Anthology* (published 1816), and of no less importance, a day-by-day account (*A Slight Sketch of a Journey made through parts of the Highlands and Hebrides*) of the 1200 mile journey made on foot and by boat to some of the remotest corners of Gaeldom. The *Sketch* contains much of interest in its detailed descriptions of the circumstances of song notation, singers, their communities, and local song collectors.

Through his Highland Society connections, Campbell was extended hospitality by the local minor aristocracy throughout the Highlands. While staying with MacDonald of Staffa, himself a song



*Alexander Campbell's journey through the highlands, 1815.*

collector of note, Campbell mentions the lengths he went to (doubtless in the wake of the Ossian controversy) in authenticating his fieldwork sources:

*16<sup>th</sup> August*, the morning of which was spent in getting Staffa's attestation to each piece I had taken down from vocal recitation, a rule I have invariably followed when I could get either a magistrate or a clergyman to give the stamp of authority to everything connected with what I am intrusted to collect; and I have rigidly adhered to this rule in order to preclude the possibility of trick or forgery.

Having endured the often stormy passage from Mull to the Outer Isles, he records his meeting with his Uist guide, Roderick MacQueen (remembered in local tradition as a remarkable singer and reciter), who was a repository for a wealth of ballads from the Finn Cycle:

*28<sup>th</sup> August*, Roderick MacQueen, grass-keeper in Carnish, was in waiting. And immediately after breakfast this person began to recite, and occasionally sing, the poems usually ascribed to Ossian. During three consecutive days (with little intermission) I was employed in writing down certain portions of the words adapted to the melodies of those *laoidhean*, or hymns, from the mouth of Roderick MacQueen, who far surpasses any person

that I have hitherto met with in this species of acquirement; his retention and reminiscence are remarkably great. His musical ear is pretty good, and I have reason to believe that the melodies which he chants these ancient songs are genuine, and I have pricked them down carefully. . . While here I witnessed for the first time persons singing at the same time they danced, and this is called dancing to *port-à-beul*\* being succeedaneous contrivance to supply the want of a musical instrument. This affect is droll enough, and gives an idea of what one might conceive to be customary among tribes but little removed from a state of nature. What renders this illusion more probable is the mode in which these merry islanders perform the double exercise of singing and dancing: thus the men and women sing a bar of the time alternately by which they preserve the respiration free and the same time observe the accent and rhythms quite accurately. The effect is animating, and having words correspondent to the character of the measure, there seems to be a three-fold species of gratification arising from the union of song and dance—rude, it is confessed— but such as pleases the vulgar; and not displeasing to one who feels disposed to join in rustic pleasures or innocent amusement.

Campbell's next port of call after Uist was to the north in the Isle of Harris:

*24<sup>th</sup> August*

Soon after my arrival, the Misses McLeod of Rodel came on a visit to their relation Mrs Campbell of Strond, in whose house I now was, and felt myself perfectly at home. My chief object in coming to Harris was to wait upon the identical ladies, the visitants named above, and thus I was happily anticipated in my original intention. I had heard much of their possessing a rich fund of Gaelic poetry and music, in consequence of which I was eager to ascertain, by personal interview, the truth of the report; and I was amply rewarded for a journey on foot from the furthest point of South Uist to the extremity of North Uist, a distance of at least four score miles.

I was now in the midst of a group of seven ladies who were all excellent singers; and one of them, namely Mrs Doctor McLeod, a performer on the pianoforte. I soon put the instrument (which was a good London made one) in tune, and commenced my labours. The task was easy, and very gracious, for their voices were good; whatever they sang was in perfect intonation, and they had nothing vulgar in their manner of singing. Nay, on the contrary, they displayed a considerable degree of taste in execution, and occasionally pathos in their

\* A variety of vocal dance music that survives among Gaelic speakers to this day.





Alexander Carmichael 1832–1912.

melodies and words of an elegiac cast. My gleanings at Killegray in Harris amount to eleven pieces of vocal music, most of which were quite new to me.

From the mid nineteenth century, extensive gathering of songs and other oral poetry was carried out by Rev John Grigorson Campbell of Tiree and John Francis Campbell, part of whose collection of Finn Cycle ballads still awaits study. Perhaps most remarkable from this period is the famous collection by Alexander Carmichael of oral religious poetry, published as *Carmina Gadelica* which contains many striking items such as the following:

*Solus-Iuil na Siorruidheachd*

*DHE, thug mis a fois na h-oidhch an raoir  
Chon solus aoibh an la an diugh,  
Bi da mo thoir bho sholus ur an la an diugh,  
Chon solus iul na siorruidheachd,  
O ! bho sholus ur an la an diugh,  
Gu solus iul na siorruidheachd.  
The Guiding Light of Eternity*

O God, who broughtst me from the rest of last night  
Unto the joyous light of this day,  
Be Thou bringing me from the new light of this day  
Unto the guiding light of eternity.  
Oh ! from the new light of this day  
Unto the guiding light of eternity.  
(Carmichael 1928–71, 1: 32–3.)

A further notable variety from oral tradition, and one distinctively associated with women in Scottish Gaelic, is the repertoire of labour songs termed waulking songs, evolved to accompany the vigorous and monotonous chore of shrinking the heavy wool tweed cloth by hand. The wide distribution of waulking songs along the western part of the Highlands indicates their considerable age, and indeed we have an account from as early as the end of the seventeenth century, once more from the Hebridean traveller Martin Martin, where he related how an English visitor to North Uist in the Outer Isles:

...happen'd to come into a House where he found onlv ten Women, and they were employ'd (as he suppos'd) in a strange manner, viz. their Arms and Legs were bare, being five on a side; and between them lay a Board, upon which they had laid a piece of Cloth, and were thickning of it with their Hands and Feet, and singing all the while. The Englishman presently concluded it to be a little *Bedlam*, which he did not expect in so remote a Corner: and this he told to *Mr John Macklean*, who possesses the Island. *Mr. Macklean* answer'd, he never saw any mad People in those Islands: but this would not satisfy him, till they both went to the place where the women were at work; and then *Mr. Macklean* having told him, that it was their common way of thickning Cloth, he was convinc'd, tho surpriz'd at the manner of it. (Campbell & Collinson 1969: 4–5.)

The subject matter of the songs typically reflects the preoccupations of a society that existed over previous centuries, and still retained a strong hold on the life of the mind in the rural areas of the Highlands during the nineteenth century:

The subjects of the songs are usually the praise of great men, of the chiefs and their magnificence and hospitality; the hunt; love (if the lover is of noble origin, there is no shame in an illegitimate pregnancy); and laments for the dead . . .

Similes are drawn directly from nature, and the language is pure, simple, and concrete, and often highly poetical, as might be expected from a people whose everyday life was permeated with an oral literature of poetry, song, and story, and with whom the pro-



*Waulking in Uist c. 1900.*

fessional poet-historians were held in high honour (Campbell & Collinson 1969: 18).

Waulking songs contain some of the most intense and powerful poetry produced by women in Scotland. One famous song is said to have been composed toward the end of the eighteenth century by a woman in the Outer Hebrides upon being informed of the drowning of her sweetheart. It is accompanied by a short narrative:

It is told that when this woman was going to be buried, she was to be buried on the far side of Diadair Sound; that a tempest came upon the crew, so that they had to put the coffin overboard; that the coffin went right against the tide and the wind, and that it sank at the very spot where her sweetheart had been drowned, whereupon peace and a calm came upon the sea, and the men, who were in great danger of losing their lives, were saved.

*'S bochd an nochd na bheil air m'aire,  
Meud na sine, fuachd na gaillinn*

*Meud na sine, fuachd na gaillinn  
Dh'fhuadaicheadh na fir o'n charraig,*

*Dh'fhuadaicheadh na fir o'n charraig,  
Chuireadh iad a'bhòid dha'n aondeoin . . .*

*Gura mise th'air mo léireadh  
Cha n-e bàs a'chruidh 'sa Chéitein,  
No tainead mo bhuaile spréidhe,  
Ach a fhlichead 's a tha do léine,  
'S tu bhith 'm bàrr nan tonn ag éirigh  
Mucan Mara bhith 'gad reubadh,  
Bhith 'gad ghearradh as a chéile . . .*

Tonight sad thoughts my mind are filling,  
The strength of the storm, the cold of th' tempest

The strength of th' storm, the cold of th' tempest  
That drove the men from the shore's shelter,

That drove the men from the shore's shelter,  
Sent them on a voyage unwilling . . .  
Truly I am sore tormented,  
Not by death of stock in springtime,  
Nor by th' fewness of my cattle,  
But by thy clothing's dampness,  
And that thou art on wavetop floating  
While sea monsters rend thy body,  
And are tearing thee asunder . . .  
(Campbell & Collinson 1969: 44–8.)

Orally composed poetry thus on occasion achieved a grand scale, with a few favoured songs spreading far beyond their original geographical confines. Individual bards of exceptional ability also became widely recognised, often assisted through a moderate form of patronage from a local member of the landed gentry. Among the most widely admired is Duncan MacIntyre (1724–1812), whose nature poetry was passed on with reverence among the common people. Here he begins his celebration of the mountain Beinn Dòbhrain, where he spent much of his youth hunting deer. The poem follows the traditional rhythmic changes of pipe tune variations:

*An t-urram tha gach beinn  
Aig Beinn Dòbhrain;  
De na chunnaic mi fon ghréin,  
'S i bu bhòidhche leam:  
Munadh fada réidh,  
Cuilidh 'm faighte féidh,  
Soillearachd an t-sléibh  
Bha mi sònrachadh;  
Doireachan gach geug,  
Coill' anns am bi feur . . .*

Precedence over every ben [mountain]  
has Ben Dòbhrain;  
Of all I have seen beneath the sun,  
I deemed her loveliest:  
a long, unbroken moor,  
covert where deer are found;  
the brightness of the slope  
I noted specially;  
coppices of boughs,  
woodland where grass grows . . .  
(MacLeod 1952: 196–7.)

On a more ordinary level, for at least the past 200 years virtually every Highland settlement has been known to have its own community ('village') bard, whose task it has been to provide an internal oral record of the life of the people. This 'popular cul-

ture' in the form of a still living tradition portrays local personalities and events, frequently through a 'high context' use of language and allusion, in order to give voice and artistic form to 'what oft was thought but ne'er so well expressed'. If such oral compositions over the past two centuries can be identified under a brief heading, it would be 'nature and society', embracing a wide social spectrum that includes panegyric, humour, love, politics, war, satire (directed at rats as well as people), land tenure and laments. Throughout the past century the verse has remained strongly topical: the grounding of a ship containing a large cargo of whisky off the Outer Hebrides; the introduction of AI (artificial insemination) by Scottish agriculture to small island communities; the 'recovery' of the Stone of Destiny (symbolic of Scottish sovereignty) from Westminster Abbey in 1950.

### *Twentieth Century Collecting and Dissemination*

In the early twentieth century the gathering and publication of Gaelic song by Marjory Kennedy-Fraser, albeit in the form of art versions, became a major influence on the perceptions of Gaelic oral song/verse tradition. Further important fieldwork, this time based directly on field recordings made with the best technology available at the time, was carried out in Uist and Barra by John Lorne Campbell of Canna, and made accessible in his numerous publications. The founding of the School of Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh in 1951 led to the hiring of a number of professional field collectors, among them Calum Maclean, who, though primarily concerned with traditional narrative, left behind an irreplaceable legacy of over 400 song recordings from the 1940s–50s. These are but a small part of the song materials held and catalogued in the School Archive, the primary national folklore resource in Scotland. Numerous collections of the works of regional bards have continued to appear in print, and members of a community thus gifted still hold a position of respect, sometimes tempered with caution lest a satire result. Over recent decades significant studies have emerged on traditional composition processes among active contemporary bards and the functions of song/poetry in the localities (Macdonald 1999; McKean n.d.).

In a cultural environment where Gaelic poetry has been moving in the direction of written composition, technology has begun to play a positive role in oral transmission. Increased availability of items from community-based song traditions has encouraged performers to introduce greater depth

and breadth to their repertoires. *Tobar an Dualchais* ('The Well of Tradition')/*Kist o' Riches* is a major national project now underway to make the extensive recorded collections of Gaelic (and Scots) oral traditions accessible to users online within the next few years. This and other media will ensure the continuation in Western Europe of an ancient but living art form that is the legacy of all Gaelic communities, and indeed of an entire country.

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# Notes on Lauri Honko's Discussion on Paradigms in the History of Folklore Studies

by Pertti Anttonen, Professor  
Dept. of Folklore Studies, University of Helsinki

In May 2007, a scholarly conference was organised at the University of Tartu on the history of folklore studies. The event, attended by some thirty local and international participants, was entitled 'Reflecting on Knowledge Production: The Development of Folkloristics and Ethnology'. The main organiser was Extraordinary Associate Professor Kristin Kuutma from the Department of Estonian and Comparative Folklore. The event was part of the research project 'Folkloristics and Reflexive Cultural Critique (Early 20th Century)', led by Professor Kuutma and funded by the Estonian Science Foundation for the years 2004–7.

The purpose of the conference was, as put by Kristin Kuutma in the call for papers, 'to turn a fresh inquisitive gaze to the culture of scholars and scholarship; by looking at the constraints and contingencies of the institutionalisation process, cultural politics and state policies, nationalisation of scholarship . . . the knowledge legacies of authoritative figures in the field, personal histories, the aspect of gender, the necessity for, and the contingencies of international networks in research history'.

It is reasonable to claim that the epistemological approach both called for and promoted by this conference would not have been possible without the great impact of Thomas S. Kuhn and his groundbreaking book *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, which first came out in 1962. This publication, which was originally conceived when Kuhn was a graduate student in theoretical physics (Kuhn 1970: v), became a watershed in the general discussion concerning progress in science and the constitution of scientific knowledge. Due to the great impact of Kuhn's work and the circulation of his ideas in the 1960s and 1970s, the concept of the paradigm became a central tool for examining the history and current trends of scholarship as well as knowledge production in both natural and social sciences. The field of folklore studies was also affected by these discussions.

The basic tenet in Kuhn's approach is that scientific activity rests on accepted models or patterns that attract scholars 'away from competing modes of scholarly activity' (Kuhn 1970: 10). The appropriation of these models and patterns produces 'normal science' that follows exemplars and is based on a 'disciplinary matrix' with shared ontology

and assumptions, methodological rules and norms and research goals and standards. Kuhn thus puts great emphasis on the social character of science, and accordingly writes that 'A paradigm is what the members of a scientific community share, and, conversely, a scientific community consists of men who share a paradigm' (Kuhn 1970: 176). According to Kuhn, 'normal-scientific research is directed to the articulation of those phenomena and theories that the paradigm already supplies' (Kuhn 1970: 24), making scholarly activity cumulative 'puzzle-solving'. A scientific revolution occurs when novelities of fact and theory are discovered, first through the awareness of anomalies and the subsequent crisis that changes the scholarly world-view. Science makes progress through such revolutions.

Kuhn's ideas on paradigms have inspired a great deal of scholarly discussion, including criticism. His conception of 'normal science' has been considered too dogmatic, as many colleagues point to critical approaches as constituting the essence of science. One of the proponents of this view was Karl Popper, the grand old man of the philosophy of science when Kuhn was presenting his anti-positivistic ideas. Popper was actually one of Kuhn's targets, as Kuhn questioned Popper's thesis on falsification as the method to test the scientific value of a given theory (see Kuhn 1970: 146 ff.). According to Kuhn, the reality that science studies can only be described by theories and paradigms, not independently of them. Therefore one cannot step outside a theory in order to judge its accuracy in the description of reality. In other words, reality cannot be described independently of theories concerning reality.

Nordic folklore studies in the late 1970s and early 1980s were no exception in the 'research on research' that enthusiastically drew on Kuhn's radical ideas. This was especially due to the great influence of Professor Lauri Honko, who as the Director of the Nordic Institute of Folklore (NIF) organised a number of events around the topic in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The ideological underpinnings of research were first discussed at a seminar in Oslo in March 1979, entitled 'Nordisk seminar i folkediktning, teori og metode' (Nordic seminar on folk poetry, theory and methods). The papers given in this seminar were published in a theme issue in *Norveg, Journal of Norwegian Ethnology and Folklore Studies*

(no. 22, 1979), as well as in the book *Folkedigtning: teori og metode*, published in the series Nordic Institute of Folklore Reprints. Scholars' ideological commitments especially to nation-building were also discussed at a NIF anniversary symposium in Turku later the same year, leading to the publication of the papers in the Norwegian journal *Tradisjon* (no. 10, 1980) as well as in the book *Folklore och nationsbyggande i Norden* (Folklore and nation-building in the Nordic countries), edited by Lauri Honko and published in 1980.

In October 1980, the Nordic Institute of Folklore organised a seminar on folkloristic paradigms in Turku, publishing both the papers and their invited commentaries in a book entitled *Folkloristikens aktuella paradigm* (Current paradigms in folkloristics) (Herranen 1981). The discussion on paradigms culminated in the 22nd Nordic Ethnology and Folklore Congress held in Liperi, Finland, in June 1981, with Lauri Honko as the prime mover. The papers presented in this congress were subsequently published in the *Studia Fennica* series by the Finnish Literature Society under the title *Trends in Nordic Tradition Research* (Honko & Laaksonen 1983). The link between the two events was highlighted by distributing a copy of *Folkloristikens aktuella paradigm* to the participants of the Liperi congress.

In his discussion on paradigms, Honko followed Kuhn in his understanding of the concept, but he also lent an ear to Kuhn's critics. For Honko, the term denoted the world view of a particular scholarly field and the impact of this world view on the individual scholars' thinking, ways of acquiring and systematising research materials, carrying out analysis and posing problems and questions (Honko 1981: 5; Honko 1983: 16–17). A paradigm is a mental framework obtained through scholarly education and methodological models, that is, problem-solutions or exemplars provided in this education (Honko 1981: 5; Honko 1983: 16). Most of its basic premises are implicit and are followed without methodological reflection, meaning that they are imitated. A paradigm 'is the hidden guideline to learning and reproduction in science, also in cases where explicitly formulated theory seems to be lacking' (Honko 1983: 16–17).

Honko summarised his understanding of the qualities of a paradigm as follows (Honko 1983: 17):

- a paradigm represents a scientific picture of reality
- a paradigm offers problem-solutions for concrete research situations
- a paradigm manifests itself through procedures and techniques but goes beyond these by creating a vision of the world studied and

bringing about an integration of various research operations

- a paradigm covers only a part of reality
- a paradigm is able to produce new knowledge
- a paradigm tends in course of time to exhaust itself of its logical possibilities

Before arriving at these formulations, Honko in his 1979 article in *Norveg* called for more awareness of scholars' metatheoretical postulations and personal inclinations that they *de facto* apply in their scholarship (Honko 1979: 255). For Honko, this especially concerned the ontological question of the nature of reality, which he found to be different between himself and his informants, as his informants of folk-belief memorates had seen supernatural beings that he as a scholar cannot see (Honko 1979: 257–60; see also Honko's comments in Holbek 1992a: 16–17). He paraphrased the theoretical premises that he encouraged scholars to explicate as scaffolds, that is, temporary structures for construction that can be taken down after the 'building', meaning the study, is finished (Honko 1979: 255).

Honko's initiative in the paradigms of folklore research encouraged many of his colleagues to address important issues concerning research methodology. Foregoing present-day discussions on reflexivity, the Danish folklorist Bengt Holbek set out to decipher the tacit knowledge of folklore studies. By tacit knowledge, a concept already used by Kuhn, Holbek referred to the unexplicated assumptions or prerequisites concerning scholars' own class position and the influence of this on their research, as well as the implicit theories, prejudices and romantic attitudes that folklorists as representatives of the middle class and the bourgeoisie cherish towards those belonging to the lower social classes (see Holbek 1979, 1981, 1992a, 1992b). According to Holbek, tacit assumptions especially concern the concept of the folk as an ideal entity, which he found to be in conflict with the individual styles and preferences that he encountered in his materials (Holbek 1979: 216–17, 221; Holbek 1981: 134–5). Holbek applied the same logic to argue against the use of the category of the national in folklore and folkloristics. He saw no ground for using folklore for national arguments, as the cognisance of particular folkloric items did not correlate with national borders. The nationalistic meanings derive from scholars, not from the folk.

It is the middle-class's enthusiastic rediscovery of 'the folk' which raised the traditional songs and narratives to a status of 'national' treasures, in

*continued on p. 16*

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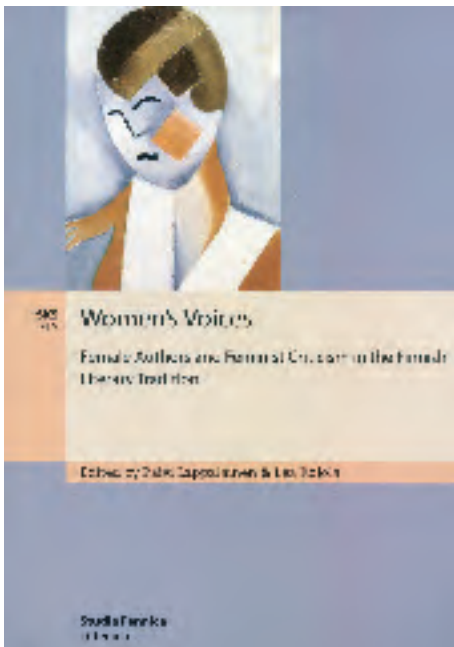
*Mícheál Briody,*

### **The Irish Folklore Commission 1935–1970:**

#### **History, ideology, methodology**

Studia Fennica Folkloristica 17. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2007. 535 pp. ISBN 978-951-746-947-0. 32 €

Between 1935 and 1970 the Irish Folklore Commission (Coimisiún Béaloideasa Éireann), under-funded and at great personal cost to its staff, assembled one of the world's largest folklore collections. This study draws on the extensive government files on the Commission in the National Archives of Ireland and on a wide variety of other primary and secondary sources, in order to recount and assess the work and achievement of this world-famous institute. The cultural, linguistic, political and ideological factors that had a bearing on the establishment and making permanent of the Commission and that impinged on many aspects of its work are here elucidated. The genesis of the Commission is traced and the vision and mission of its Honorary Director, Séamus Ó Duilearga, is outlined. The negotiations that preceded the setting up of the Commission in 1935 as well as protracted efforts from 1940 to 1970 to place it on a permanent foundation are recounted and examined at length. All the various collecting programmes and other activities of the Commission are described in detail and many aspects of its work are assessed. This study also deals with the working methods and conditions of employment of the Commission's field and Head Office staff. This is the first major study of the Irish Folklore Commission, which has been praised in passing in numerous publications, but here for the first time its work and achievement are detailed comprehensively and subjected to scholarly scrutiny.



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### **Women's Voices: Female Authors and Feminist Criticism in the Finnish Literary Tradition**

Edited by Päivi Lappalainen & Lea Rojola.

Studia Fennica Litteraria 2. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2006. 206 pp. ISBN 978-951-746-760-5. 29 €

Finnish women writers from the nineteenth century onwards have dealt with various problems concerning women's daily lives, their rights, their identities and their own voice. And these same questions can still be heard in contemporary women's literature. The articles in *Women's Voices* survey some of the ways in which Finnish female authors from the 1840s to the 1990s have dealt with these questions, and the solutions to these problems they have envisioned in their writing. How has the idea of freedom changed? What has been the relationship between female authors and the women's movement? What happens when female authors become aware of the multiplicity of their identity? How do different literary genres affect the way women write? These are some of the questions focused on in *Women's Voices*. At the same time the volume presents an overview of the range of approaches to feminist criticism drawn on by Finnish feminist scholars.

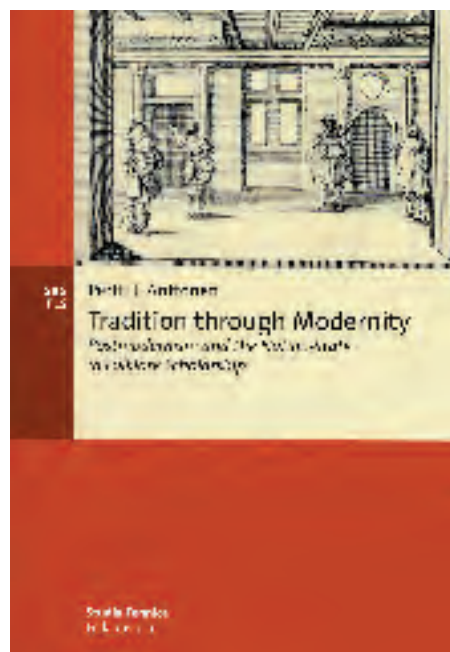
*Pertti J. Anttonen,*

**Tradition through Modernity: Postmodernism and the Nation-State in Folklore Scholarship**

Studia Fennica Folkloristica 15. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2005. 215 pp. ISBN 951-746-665-X. 28 €

In their study of social practices deemed traditional, scholars tend to use the concept and idea of tradition as an element of meaning in the practices under investigation. But just whose meaning is it? Is it a meaning generated by those who study tradition or those whose traditions are being studied? In both cases, particular criteria for traditionality are employed, whether these are explicated or not. Individuals and groups will no doubt continue to uphold their traditional practices or refer to their practices as traditional. While they are in no way obliged to explicate in analytical terms their criteria for traditionality, the same cannot be said for those who make the study of traditions their profession. In scholarly analysis, traditions need to be explained instead of used as explanations for apparent repetitions and replications or symbolic linking in social practice, values, history, and heritage politics.

This book takes a closer look at 'tradition' and 'folklore' in order to conceptualize them within discourses on modernity and modernism. The first section discusses 'modern' and 'traditional' as modern concepts and the study of folklore as a modern trajectory. The underlying tenet here is that non-modernity cannot be represented without modern mediation, which therefore makes the representations of non-modernity epistemologically modern. The second section focuses on the nation-state of Finland and the nationalistic use of folk traditions in the discursive production of Finnish modernity and its Others.



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*Seija-Riitta Laakso,*

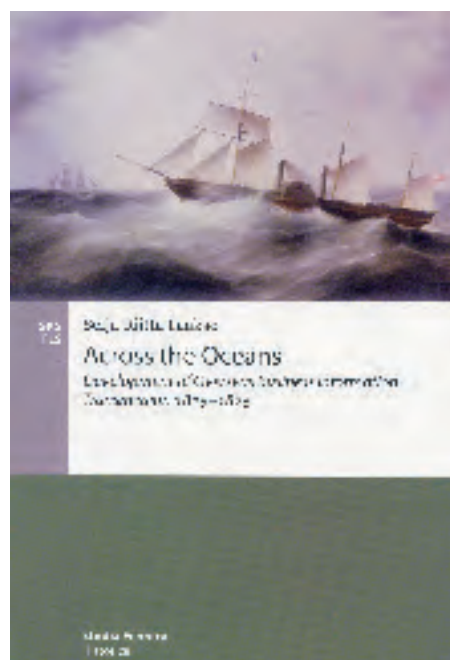
**Across the Oceans: Development of Overseas Business Information Transmission 1815–1875**

Studia Fennica Historica 13. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2007. 459 pp. ISBN 978-951-746-904-3. 32 €

In the early 19th century, the only way to transmit information was to send letters across the oceans by sailing ships or inland by horse and coach. Growing world trade created a need and technological development introduced options to improve general information transmission. Starting in the 1830s, a network of steamships, railways, canals and telegraphs was gradually built to connect different parts of the world.

The book explains how the rate of information circulation increased many times over as mail systems were developed. Nevertheless, regional differences were huge. While improvements on the most significant trade routes between Europe, the Americas and East India were considered crucial, distant places such as California and Australia had to wait for gold rush to become important enough for regular communications. The growth of passenger services, especially for emigrants, also increased the number of mail sailings.

The study covers the period from the Napoleonic wars to the foundation of the Universal Post Union (UPU) from the days of sailing ships to steamers and the telegraphs.



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*continued from p. 13*

spite of the fact that very few of them are specific to any ethnic group and in spite of the fact that the impoverished persons who entertained themselves with this sort of thing had scarcely anything that could be called a national consciousness (Holbek 1981: 134–5).

Holbek has here made an important point about the recognition of identities. Nationalistically minded folklorists have tended to collect, index and display materials that have received their meanings as nationally significant symbols not from their performers but from the people who collect and display them. This, according to Holbek, is ‘misuse of folklore’, which ‘is still promulgated by less-informed writers and propagandists’, but which ‘has gradually been abandoned within professional circles in the course of this century’ (Holbek 1992b: 5–6).

Yet Holbek’s point undermines the power of symbolism and metonymy, which do not require such exact correlations. Symbolism and metonymy are argumentative relations. With its historical background in the legitimisation and sacralisation of territories with antiquities, and in the related Herderian idea of the nation as being embodied and voiced in traditional culture, especially in the poetry of the folk, folklore scholarship has contributed to nationalistic symbolism and metonymy by providing ‘ancient testimonies’ of history in the national language for the legitimisation of the political state as a national unit (see Abrahams 1993). By transforming tradition into heritage, and by metonymising tradition in the course of its representation, folklore scholarship has created ‘national texts’ that are authored by a ‘folk’ that is a scholarly construction rather than a sociological entity. In accordance with the discipline’s Herderian premises, the products of such a ‘folk’ speak in the voice of the nation rather than that of the ‘folk’ itself or its demographic referents.

These processes were not the target of critical analysis for Holbek or his generation of Nordic folklorists, as they regarded the nationalistic framework of scholarship as being on the decline for rationalistic reasons. Holbek directed attention to important political underpinnings in folklore research, but his approach did not quite meet the expectations of contemporary epistemological reflexivity on the social construction of knowledge or the social and political constitution of scholarly fields and academic communities (cf. Becher 1989, Bourdieu 1988, Gerholm 1990). Focusing on scholars’ attitudes, biases and prejudices, Holbek was concerned with drawing a line between correct and incorrect arguments, rather than digging into their

implicit premises or the hierarchical structures of academic constellations. A critical note to his approach was given by his Danish colleague Birgitte Rørbye, who wrote that tacit assumptions meant for Holbek ‘possible sources of error in empirical investigations’. Because of this, according to Rørbye, ‘the work on tacit assumptions is reduced to spadework devoid of any philosophical implications’ (Rørbye 1993: 29).

A somewhat similar judgement may be applied to Lauri Honko’s approach in ‘research on research’. His initiative in the paradigms of folklore research encouraged many of his colleagues to address important issues concerning research methodology and eventually also research ethics, but in practical terms, he ended up using the concept of paradigm as a classificatory tool for delineating research traditions. The reflexive and self-critical interest for him lay in the ‘need to identify, categorise and analyse these traditions and their impact on us’ (Honko 1983: 13). Accordingly, his survey of paradigms in folklore studies listed a set of methods and approaches that he placed in a chronological and in a personally value-laden order. These were the historic-geographic method, comparatism, genre analysis, structuralism, performance analysis, and tradition ecology (see Honko 1980a, 1980b). The first four of these are grouped as text and tradition-oriented paradigms and the last two as context and subject-oriented ones.

Following the conceptualisation of a paradigm as denoting a school or a line of thought (see Honko 1983: 7), the main content of the Liperi congress in 1981 constituted mapping out the development of research methods and approaches in Nordic ethnology and folklore studies. In addition to the congress title, ‘Nordisk traditionsforskning – linjer och skolor’ (Nordic tradition research – schools and lines of thought), this became evident in the titles of the published plenary papers. Nils Storå surveyed ‘Trends in Nordic Ethnological Material Research’, Magne Velure surveyed ‘Nordic Folk Belief Research: Schools and Approaches’, Bengt Holbek surveyed ‘Nordic Research in Popular Prose Narrative’, and outside the plenary sessions Outi Lehtipuro discussed past Nordic Ethnology and Folklore congresses by mapping out ‘Trends in Nordic Folkloristics’ (see Honko & Laaksonen 1983).

The quest for mapping out historical changes in theories and methods was also made explicit in Honko’s call to the Liperi congress participants: ‘What are the old ways of viewing things whose influence is now in decline and in what areas has a fundamental re-orientation taken place? And what will replace the old? Or is it perhaps more a question of complementary views existing side by side?’



Perhaps the old will not entirely disappear even though our interest has sought new fields. What are the most important aspects of research which the study of culture quite simply cannot afford to be without if it is to fulfill its task in the family of human sciences? And what about the immediate social relevance of our work as ethnologists and folklorists?' (Honko 1983: 20–1.)

There are unquestionable merits in the historical surveys printed in the Liperi congress publication, and they continue to be useful in university education in the fields of folklore and ethnology. They do not, however, address the metatheoretical postulations that Honko originally called for to be examined and explicated. In principle, Honko's interest in paradigms meant an interest in 'the scientific concepts of reality that determine research in folklore today' (Honko 1983: 15), but his pursuit for metatheory turned out to be a rather pragmatic endeavour concerning the historical development of research approaches. This was also pointed out in the Liperi congress papers by Professor Bjarne Stoklund from the University of Copenhagen. In *Folkloristikens aktuella paradigm*, according to Stoklund, 'the inflation of concepts has been given a free rein' (Stoklund 1983: 54). 'The term paradigm is used down at the methodological level, and even in connection with partly incommensurable quan-

ties. For example, genre taxonomy and the historic-geographic school are both called paradigms.' Commenting on Nils Storå's survey on the history of Nordic ethnology, Stoklund located a true shift of paradigms in the concept of culture, which has been traditionally—and to his disappointment, also in the program for the Liperi congress—conceptualised as a collection of cultural elements, instead of the more current conceptualisation as a system of meanings.

### *Paradigms Revisited*

Even though the discussion on paradigms in folklore studies in the early 1980s was somewhat watered down to a question of research trends and their history, the concept of paradigm did not in this process prove to be useless. On the contrary, there are important paradigms to be discerned in folklore studies, and the concept can well serve as a tool in the analysis and organisation of both current research and research history. It might actually be a worthwhile enterprise to establish a research project that would delve into the history of the field with the purpose of providing a more systematic record of its paradigms, not forgetting the paradigmatic differences. These paradigms would not, obviously, comprise research trends or their devel-



*Congress of Nordic ethnologists and folklorists at Liperi, 11.6.1981 (participants' departure). Photo by Jukka Kukkonen, SKS (KRAK 1981:362).*

opments, but fundamental premises in theorisation and in methodology.

In my recent book on the concept of tradition and its epistemological relationship to the experience of modernity (Anttonen 2005), I have referred to a number of what I regard as fundamental paradigms in folklore studies. One of these I have called the sociological paradigm. The roots of this paradigm lie in functionalism, which started to influence folklore studies in the late 1940s, but did not make a stronger impact until the early 1960s. Even though functionalism as a cultural theory eventually faded away, the study of social functions became firmly established as one of the central tasks in analysing folklore. This is especially due to the modern folklore definition established by Alan Dundes, according to whom the 'folk' refers to 'any group of people whatsoever who share at least one common factor' (Dundes 1965: 2). The lasting power of this approach is evident when juxtaposed with the subsequent interest in studying meaning, which came into fashion in the 1980s. Although the general interest in meaning emerged from epistemological questions concerning interpretation and the production of knowledge, in folklore studies meaning and function were more or less synonymised as issues of intentionality and teleology. Because of the sociological paradigm, intentionality and teleology in the observed data were closely linked to group membership and the idea of collective identity. This was especially conspicuous in the 1970s and 1980s, when the popular trend was to study folklore as a manifestation of local, regional and national identities. According to Honko, a leading figure also in this trend, collective identity was the key to study folklore and its variation, and the study of folklore and its variation was instrumental in studying collective identity (Honko 1982: 16; see also Honko 1988). Such a perspective makes a direct link between the circulation of folklore and the cultural identity of a social group. According to this logic, folklore does not only stand for a positively evaluated element in bringing cohesion between people, but serves to indicate of the cohesiveness of any group that has folklore. The underlying premise here is that the group is a precondition for folklore rather than folklore being a precondition for the group and its constitution (Noyes 1995: 453).

Accordingly, focusing on preconceived collectivities such as nations, ethnic groups, local communities and occupational groups, scholars have followed the discipline's sociological paradigm and placed much rhetorical emphasis on intra-group folklore as the foundation of collective identities—as well as employing this notion to legitimate their own scholarly practices in the representation of such groups. Folklorists have even claimed, as argued by

the Finnish folklorist Seppo Knuuttila, that studying collective identifications and providing material for these gives the field 'an identity bonus' in relation to other disciplines (Knuuttila 1994: 32–3).

Another folklore paradigm that I referred to in the aforementioned book is that of loss, which revolves around the idea that modernisation generates loss of culture, loss of tradition, loss of identity, loss of traditional values, loss of morality and loss of exceptionally valued folklore genres. Because of its alleged lack of traditionality, modernity in this paradigm is seen as fake, artificial, superficial and trivial. The dichotomy of modernity and tradition thus authenticates tradition as a cultural other and sees deliberate making—that is, faking—of tradition as only taking place in the modern. Accordingly, folklore study in this paradigm is predicated with a devolutionist approach to its research target, conceptualising this as a vanishing object. This makes folklore research a nostalgic project in a discourse on decadence. The field both represents and reproduces a modern discourse of cultural impoverishment by documenting, describing and putting on display representations of past ways of life and cultural knowledge.

In addition to a vanishing object, folklore has also been conceptualised as a text, and as such, as an item of or compared to literature. When materials recorded from oral communication, such as songs, proverbs and narratives, receive their value as printed, metonymic representations of, for example, the nation and its cultural heritage, folklore as a document of orality comes to be conceptualised as, and entextualised into, a literary representation of orality. This has been quite paradigmatic in folkloristic discourse since its emergence as a discipline. For example, when coining the word 'folk-lore' to replace 'popular antiquities' and 'popular literature', William Thoms conceptualised the collecting, organising and publishing of antiquities as part and servant of the country's literary culture (see Thoms 1965: 5). In Finland, the *Kalevala* epic was received as one of the first important works in Finnish literature and continues to be valued as such.

With folklore conceptualised as texts and literature, one of the basic tasks undertaken by folklorists has been that of classification and the creation and preservation of taxonomy. From early on in the history of the discipline, the main scholarly task was to organise collected materials systematically in order to create typologies and compile type and motif indexes. This practice still continues and constitutes an important aspect of the folkloristic production of knowledge, despite the fact that most research questions today are directed at other issues. As noted by Dan Ben-Amos, the purpose of making indexes and

related classifications is to create order. 'A coherent classification system introduces principles of order into an apparent chaotic mass of information by establishing features, forms and subjects as criteria for organisation and by revealing patterns in multitudes of detail and individual cases' (Ben-Amos 1976a: xv). Dan Ben-Amos names Stith Thompson, Carl W. von Sydow and Vladimir Propp as three prominent twentieth-century scholars who 'regard the construction of adequate classification system as the initial step in research, preceding any other analytical endeavor' (Ben-Amos 1976a: xv).

Such a classificatory approach concerns not merely the collection of materials but the nature of the folklore category itself. In what I would call the classification paradigm, folklore constitutes a taxonomic system that requires potential research objects first to be identified as belonging to the taxonomic system before they can be studied. Folklorists must study folklore and folklore only. The taxonomic system may expand, and novel phenomena may earn the title of folklore, if found justifiable. Changes tend to be accepted if the expansion of the taxonomy serves to indicate of the vitality of the field, and of its modernisation.

Classification as a paradigm is also evident in a particular folkloristic conceptualisation of genre. According to Lauri Honko, 'The aim of genre-analysis in folkloristics is the thorough classification of the whole material of the oral tradition' (Honko 1968: 51). The basic tenet in this enterprise is the notion that genres manifest a division of labour in the production of meaning and in serving social functions. Honko's critic on this issue, Dan Ben-Amos, argues that genre as a classificatory category derives from Linné's model in botany, and he states that for Honko, the concept of genre 'is basically a category for classification' (1976a: xxiii; see also Ben-Amos 1976b: 33).

Honko himself provides an interesting research topic in the discussion of paradigms in folklore studies, since he not only encouraged the discussion on paradigms but established and defended many paradigmatic positions, not the least his own position as a paradigmatic leader. At the same time, he was conscious of having himself been restricted, during the early phases of his scholarly career, by paradigmatic leaders. He has, for example, recalled how it was impossible for him to enter the research field in epic poetry in the early 1960s, because he would have brought in new insights that would differ from those deriving from the historic-geographic method, still promulgated by Matti Kuusi, Martti Haavio and Jouko Hautala. Had he not shunned away from this area, he says that he would have driven himself onto the margins of the scholarly

community (see Laaksonen 1992: 31–2).

Honko was aware of paradigms as forms of domination, but this did not make them absolute as research methods. As historically changing, paradigms entail retrospection. As Honko stated, 'there is constant reason to look back, perhaps even over centuries' (Honko 1983: 18). But his own description of this potentiality reveals the fundamental use-value of paradigms for him: 'it is possible to point to different paradigms in humanistic research and with the aid of these paradigms achieve a better order and greater clarity in a motley selection of methods' (Honko 1983: 19). This statement points to his conceptualisation of the concept of paradigm as a classificatory tool. Indeed, his agenda for depicting paradigms in folklore studies was classificatory in nature, as 'it is . . . primarily the research traditions that have taken root in at least one Nordic country that we must try to order and classify' (Honko 1983: 21).

The conceptualisation of paradigms as tools for classification in Honko's thinking is yet another proof of the stronghold of the classification paradigm. But this is also a strong indication of Honko's own interest in classification, which because of his great impact on his colleagues continued to play an influential, even a paradigmatic role. If we entered into a closer analysis of Honko's research work throughout his lifetime, we could see that folklore scholarship for him was an enterprise of creating order and taxonomy in what seemed to be a disorderly, disorganised reality. In addition to the discussion on research paradigms, this tendency can be seen, among other things, in the way in which he treated ritual categories, arguing for a difference to be drawn between rites of passage, life-crisis rites and calendrical rites (see Anttonen 1992). The same applies to this treatment of folklore genres in his genre analysis. Again, it is evident in his discussion on the variation and transmission of folklore. According to Honko, 'What the earlier comparative method saw as "variation" . . . was in fact a mixture of temporary and more permanent changes . . . Results of temporary and permanent change were dealt with at the same level' (Honko 1999: 7–8). Instead of following this logic, Honko modified the historic-geographic idea of variation by constructing order in it and classifying what he calls a mixture into three categories: 'milieu-morphological' variation, 'tradition-morphological' variation and 'functional' variation.

Even though Honko's discussions on paradigms have met with criticism, as did Kuhn's, they offer important insights into the study of the culture of scholars and scholarship, and especially of the culture of folklore scholars and folklore scholarship. As

in many other theoretical issues in modern folklore studies, Honko can be regarded as a pioneer who at the same time invites both reverence and resistance, but in either case, cannot be overlooked. The discussion on folklore paradigms must continue.

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# *Oral Poetry and Field Work in a Viena Karelian Setting: Folklore Fellows' Summer School 2007 in Kuhmo and Vuokkiniemi*

by *Elo-Hanna Seljamaa*, PhD student  
Dept. of Comparative Studies, Ohio State University

In 1907, four scholars from four European countries—Johannes Bolte from Germany, Kaarle Krohn from Finland, Axel Olrik from Denmark and Carl Wilhelm von Sydow from Sweden—came together in order to lay the foundation for Folklore Fellows, an organisation aimed at fostering the comparative study of folklore. At Kaarle Krohn's suggestion, the Finnish Academy of Sciences began in 1910 to issue an international folkloristic publication series, *Folklore Fellows' Communications*. While questions posed and methods applied by folklorists have changed since then, oral traditions and field work continue to be part and parcel of folklore scholarship and the need to build up scholarly networks is as crucial today as it was a century ago.

The seventh Folklore Fellows' Summer School *Oral Poetry and Field Work* held on 11–20 June 2007 in Kuhmo, Finland, and Vuokkiniemi, Republic of Karelia, brought together over thirty scholars from Asia, Europe and North America. A unique meeting of its kind, the FFSS offered its participants an opportunity to exchange ideas and bond in an academic, yet invigoratingly informal setting. The 2007 FFSS was chaired by Prof. Anna-Leena Siikala and organised jointly by the Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society, the National Post-Graduate School for Folklorists, folklore departments of several Finnish universities, the Kalevala Institute and the Kalevala Society as well as the Juminkeko Information Centre for the Kalevala and Karelian Culture. Based in Kuhmo, the Juminkeko Centre hosted the first and last days of the summer school, including the traditional concluding Folklore Fellows' dinner party, in the course of which all participants were invited to join the Folklore Fellows as associate members. The majority of the time, however, was spent in the village of Vuokkiniemi in the Republic of Karelia. In addition to lectures and seminars held in the school there, several trips were organised to other nearby villages, including Venehjärvi, Paanajärvi, Haikola and Uhtua.

Dividing the seventh FFSS between Kuhmo and Vuokkiniemi, Finland and the Russian Federation, appears as a symbolic act with many different aspects. On the one hand, a separation of this kind could be said to reflect the turbulent history of Viena

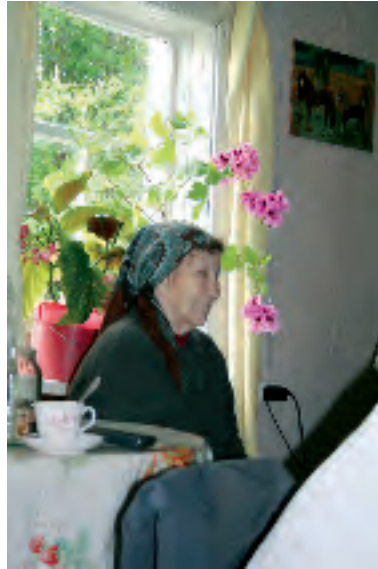
Karelia as a border zone where over the centuries different cultures and rulers have met, often with tragic consequences for the local people. On the other hand, the landscape and culture of Viena have played an instrumental role in the Finnish national project and inspired several generations of folklore scholars. By travelling from Finland to Viena Karelian villages and back to Finland, participants of the 2007 FFSS made the same journey as Elias Lönnrot repeatedly undertook in the 1830s. Looked at from this perspective, our trip could be regarded as an exposure to if not initiation into a certain kind of research tradition. The overwhelming hospitality of our hosts in Vuokkiniemi and Paanajärvi, the breathtakingly wide panoramas with lakes nested in between forests, old burial sites and wooden architecture added another, more tangible dimension to folklore texts known from anthologies and archives. Yet any return to the past is an interpretation of it and thus inseparable from the here and now. Empty villages, bumpy roads and attempts to preserve or revitalise something perhaps long gone provided an opportunity to get a sense of the life led in the Republic of Karelia of today. Anchoring the lectures and seminars to oral poetry and field work, key words running through folklore research of different eras wove these historical and contemporary perspectives together. The summer school itself became a field-work project of a kind with partici-



*Course participants on the way to Vuokkiniemi school. Photo by Stein R. Mathisen.*



*John Shaw and Stein R. Mathisen.  
Photo by Emilia Karjula.*



*Aleksandra Stepanova. Photo by  
Emilia Karjula.*



*Hanne Pico Larsen and a village resident  
beside his house. Photo by Stein R. Mathi-  
sen.*

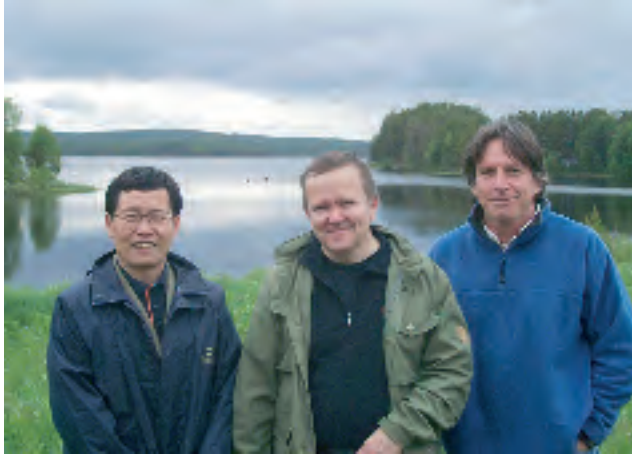
pants acting simultaneously as sightseeing tourists in ‘Viena Karelian folklore villages’ and as scholars eager to reflect upon their experiences as visitors in another culture. In what follows, I seek to discuss some of the topics and problems both lecturers and participants dealt with in their presentations.

Terry Gunnell analysed in his keynote speech introductions to Nordic folktale collections published in the nineteenth century, showing their ties to nation creation and various political, social and linguistic agendas. Stien R. Mathisen addressed the Norwegian folklore scholarship of the same era by looking at the uses of folklore in the multicultural context of northern Norway. He argued that by relying on evolutionary explanations and romantic notions of Sámi and Kven folklore, folklorists lent support to colonial politics discriminating against these ethnic minorities as well as to aspirations for a homogeneous Norwegian culture. Satu Apo gave an overview of the folkloristic criticism of the *Kalevala*, demonstrating how from Lönnrot’s era to the present day scholarly interpretations of the epic have changed in correlation with new methodologies applied in research: questions about the epic’s authorship and age have thus been replaced by those of composition and interaction between oral and written culture. Pertti Anttonen, on the other hand, used the *Kalevala* as a starting point for discussing the politics of history and analysed ways in which folklore representations are being used in the symbolic construction of territories and communities.

Another leitmotiv of the summer school was the concept of genre. Lotte Tarkka discussed in her lecture interrelationships between genres and the creation of authority, using as her starting-point the so-called Vuokkiniemi corpus, a collection of over 2500

*Kalevala*-metre folklore texts collected from Vuokkiniemi in the course of the century from 1821 to 1921. Analysing metapoetic strategies and the creation of intertextual links between genres, she conceived of tradition as shared knowledge that is by nature multivocal and dialogic and as such demands contextualisation. John Miles Foley similarly spoke of ecology or an ecosystem of genres, describing genres as living species of verbal art that interact in social life. He also discussed historical reasons for preferring epic over non-epic genres, referring to epic’s better capability to make a transition to literature. This correlated with his second lecture, which concentrated on the orality–literacy debate. Foley argued that the sharp opposition between the two was initially needed in order to create thinking space for recognising and conceptualising oral-derived texts as separate from those created in writing. This distinction, in turn, served as a prerequisite for moving on to more complex understandings of the co-existence of literacy and orality, as well as various styles of speaking or registers coded for specific kinds of communications. In order to understand these different registers in their own terms and the interdependence of composition and reception, scholars need to combine multiple approaches, such as performance theory, ethno poetics and immanent art theory. Among other things, this also means applying different collecting strategies for different genres.

Maria Vlasova introduced her project of analysing various plots of Karelian epic runes that describe the creation of the world. Yin Hubin looked into the cult of the Houtu deity and the related oral narrative tradition in Hebei province in the North China. Several papers focused on the lament genre. Galina Misharina analysed ritual lamentation of the Komi



Yin Hubin, Lauri Harvilahti and John Miles Foley.  
Photo by Stein R. Mathisen.



John Shaw, Terry Gunnell (in the middle) and Elena Dubrovskaya on a boat trip to Paanajärvi. Photo by Stein R. Mathisen.

people, especially occupational laments and calendar lamentation incantations as phenomena unique to Komi culture. While previous scholarship has tended to disregard ritual laments, Misharina approached them as a special form of speech used for transmitting culture-specific information. Aleksandra Stepanova, renowned collector and expert of Karelian laments, highlighted in her lecture the special relationship between the lamenter and the researcher as well as the habit of lamenters to reflect upon their own performances. She argued that lamenting is never abstract, but singers always imagine the object of their lament. Eila Stepanova, on the other hand, endeavoured to analyse culture-specific notions conveyed via the lament genre in Karelia and spoke about the relationship between genre conventions and individual creativity within the lament genre. She claimed that talented singers develop their own idiolectal registers, which make use of the local register; furthermore, within the personal register of a singer, it is possible to differentiate between universal formulas used in all kinds of laments and those bound to a specific performance context.

The interrelationship between individual creativity and tradition was further discussed by Venla Sykäri in her presentation about *mantinādes* or the Cretan tradition of rhyming couplets. Drawing on extensive fieldwork in Crete, Sykäri argued that while in patriarchal oral communities *mantinādes* used to serve as a tool of metaphoric communication, they have now become a personal choice of self-expression. Structure, meaning and style of *mantinādes* are being created anew in each performance, using the textual and contextual strategies characteristic of the register. Thus tradition and individual creativity are in constant interaction and reciprocal self-enablement. Kati Heinonen dealt with similar issues, analysing overlaps of genre in Ingrian *Kale-*

*vala*-metre poetry. She explained that while different genres can be linked together by the use of the same melodies, interpretations of the same poetic text are liable to vary according to variation in performance and context. The meaning of a song is thus determined by the social group and when asked for comments, singers tend to speak about the performance as a whole instead of the mere text.

Problems of identifying and recognising folklore texts, their special characteristics and status were discussed by Csaba Mészáros, whose research of Yakut oral poetry likewise rests on long-term fieldwork. When collecting data about the history of lineages, Mészáros encountered both canonical items of folklore and forms that did not represent any established genre, but nevertheless fulfilled the same communicative function for the given community. He suggested that balance between etic and emic genre classifications could be found by concentrating on language as the substance of texts and by creating a system of everyday discourse-types based on pragmatic sentence-types.

A number of presentations dealt with Icelandic poetic traditions. Terry Gunnell devoted one of his lectures to Icelandic Eddic poems, arguing that many of their characteristic features (e.g. speech markings added to indicate the change of the speaker) could be explained by treating the poems as remnants of ritual dramas, which sought to create sacred time and space inside the real time and space. In Gunnell's view some of the lost social and historical context of Eddic poems could be brought back by applying to them methods used by theatre scholars in analysing early texts. Joonas Ahola concentrated on the literary character of the outlaw in Icelandic family sagas, aiming at placing it within the context of medieval Icelandic reality. He suggested that temporal, spatial, social and other structural dimensions of these sagas could be regarded as representing different contextual as-



*Emilia Karjula and Pihla Siim. Photo by Stein R. Mathisen.*



*Eldar Heide. Photo by Emilia Karjula.*



*Csaba Mészáros and Frog. Photo by Emilia Karjula.*

pects of their conception by their contemporary audiences and writers. The presentation given by Frog looked into the process of developing oral traditions in medieval Iceland. He described the settlement of the island as a confluence of tradition communities, proposing that the settlers' urgent need to establish themselves in a new environment might have led them to favour those poetic genres and metric forms which supported their efforts to create and affirm a personal identity. Eldar Heide sought to exemplify how Old Norse philology can make use of folklore data in tracing the origins of early notions of the soul in Nordic countries.

Several presentations focused on reflecting upon the experience of being in the field. Irma-Riitta Järvinen based her lecture on photos taken in the course of repeated expeditions to Olonets Karelia, and discussed close relationships formed between the researchers and members of the local community during the long-term project. In addition, she spoke about some of the elements of orthodox vernacular culture, including links between women, religious practices and the dead. Seppo Knuuttila discussed in his lecture different practices of producing the past. He pointed out how anachronisms, phenomena out of their correct time, can only have an existence in the present. Thus, if to be is to be perceived, the field can be said to be functioning according to the perceptions of those going there. Expectations brought along to the field by researchers and interviewees were further analysed by Pihla Siim, who stressed researchers' need to recognise their contribution to the fieldwork setting. Interviews she has conducted with members of transnational families have prompted her to reflect on the definition of the field as well as the correlation of field and home.

Two lectures given by John Shaw provided a thorough overview of Gaelic oral poetry, its generic features and collection in Scotland from the eighteenth to the twentieth century, as well as in modern Cape Breton, Canada. Shaw pointed out that it was possible

in Canada to record many items no longer retained in Scotland, but also that since the 1980s more attention has been paid to the context of oral poetry, leading scholars to treat songs as forms of social behaviour. Jūrate Šlekonytė discussed characteristic features of storytelling in Lithuania. Drawing on both ethnographic and folklore data, she concentrated on the functioning of folktales in people's everyday life.

Lauri Harvilahti gave a concise overview of the history of folklore research in Finland by way of going through different phases in folklore collection. As such, his lecture exemplified how collecting is always tied to concepts and interests prevailing in scholarship at any given moment in time, which renders the reinterpretation of already existing archived collections an ongoing process. Elo-Hanna Seljamaa analysed the concept of folklore at the basis of the Law of Self-Correction introduced by Walter Anderson in 1924 in order to explain the contradiction between folklore's simultaneous stability and constant variation.

The lecture given by Pekka Hakamies looked into the modernisation process of Karelian folk life and folk culture in the course of the twentieth century, describing how industrialisation and collectivisation of agriculture along with generational conflicts and anti-religious propaganda gradually led to the loss of economic autonomy and changes in cultural patterns. Elena Dubrovskaya analysed the image of Finns and Karelians as 'the Other', constructed in the minds of Russians with the aid of periodicals and travel notes in the early twentieth century. Comparing these images to narratives collected from various Karelian villages in the 1930s about the Civil War in Russian Karelia, Dubrovskaya suggested that the macro-history of the State functions as a framework for measuring more personal family time.

Yet another topic addressed by several speakers as well as supported by the setting of the Summer School was tourism and the related concept of authenticity. Stein Mathisen discussed inclusions and



exclusions in performances of traditional culture, drawing on a comparison between ethnographic exhibitions of the Sámi and a contemporary Sámi theme park located in a modern Sámi city and run by the Sámi themselves. One of the central questions he raised was about the possibility of creating new arenas for traditional cultures without at the same time commercialising them. Hanne Pico Larsen used the case study of Solvang, a small themed tourist town in California, to argue for the idea of a *Third Gaze* in the analysis of tourist experiences. Unlike the concepts of *Tourist Gaze* and *Second Tourist Gaze* applied in tourism studies so far, the *Third Gaze* is produced by the tourists themselves and intended to reveal what they really see. Leah Lowthorp provided a scholarly critique of the UNESCO's First Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity by looking at the cultural policies of the selection process in India and the example of the Kutiyattam Sanskrit theatre in Kerala in particular.

The 2007 Folklore Fellows' Summer School was the first to be held outside Finland and as such a courageous step for the organisers. I would hereby like to thank all the institutions and persons involved in ar-



*Pauliina Latoala, Secretary General of the FFSS 2007 (on the left), and Anna-Leena Siikala, Chair of the Organising Committee of the FFSS. Photo by Emilia Karjula.*

ranging the seventh FFSS for taking this step and for the unique experience it provided the participants with.



*Folklore Fellows' Summer School 2007: (from the left) John Miles Foley, Lauri Harvilahti, Yin Hubin, Leah Lowthorp, Pihla Siim, John Shaw, Elo-Hanna Seljamaa, Anna-Leena Siikala, Frog, Pekka Hakamies, Terry Gunnell, Venla Sykäri, Eldar Heide, Joonas Ahola, Maria Vasenkari, Stein R. Mathisen, Eila Stepanova (sitting down), Hanne Pico Larsen, Csaba Mészáros, Aleksandra Stepanova, Kati Heinonen (with a blue hat), Elena Dubrovskaya, Jūrate Šlekonytė, Maria Vlasova and Galina Misharina. Photo by Emilia Karjula.*

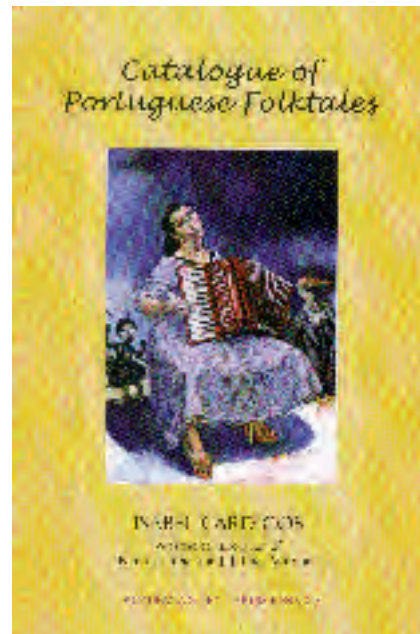
# Reviews

## New Perspectives on the Research of Portuguese Folktales

Isabel Cardigos (with the Collaboration of Paulo Correia and J. J. Dias Marques), *Catalogue of Portuguese Folktales*. FF Communications 291. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica 2006. ISBN 951-41-0999-6 (hard) 1000-5 (soft). Hard, 37 €, Soft, 32 €.

Isabel Cardigos (dos Reis) is generally considered as Portugal's leading folklorist. She is the author of several exemplary studies and articles, including publications in international series and handbooks such as FF Communications and *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*. At the Universidade do Algarve in Faro where she works as a full-time researcher, she directs a centre (Centro de Estudos Ataíde Oliveira, CEAO) for which she has created the archives of Portuguese folktales (APFT). She has also founded and directs the yearbook *Estudos de Literatura Oral* (since 1995).

Until the publication of the new international tale-type catalogue (ATU, 2004), folk narratives from the Iberian peninsula were very unevenly represented in Stith Thompson's tale-type indices (AT, 1928, 1961). Thompson had drawn upon Aurelio M. Espinosa's standard work on the Spanish folktale (3 vols., 1946, 1947) as well as Joan Amades's Catalan collection (*Folklore de Catalunya. Rondalística*. Barcelona 1950), but as far as Portugal was concerned, only two cases of Portuguese attestations were mentioned (see AT 471, 884A); additionally, Thompson has quoted a couple of Brazilian texts—from the collections of Luís da Câmara Cascudo—and Cape Verdean variants (Elsie Clews Parsons: *Folk-lore from the Cape Verde Islands*, Vols. 1–2. Cambridge, Mass., and New York 1923). This means that with respect to folktales in the Portuguese language, Thompson provided historical and comparative folk narrative research with quite insufficient information. This is further reflected by the fact that up to now, translations of Portuguese folktales into foreign languages are scarce, the most notable ones being an early English publication (*Portuguese Folk-Tales*. Translated by H. Monteiro, 1882), followed nearly sixty years later by Harri Meier's anthology published in the German series *Die Märchen der Weltliteratur* (*Spanische und portugiesische Märchen*,



Delivery: tiedekirja@tsv.fi

1940; new edition jointly with Dieter Woll: *Portugiesische Märchen*, 1975). The reception of Portuguese tales was thus made difficult by language barriers. It is only in the last decades that Portuguese folk-narrative traditions have attracted more attention, which may be due to the influence of Romanicists of international renown such as Felix Karlinger, Manuel da Costa Fontes and Joanne B. Purcell.

Recent interest in folk narrative not only manifests itself through monographs such as Marisa Rey-Henningsen's *The World of the Ploughwoman* (FF Communications 254, Helsinki 1994) and *The Tales of the Ploughwoman* (FF Communications 259, Helsinki 1996) or Isabel Cardigos's gender study *In and Out of Enchantment* (FF Communications 260, Helsinki 1996), but also through the publication of several type and motif indices in Spanish, Catalan, Galician and English. Furthermore, interest in medieval and early modern narrative traditions of the Iberian peninsula seems to be increasing. This comes as no surprise, considering that so many narrative themes and motifs can be traced back to Oriental, especially Arabic-Islamic, sources and arrived in Europe via Spain and Portugal. And last but not least this change of paradigm also found expression

in the conferences organised by catalogue makers in Toulouse (2003), Pau (2004) and Palma de Mallorca (2006).

The compilation of the tale-type catalogue under review took about eight years. It follows the numerical system which has been used internationally since it has been established by Aarne and Thompson, and it is the first catalogue which aligns itself to ATU. Isabel Cardigos presents about 7,000 classified entries. These are all the folktales existing in the APFT at the time of publication of the catalogue. Like other catalogue makers, she finds it too difficult to establish a clear division between tales of oral and literary origin. As a rule, she and her collaborators have included the texts which appeared in the main Portuguese collections (and in important journals) from the last quarter of the nineteenth century up to recent times: the major collections compiled by Adolfo Coelho (1879), Joaquim Teófilo Fernandes Braga (1883), Francisco Xavier de Ataíde Oliveira (1900, 1905), Zófimo Consiglieri Pedroso (1910), the posthumous edition of the collection of José Leite de Vasconcellos (1858–1941) by Paulo and Alda Sormenho (1963, 1966), as well as other unpublished material the couple edited from different sources (1984, 1986). Obvious adaptations from the Grimm brothers and Perrault, however, are not taken into account. In addition, the catalogue includes recent collections (classified according to AT), such as those by A. Parafita (2001, 2002), I. Farinho Custódio and M. A. Farinho Galhoz (1996, 1997), or by Custódio and others (2004). Cardigos has analysed these and other collections with care. In order to facilitate access to the tale material, books from the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries are referred to by reprints or more recent editions which are more easily available.

Furthermore, the catalogue documents a substantial number of audio records in digital format (Fontinha 1999, 2000, 2004) which have been transcribed for the CEAO as well as unpublished material collected in Portugal by students between 1995 and 2005. Other unpublished material included is represented by the collection of Manuel da Costa Fontes (Kent University, USA), which is the result of fieldwork among Portuguese emigrants in New England, California and Toronto, as well as the recordings carried out in the Azores in 1969–70 by the late Joanne B. Purcell. Popular collections, such as A. C. Osório's two-volume children's stories (*Contos maravilhosos da tradição popular portuguesa*), have been excluded. Although Cardigos's interest centres on folk narratives collected since the last quarter of the nineteenth century, she has also classified texts found in ancient Portuguese literary sources: fourteenth-century nobiliaries (*Livros de Linhagens*

*do Conde Dom Pedro*); a religious fifteenth-century manuscript book of exempla (*Orto do Esposo*); a fifteenth-century manuscript of fables (*Fabulario Portuguez*); the sixteenth-century compilation of tales by Gonçalo Fernandes Trancoso (around 1520 to around 1596); and sixteenth-century plays by Gil Vicente (around 1465 to around 1536). Legend texts, Latin exempla collections and fable editions are not included.

The descriptions of the tale types are detailed and precise, reflecting ecotypical forms of Portuguese tale types. Cardigos has developed a very clear schema of episodes and draws attention to structural differences of individual texts. Moreover, she mentions combinations of tale types, and occasionally indicates peculiarities of certain variants or provides information concerning literary versions, proverbs or other genres (e.g. 47B, 70, 885A, 1418\*A [Cardigos], \*1424 [Boggs]). Of course, more data could have been given; it should be emphasised, however, that Cardigos and her collaborators wanted to represent the popular Portuguese traditions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and did not aim at providing exhaustive evidence of their literary origins.

New type numbers added by Cardigos refer to important ecotypes, that is, about 120 folktales from all genres, quite often jokes and anecdotes. She also adopts suggestions of classification made by other scholars, especially Julio Camarena and Maxime Chevalier, but also Ralph Steele Boggs, Terence Leslie Hansen and Stanley L. Robe. Other tale types refer to models from Sephardic tradition (Heda Jason, Reginetta Haboucha). Moreover, she also draws on motif indices documenting more ancient narrative traditions of the Iberian peninsula (e.g. James Wesley Childers, Harriet Goldberg), thus covering the whole corpus of orally transmitted Portuguese traditions including affinities to the narrative repertoire of Romance tradition.

Taking everything together, the author's achievement cannot be estimated highly enough. The publication of the index in English finally gives access to Portuguese traditions. This new Portuguese tale-type catalogue is therefore a most valuable tool for international folk-narrative scholarship. Those who wish to look more closely at individual texts can do so at the Centro de Estudos Ataíde Oliveira. Let us hope that more tale type catalogues documenting the narrative traditions of the Iberian peninsula will be published in English in the near future.

Hans-Jörg Uther  
*Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, Göttingen

## *Forthcoming in the FF Communications*



Delivery: tiedekirja@tsv.fi

FFC 293. **Edige – a Karakalpak Oral Epic as performed by Jumabay Bazarov.** Edited and translated by Karl Reichl. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 2007. 498 pp. ISBN 978-951-41-1012-2 (hard), 978-951-41-1013-9 (soft)

*Forthcoming in December 2007*

*Edige* is one of the most esteemed oral epics of the Karakalpaks, a Turkic-speaking people, who live on the mouth of the Amu Darya and the shores of the Aral Sea in Uzbekistan. *Edige* is a historical personage from the time of Timur and the turn of the 14th to the 15th century. He is considered the founding father of the Noghay Horde, from which the Karakalpaks and the other Turkic peoples have emerged, and his tale is therefore for the Karakalpaks intimately linked to their historical roots and ethnic identity.

The singer, Jumabay Bazarov, was the last Karakalpak singer of heroic epics who stood in an entirely oral tradition. In this edition and translation an attempt has been made to capture as much of his oral performance as possible, including the singer's dialect features and his musical style. The singer's performance is also illustrated by audio and video clips on the CD accompanying this book.

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Address: FF Communications, Dept. of Folklore Studies, University of Helsinki,  
P. O. Box 4, 00014 Helsinki, Finland  
Editorial secretary: Maria Vasenkari (marvas@utu.fi), Kalevala Institute, University of Turku  
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